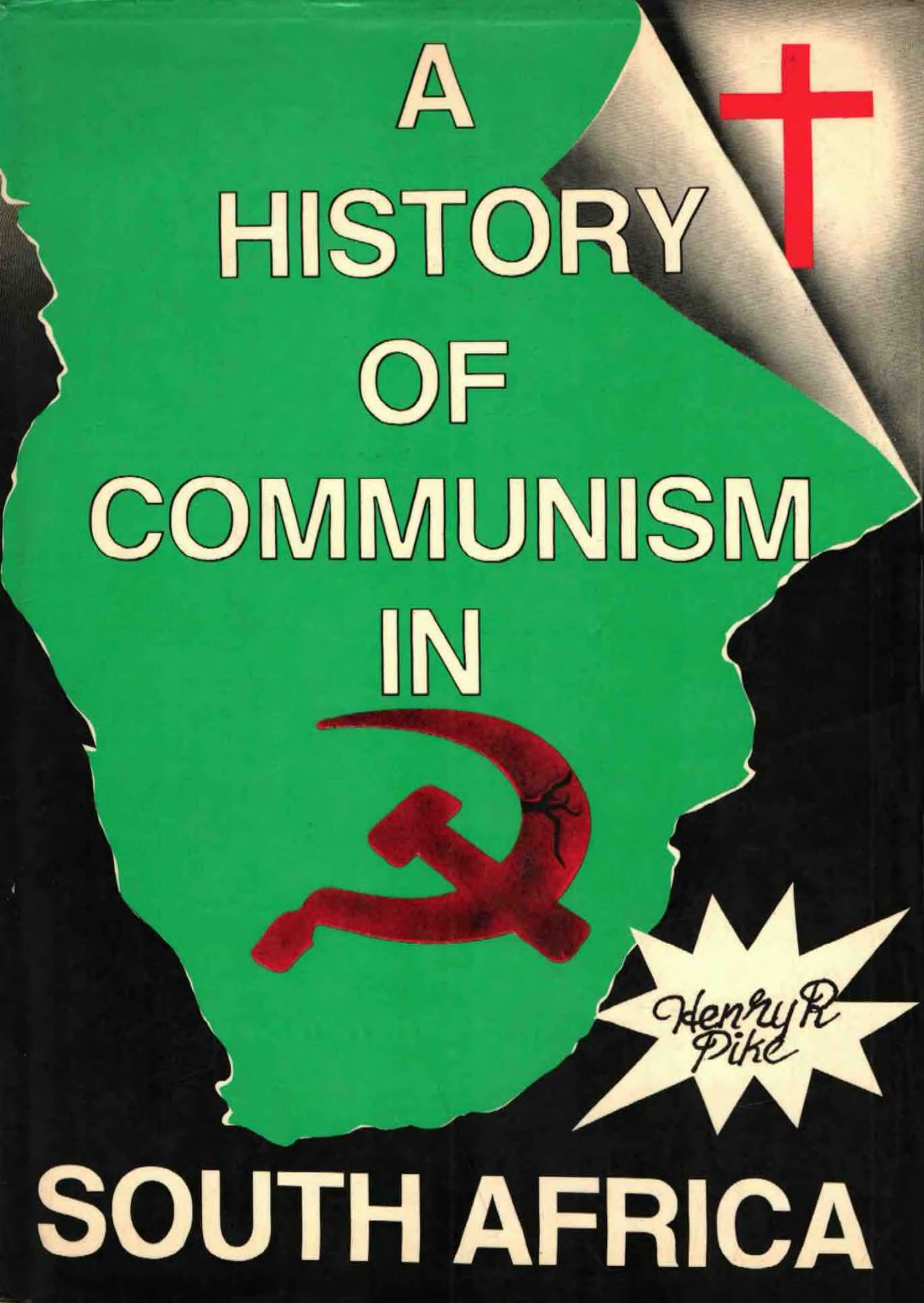
A HISTORY OF COMMUNISM IN SOUTH AFRICA



Henry R Pike

This book is a "first" in South Africa. No volume like this has ever been written! It fills a gap in a field of conservative literature that has been waiting to be filled for over half a century.

A volume packed with facts, scrupulously researched, and backed up with almost 1 000 documentations, it offers for the first time to all interested South Africans an exhaustive history of the communist conspiracy and related events in their land, from its origins in the mid-1850's through 1984

Page after page of interesting and startling facts are presented in a scholarly, yet easy-to-read style, free from cumbersome and hard-to-understand language that would turn away the average reader.

Now, for the first time, South Africans can study in one volume the communist movement in their land from its beginnings. Lavishly illustrated with over 400 photographs, some of which have never been published before, this book lets you "see" communism in action as you read about it. Each chapter is divided into numerous sub-sections, which makes for easy reading.

These pages are written from the viewpoint of an American conservative Baptist missionary, a veteran of over 30 years' experience who has lived in South Africa for 10 years. He has travelled across the nation scores of times, lecturing to thousands of people of all race groups. The author is not sympathetic to the evil ramifications of apartheid and considers the one-man-one-vote policy a suicide answer to South Africa's problems in view of its destructive results in other African countries. He is totally opposed to the left, the radical right, pseudo-liberalism and every shape, form and fashion of Marxism-Leninism. The final chapter of this book is a different approach to the menace of communism in South Africa.

This volume will prove highly informative to sincere persons of upright motives and of different political persuasions. It will be a pure delight to the conservative Christian.

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DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to the happy memory of the life and ministry of the late Pastor M. M. C. Dias. A true Christian, faithful fellow labourer, the dearest of friends and one who gave his life as a martyr for Christ in getting God's word into a country trembling under the terror of communism.

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord . . . that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them" (Rev. 14:13).

A HISTORY OF COMMUNISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

By

Henry R. Pike, Ph.D

This book is the first complete history ever written on this subject and related events. It is fully documented and contains over 400 photographs and illustrations. It provides for the first time, to all interested South Africans, a detailed and exhaustively researched presentation of the history of the communist conspiracy in their country. No book like this has ever been written for South Africans. They should read and remember that:

"A NATION WHICH FORGETS ITS PAST HAS NO FUTURE"

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page
Copyright Notice ..... (ii)
Dedication ..... (iii)
Introduction and Acknowledgements ..... (xv)
The Voice of Experience ..... (xix)
Foreword 1

CHAPTER ONE

COMMUNISM'S EARLY ORIGINS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The sister of Karl Marx 3
Marxism unimportant: Juta's work 3
Marx's daughter meets a South African 6
Schreiner, Marx's daughter and Ellis 7
South African communists claim Schreiner 13
Schreiner's impact on early South African communism 14
Documentation for foreword and chapter one 16

CHAPTER TWO

DIAMONDS, GOLD AND COMMUNISM

Early diamond discoveries 19
Thousands of foreigners flock to Kimberley 19
The Transvaal goldfields and Marxism 21
Gold discovered on the Reef 22
Conditions, conflicts and communists 22
Trade unions and Marxists 24
Communist statements regarding unions 24
Documentation for chapter two 27

CHAPTER THREE

INFANT COMMUNISM 1884 TO 1897

The Marxists get busy 29
South Africa's first Marxist-inspired riot 30
The first union on the Witwatersrand 32
William Henry Andrews: The leading communist 33
The first Transvaal Marxist-inspired strike 34
Documentation for chapter three 36

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POST-WAR RISE OF SOCIALISM AND STRIKES

The war brings more Marxists 38
Russia and the Boers 39
Socialism paves the way in labour upheavals 41
South Africa's early political parties 44

Early strikes and socialism — 1902 46
The first general strike of 1907 46
The De Beers lock-out of 1908 47
The Natal Railway workers' strike of 1909 49
The Rand Tramwaymen's strike in 1911 49
The Kleinfontein strike of 1913-1914 51
Mahatma Gandhi's strike of 1913 55
Dangers in present and future trade unions 60
Documentation for chapter four 62

CHAPTER FIVE

VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE LABOUR PARTY

Socialist groups from 1902 until 1909 65
Witwatersrand Trade and Labour Council of 1902 66
The Socialist Labour Party of 1902 67
The General Workers' Union of 1903 67
The Social Democratic Federation of 1904 68
The Independent Labour Party of 1905 69
The African National Congress of 1912 70
The formation of the Labour Party 1909 71
The Labour Party and "White Socialism" only 73
The Labour Party: A socialist-Marxist hotbed 74
Documentation for chapter five 78

CHAPTER SIX

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE AND BOLSHEVISM

The War of 1914 splits the Labour Party 80
The Labourite Internationalists get busy 80
The International Socialist League founded in 1915 81
Famous ISL members 84
The ISL and "African Rights" 86
The Industrial Workers of Africa 86
Major events of 1917 that affected South Africa 87
The IWA used by the Marxists 88
Andrews and the ISL work for Bolshevism 90
Jewish support for the ISL 91
The ISL suffers its first split 92
Lenin's Bolshevik agents visit South Africa in 1919 93
Documentation for chapter six 97

CHAPTER SEVEN

BOTHA'S DEATH TO THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A change in South African Government 100
The Soviets in the Johannesburg City (or Town) Hall 100
Red underwear over Durban 102
The premature Cape Communist Party 104
Lenin's plan for a Comintern 107
The ISL and Lenin's Comintern 108
The ISL of South Africa accepts the 21 points 109
Africa's first communist party is born — July 1921 110
Documentation for chapter seven 116
Annexure of Lenin's 21 points 117

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MINERS' STRIKE AND MARXIST TOM MANN

The Wits Miners' strike of 1922 121

The communists move into action 122
General anarchy and communists released on bail 125
Smuts crushes the rebellion 126
Bunting and wife off to Moscow 131
Marxist Tom Mann's abortive trip to South Africa 134
The second CPSA congress 134
Comrade Andrews goes to Moscow 134
Documentation for chapter eight 136

CHAPTER NINE

FROM THE YCL TO KADALIE'S ICU

The Young Communist League 138
YCL meeting and the "Bantu Proposals" 141
The CPSA's conference of 1924: Andrews resigns 141
General Smuts loses in 1924 142
The CPSA's dream is exploded 143
The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union 144
The decline and fall of the ICU 145
The CPSA's non-event conference of 1926 148
The secret agents of 1927 149
Documentation for chapter nine 151

CHAPTER TEN

RED UNIONS, NIGHT-SCHOOL AND A BARBER SHOP

The Non-European Trade Union Federation of 1928 154
Products of Thibedi's night-school 156
Diamond's barber shop 158
The CPSA's first black general secretary 159
Two important survivors continue communism 162
CPSA's interest in trade unions 162
Documentation for chapter ten 164

CHAPTER ELEVEN

FROM THE COMINTERN'S INTERFERENCE TO WOLTON'S PURGE

Moscow's new directive 166
The Comintern's Black Republic 166
Reactions within the CPSA 167
Bunting off to Moscow and the Comintern 168
Bunting's return: The CPSA's annual conference 169
New directives from Moscow: The League of African Rights 170
The Comintern's directive to abolish the LAR 171
Wolton's new orders: The CPSA's 1930 conference 172
The final removal of the "Rightist" danger 175
The battle at Inchcape Hall 177
Documentation for chapter eleven 179

CHAPTER TWELVE

WOLTON'S DEFECTION TO WORLD WAR II

Molly and the secret agent from Moscow 182
Comrade Wolton defects and the agent goes home 182
Fights, factions and another party purge 183
Bach goes to Russia and never returns 184
Former expellees return to the Red fold 184
General election of 1933: The depression and communism 185
Trotsky on South Africa: New fronts: Andrews to Moscow 185
CPSA moves to Cape Town: A new publication 186

General election of 1938 and the Second World War 187
The break between Hertzog and Smuts 187
The reaction of the CPSA towards the War 188
More CPSA publications 188
Hitler invades the Soviet Union 190
A great revival within the CPSA 190
South Africa's oldest communist on SABC 195
Stalin abolishes his Comintern in 1943 196
Communist propaganda channels during the War years 196
Warnings of communist dangers given in Parliament 198
Documentation for chapter twelve 201

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ANTI-SEMITISM AND A "CHANGED" SMUTS

South Africa's Jewish background 205
The anti-Jew, anti-communist, pro-Hitler organizations 206
The main pro-Hitler organizations 207
The Jewish answer and the Afrikaner Nazis 211
Anti-Semitism continues 213
Smuts the "changed and kindly man" 217
Communism, the "trivial thing" 219
Documentation for chapter thirteen 222

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

COMMUNIST FRONTS AND A RED CLERGYMAN

Brief history of fronts 226
Aims of front organizations 226
Two major types of fronts 227
The Springbok Legion 228
Communism and the coloured people 231
South African Friends of the Soviet Union 232
The South African Indian Congress 237
The African National Congress 239
Communists and non-communists in the ANC 241
Was the ANC a "Nationalist Organization"? 242
The (Un)Reverend Michael Scott 243
Obedience to Lenin's law 245
The party supports those who are usable 247
Documentation for chapter fourteen 248

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

POST-WAR PERIOD TILL CAPTAIN BOTHA'S DEATH

The African Mineworkers' strike of 1946 251
Proof of communist involvement 251
The results of the strike 252
The African-Indian riots of Durban in 1949 254
The United Party's silence about communism 256
The revelations of Captain Botha's report 257
Working for a revolution in South Africa 257
The depth of infiltration 258
Secret agents and well-placed party workers 260
Change of rendezvous for communists 263
Documentation for chapter fifteen 264

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM BILL AND RELATIVE EVENTS

C. R. Swart's Bill 265
The CPSA's reaction to the Bill 266
General reaction to the Bill 267
Does banning a communist party deprive freedom? 268
An examination of the Act and its effects 269
Various amendments to the Act in 1951, 1954 and 1962 270
Initial effects of the Suppression Act 271
The Red Liquidator goes to work 272
Communist publications banned 274
Communist publications entering South Africa 277
Documentation for chapter sixteen 278

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

A DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN AND LIBERAL DILEMMA

Background to the Defiance Campaign 280
The Defiance Campaign 282
Smashing the Defiance Campaign 283
Communist Fischer goes to Vienna: Stalin dies 286
The birth of the Liberal Party 286
The Nobel Prize winner who worked with the communists 288
The Liberal's dilemma reflected in Luthuli 290
What communists say of the "non-communist" sympathisers 291
Renewed government opposition 292
A new CPSA drive through front organizations 293
Documentation for chapter seventeen 296

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

FRONTS, TREASON TRIAL, TORCH COMMANDO, CANCER SOCIETY

Visiting the socialist paradise 301
The Congress of Democrats and the CPSA 301
The South African Congress of Trade Unions 303
Kliptown and the "Freedom Charter" 306
The party renamed: The September police raids 308
The treason trial is a failure 309
Treason trial and communist propaganda 310
The War Veterans Torch Commando and communism 310
The CPSA and the Korean War 312
J. G. Strijdom becomes Prime Minister in 1954 314
Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, target of assassination 314
Communism and the Cancer Society 314
The CPSA and the Hungarian Revolution 315
Documentation for chapter eighteen 317

CHAPTER NINETEEN

SOVIET DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND CPSA FINANCIAL SUPPORT

The diplomatic agreement 319
The Soviets are ordered to leave South Africa 320
The Soviets burn the consulate in Pretoria 322
Where the CPSA and friends got their money 325
Support and being supported 326
Secret money channelled into South Africa 328
Documentation for chapter nineteen 330

CHAPTER TWENTY

LESOTHO, PAC, SHARPEVILLE AND DR. VERWOERD

The flight to Basutoland 332
The 1950s close in trouble and unrest 333
Riots spread over much of the country 333
The CPSA's underground paper 334
Origin of the Pan Africanist Congress 335
Growth and power of the PAC 336
The Sharpeville shootings 338
Government action is taken: The State of Emergency 340
The first attempt on the life of Dr. Verwoerd 343
Documentation for chapter twenty 345

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

MANDELA, THE REPUBLIC, UMKHONTO AND POQO

The All-African Conference: Mandela's disappearance 347
Mandela returns with promises of help 348
The Afrikaner wins the Anglo-Boer war 349
Open violence and founding of Umkhonto we Sizwe 350
Umkhonto we Sizwe controlled by the CPSA 350
The sabotage campaign is launched 353
The founding of Poqo and its murder campaigns 353
Poqo terror moves to the Transkei 354
The night of God's mercy on South Africa 355
Leballo's headquarters raided 357
PAC continues in South Africa 357
CPSA agents and sabotage 358
Smuggling recruits out of South Africa 359
The guerrilla camp in Mamre 362
Mystery submarines off South African coasts 364
Documentation for chapter twenty-one 365

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

AGENT Q-018, RIVONIA AND THE BIG ESCAPE

Recruited by the police 368
Agent Q-018 and the CPSA house parties 368
Agent Q-018 joins the Congress of Democrats 369
The CPSA's new "Road to freedom Programme" 370
The Wits campus front and a visit to Russia 371
Agent Q-018 is invited to join the CPSA 372
Agent Q-018 attends his first party meeting 373
The CPSA's use of children and innocents 375
CPSA's secret headquarters are discovered 376
The raid on CPSA headquarters, 11 July 1963 376
The damning document "Operation Mayibuye" 379
The innocent liars and a new directive 380
The "Yi Chu Chan Club" 380
The escape of Goldreich and Wolpe 382
London: City of shelter 382
Rev. Blaxall arrested, sentenced and forgiven 384
Documentation for chapter twenty-two 386

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

SOUTH AFRICA'S BIGGEST TRIAL: NUSAS AND ARM

The Rivonia trial 388
Dr. Yutar reads the indictment 388

The conspirators take the stage 390
Enter Mr. Alan Paton 398
Reactions to the Rivonia trial 398
CPSA secret meetings during the Rivonia trial 399
More bad news for the CPSA 400
All traitors must be eliminated 401
CPSA cell meetings slowly die: Fischer's wife killed 401
Christians rise in opposition to communism 403
The second high command of Umkhonto on Wits campus 403
The CPSA's one-man central committee is arrested 403
The African Resistance Movement 405
The left-wing NUSAS and ARM 407
Harris and the bombing of Johannesburg Station 409
Documentation for chapter twenty-three 413

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

FISCHER'S FIRST TRIAL AND DISAPPEARANCE

Fischer's background 416
The trial of Fischer and the co-conspirators 417
Fischer returns and the trial continues 421
The second trial begins 421
The State calls Ludi to testify 423
Fischer disappears: His comrades are sentenced 424
Documentation for chapter twenty-four 428

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

FISCHER'S DISAPPEARANCE PRE-ARRANGED: HIS ARREST

The secret plan 429
Twenty-one days before Fischer disappears 430
Comrade Anne prepares for Fischer 430
Comrade Anne returns to England: "Mr. Black" appears 432
The CPSA meets again 437
Fischer keeps contact with the outside world 438
Fischer goes picnicking with relatives 438
The key in Violet's handbag 439
"Arrest Bram Fischer" 440
Violet's secret underground room 442
Documentation for chapter twenty-five 445

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

THE TRIAL, SENTENCING AND DEATH OF FISCHER

Fischer in regional court 447
Liebenberg reads the indictment 447
Other witnesses 448
In the Palace of Justice 449
The verdict 451
"Release Bram Fischer" 452
The rape of Czechoslovakia and the CPSA 452
Documentation for chapter twenty-six 454

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

A CZECH SECRET AGENT: THE MURDER OF DR. VERWOERD

Agent "Robek" visits South Africa 455
The South African Embassy and defection 455
The murder of Dr. Verwoerd 457
Report of the Commission of Enquiry 458

Tsafendas returns to South Africa 459
Were there accomplices? 461
The closing of the 1960s 462
Documentation for chapter twenty-seven 463

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

RUSSIA, YUGOSLAVIA, CHINA, CUBA AND BREYTENBACH

The handsome KGB spy 464
His arrest and swap 466
Captain Myagkov and South Africa 467
Ways of entering South Africa 468
The spy in a nightclub fight 470
April who arrived in December 470
South Africans recruited abroad: James Rose 472
The girl from Kimberley and the Cubans 472
The Moumbaris-Hosey trial and the Russians' promise 474
Breytenbach, Solidarité and the KGB 475
The building of Okhela-ANC 477
Breytenbach's arrest, trial and sentencing 477
Documentation for chapter twenty-eight 480

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

SOWETO, OKHELA, SILVERTON, KOZLOV AND SASOL

Communism and the Soweto riots 483
The known activities of CPSA-ANC 483
Comrade Weinberg receives orders to flee 487
The United States Information Service and Soweto 488
A branch office in Soweto 488
The Okhela-ANC "Nationalist Faction" 489
Dealing with dissidents: Certain universities 490
Silverton, Mandela and Breytenbach 491
KGB Major Kozlov, a fourth-time visitor 495
SASOL, Slovo and the United Nations 496
Documentation for chapter twenty-nine 499

CHAPTER THIRTY

FOREIGN COUNTRIES RECEIVE AND SUPPORT THE CPSA-ANC

Overseas support for the CPSA 502
It began over thirty years ago 502
Money to support Marxism 504
The ACOA baby 504
WOA supports Marxist organizations 505
The Lisbon meeting 1977 505
The Washington Conference 1981 508
The United Methodist office conference 1981 508
Documentation for chapter thirty 510

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

THE MANY-SIDED ONSLAUGHT CONTINUES

Rocket attack on Voortrekkerhoogte 511
Five ANC terrorists arrive 511
Russians on South Africa's borders 513
The multifaced Marxist monster 517
Attack through sport 517
Attack through the arts 517
Attack through religion 519

Attack through radio broadcasts 522
The depth of KGB penetration 524
Apartheid's purgatory: Communism's hell 527
Documentation for chapter thirty-one 529

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE FINANCIAL CONSPIRACY

The financial onslaught 531
The anti-Western CIA 532
"The liberals are the best anti-communists" 533
The difference between "right" and "left" 534
Who and how? 535
What is the money used for? 537
Segal, the man with plenty of money 537
Segal, the delivery boy 539
The chief culprit: American governments 541
Documentation for chapter thirty-two 545

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

The world's concern over South Africa 548
Make way for the "Red" Robin Hood 550
Bargaining will not change the communists 551
More than physical conflict 554
Not all protesters are communists 554
South Africa forgetting God in truth 555
Mass information campaign 557
Documentation for chapter thirty-three 559

BIBLIOGRAPHY 561
CPSA AND LEFTIST PUBLICATIONS 569
PERIODICALS AND NEWSPAPERS 570
FACILITIES USED IN RESEARCH 574
ABBREVIATIONS 575
INDEX 578

INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The original idea for a volume of this nature came to me while searching through libraries, universities, bookstores and archives and inquiring of people in academic positions for a book covering the entire history of communism in South Africa. I was continually told that no such book existed. It seemed an incredible paradox. I refused to believe this was true, in view of the fact that South Africa has a reputation as being one of the most anti-communist nations on the face of the earth. Finally, I was convinced. The incredible was true; no one had ever written a complete history of communism and related events within the South African context. Consequently, the obvious need for a volume of this nature became my motivation, and four years later this book was completed.

Not all persons discussed in these pages are traitors. Many appear to be, because their activities are a part of the ugly story of communism in South Africa. Among these, some were, and still are, knowingly and sincerely dedicated to the total overthrow of the South African Government and the establishment of a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. From their shelters in foreign lands, especially London, they work day and night to accomplish this goal. Others who were involved in the sordid story have over the years been blessed by the good hand of God to acquire more common sense; and they have matured to the extent that their former revolutionary ambitions have been relegated to the realm of foolish and stupid youthful illusions. They now reflect on their former deeds with total shame and regret.

Some of these former captives of the insidious and maniacal doctrines of Marxism-Leninism have now become its bitter foes. The deadly fever, burning for violence, revolution and socialism, no longer inflames their souls. These liberated ones are mentioned in the following pages only because of their former involvement and infatuation with the Marxist monster, not to "dig up the past" or open old wounds long since healed. For those still living, there is no intention of vengefully attempting to remind them of their past crimes, political miscalculations and discordant loyalties. Others could not be described as traitors to South Africa, because they were not citizens and therefore owed no allegiance to the country. Some, especially among the young people, were unwittingly drawn into the Red trap by the mysterious secrecy, the fascinating intrigues, the glorious promises and the manifold machinations of history's most demonstrable but cleverest lie. Lenin allegedly described such people as "useful idiots".

In a document of this nature and length, mistakes will occur. They are simply unavoidable. Much effort has been made to locate and correct them by checking and double checking, and through the addition of explanatory notes. In the use of copyright material, permission was granted with the understanding that it be quoted as it appears in the original sources. I have discovered that some of the sources were loaded with errors. Extra notes have been added in an effort to correct these mistakes.

The reader will also find that some of the photographs are of a poor quality. This has been the result of being buried in various archives, libraries, private files and collections in South Africa, England and Germany. Only minor touching up has been done in order to maintain their originality. Several rare photographs appear in this book of early South African communist leaders, their friends, dupes and party activities. The hundreds of unusual pictures generously interspersed through the 33 chapters are designed to enable readers to "see" the drama as they read about it.

Many present-day South Africans find it impossible to believe that the Red flag once flew over the town halls of Johannesburg and Durban; that in some of the streets of their major cities portraits of the murderers Stalin and Lenin appeared during mass parades; that the hammer and sickle has been displayed on numerous public sites; and that South Africa's early top communist addressed the nation on the SABC. They do not know that a Soviet consulate, swarming with communists, was located in Pretoria, not far from the Union Buildings. Yet, this is only a small part of the untold story that is covered in this book.

I have not written about South African communism from an objective point of view. That is totally impossible. To discuss the good and objectivity of the communist system is tantamount to writing about the benefits of rape or premeditated murder. Genuine positive qualities do not exist in such a hellish, anti-God philosophy. Like terminal cancer and confirmed gangrene, it will finally bring sure death or serious loss. Communism is inimical to all forms of decent human society.

I want to express my appreciation to the photographic departments and libraries of various newspapers and to archives across the country; to the librarians of Cape Town University, Wits University, the University of the Orange Free State, University of South Africa, the Institute for the Study of Marxism at Stellenbosch University, and the Africa Institute of Pretoria; to Carol Leigh, Mark Sandham, Jeremy Hodes and Elsie Minnie of the Strange Memorial Library of Johannesburg; to Mrs M. A. Botha of Pretoria, who was continually helpful in research; to Wilfried Wedde and Eva Meiners of the Social Democratic Archives in Bonn, Germany; to the BBC Hulton Picture Library; to the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings and to W. J. H. Swanepoel and G. H. Bernstein, who must have carried several hundred pounds of old newspapers from the underground archives of the Johannesburg Public Library Newsroom for my perusal. The employees of numerous public libraries have continually assisted me in research, and their courteous co-operation is gratefully acknowledged.

Interviews with retired police officials, authors and others have proven helpful. Sincere thanks to Gerard Ludi, whom I interviewed for over two hours and engaged in numerous phone conversations afterwards, and to General H. J. van den Bergh (retired) for a long interview in which he gave me a full summary of communism during his tenure as head of South Africa's Security Police and Intelligence Service.

Two friends who reviewed this work called my attention to the numerous repetitions they discovered. Many of these were subsequently deleted. Others I have left, feeling they are necessary for the reader to keep clearly in mind events and dates while moving into new chapters. Because this volume covers 130 years of history, it would be extremely difficult for the best of readers to keep in mind how events of, for example, Chapter 2 came to fruition in Chapter 10. Hence, the dull repetitions are designed to assist the reader to carry the line of thought from chapter to chapter. I apologise for these necessary but helpful boredoms, and trust the professionals will not find them too distasteful. In a few other areas I have purposely departed from the standard style of literary presentation. The "ibid"

listing, used in books to refer to a text or section previously cited, has been excluded from this volume. A simpler and more expedient method is employed. A massive bibliography has been carefully compiled for future researchers. In this I have listed the book titles first, instead of the authors' names. More people remember a book by its title than by its writer. All of these changes are a departure from orthodoxy and have been designed to make this lengthy history easier to follow and more appealing to the average reader.

The biggest problem encountered in the hundreds of hours of research and investigation was simply: Who is a communist and who is not? To believe that all communists in South Africa would gladly step forward and identify themselves, in order to be listed in the Government Gazette, is ludicrous, to say the least. Scores of trained, dedicated and well-disciplined Reds, by calculation and predetermined plan, did not enter into "open" party membership. Many of these have never been detected up till now, while others remain secretly active both within South Africa and overseas. There is circumstantial evidence that key positions of strategic importance in South Africa are infiltrated. It would be nothing short of a supernatural miracle if this were not so. The trial of Commodore D. F. Gerhardt and his wife (Chapter 31) illustrates this point.

South African law makes it a highly serious delict to label someone as "a communist" when proof of such an allegation is absent. Suspicion is not proof in the eyes of the law. Herein lies the difficulty in a work of this nature. I have often felt like a man stepping through a landmined field as I have ploughed through the thousands of books, papers, documents, personal files, records and photographs during research. It has been obvious that numerous individuals were Marxist-Leninists, serving the party with their whole heart; yet they were never listed in any official government publication, or proven to be such in any court of law. Some of the most dangerous people in South Africa are not those whose names appear as listed communists in the Government Gazette. Rather, they are those whose names should appear, but don't. It is a curious, but factual, twist of events that even the guilty may find shelter in the laws designed to destroy their evil work.

While researching this book, it was evident that certain people should have been described as "communists", yet the law protects them, even in the "South African police state" they hate so bitterly. On the other hand, some were described as "communists" while it was clear they were simply "dupes", hand-picked to do the dirty work for the masterminds standing in the shadows. This is the most tragic part of the whole ugly story. The shame and anxiety that afterwards pierced the hearts of some of these "puppets" somehow touched my own heart as I have studied and written about their lives. While reading their stories, I have prayed for them many times. May their branded examples serve to awaken others who are being unconsciously seduced by the demons of revolution and socialism.

The conservative Christian appeals and various references to the Almighty, the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Bible found in this book are there by design. The author, being a born-again, conservative Christian, makes no apologies for these statements and only regrets that more of the Bible's message of hope could not have been woven into the narrative. An appeal to South Africans of all race groups to return to the God of Heaven, and for dedicated lives of individual holiness to become the order of the day, is given in the closing chapter. The Devil's curse of Marxism-Leninism will never be finally dealt with apart from divine intervention and without the aid of Almighty God. We must return to God in sincerity and truth. This may be accomplished only through a personal saving experience with the Lord Jesus Christ.

This book is not the product of my hands and labours alone. Several hundred people in

different parts of the world have assisted in this work. Some of these have chosen to remain anonymous and others cannot be mentioned owing to the nature of this history. These silent ones deserve a mighty word of thanks!

My sincere thanks are due to the author and journalist F. R. Metrowich for his invaluable help with the original typescript and for his wise counsel in special areas.

I wish to thank my daughter, Rosemary Moore, who spent hours of her holiday time typing for me. Thanks are also due to Janette McLelland, Lorraine Steytler, Chris Vermaak, Hannah Gordon, Elsa and Adrienne Udeman, who never grew tired of my dozens of phone calls for help; to Dorothy and Anna Jansen, Debbie du Preez, Ed Cain, P. J. de Jager, Tony Diogo, Rev. Mark Grings, Robert Marsh, Mark and Stefani Norman, Rev. Paul Seger, Rev. Zoon Zevenster, Rev. Paul le Roux, Prof. Johann Cooks, June Vincent, Bill Chalmers, Sandra King, Heather Hodgkinson, Stella Baxter, Gerhard van den Bergh, V. W. Woodward, Karel and Yvonne Beyer, W. H. C. Kröger, Dianne and Clive Fletcher, Rev. O. D. Scheuer, Paul Evans, Piet and Dorothy Mostert, who searched Cape Town for old photographs; and to Colleen Morris, Nina Meyer and Doreen Baartman, who tries to help everybody. Sincere thanks to Berna and J. F. Jersich for helping locate photographs and to Peter Spykerman and Denny Cumming, who worked so diligently to produce the beautiful dustjacket.

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My dear wife has been the overshadowing support during the entire period of four years of hard labour put into this work. Her cheerful and constant encouragement and unfailing assistance have kept me going over the course of it all.

And to all those others whose names are not mentioned, I thank you heartily and pray God's blessings on your lives. All of you made this work possible!

The author
Johannesburg 1985

PUBLIC NOTICE

This book is intended primarily for purposes of instruction and education regarding the subject of communism in South Africa and related events. It does not purport to be a definitive, scientific analysis of the movement, loaded with charts, diagrams, percentages, scales and formulas. It is a general history of the movement intended to reach the average man-in-the-street with a mass of documented information, hitherto unpublished in a single volume.

Three major guidelines were observed in compiling this book. First, is the material factual? Second, is it in the educational interest of the general public to present these facts? The third is the most sensitive: I must answer to Almighty God for what I have written. My conscience is clear on all three points.

THE VOICE OF EXPERIENCE

"The world has never before known a godlessness as organized, militarized and tenaciously malevolent as that preached by Marxism. Within the philosophical system of Marx and Lenin and at the heart of their psychology, hatred of God is the principal driving force, more fundamental than all their political and economic pretensions. Militant atheism is not merely incidental or marginal to communist policy; it is not a side effect, but the central pivot. To achieve its diabolical ends, communism needs to control a population devoid of religious and national feeling, and this entails a destruction of faith and nationhood. Communists proclaim both of these objectives openly, and just as openly put them into practice."

Alexander Solzhenitsyn
at Buckingham Palace
May 1983

SUGGESTION TO READERS

Though it will prove a laborious and difficult task, it is imperative that this book only be read in conjunction with the documentation notes at the conclusion of each chapter.

FOREWORD

Throughout much of the 19th Century events occurred that would have devastating effects on multitudes yet unborn. In retrospect, it is abundantly clear that millions, often comprising whole nations, would have fared better, discovered and probably fulfilled their divine purposes in life had certain individuals never seen the light of day. The birth of a child normally brings joy to the parents and close relatives, but occasionally that same child grows up into an insane genius ruthlessly imposing his cruel and heartless ideologies upon the quiet and innocent masses.

Such children were born during the course of the 1800s, thousands of miles from South Africa. The godless philosophies they formulated and embraced were believed and carried by others into the tip of the great African continent.

In the shabby Russian village of Simbirsk, a "quiet school inspector" and his German wife were the parents of a baby boy. That boy was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, born on 22 April 1870. This child, in future years, virtually reshaped the lives of millions under the pseudonym of Lenin, mastermind of Soviet communism.

On 21 December 1879, Yossif V. Dzhugashvili took his first breath in Gorki, Russia. Converting to the doctrines of Marxism while a theological student at Tiflis, he adopted the name Stalin from a stolen passport. He would bathe his own country in human blood.

Leon D. Bronstein, better known as Trotsky, was born in a tiny village near the Ukraine in 1879. Trotsky figured as a prominent leader in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

The famous Bulgarian communist leader, Georgi Dimitrov, was born on 28 June 1882 in Radomire, Bulgaria. He later became a communist of international repute.

Halfway round the globe, a peasant family of Central China received their newly born infant, Mao Tse-tung. The date was 26 December 1893. Mao achieved the infamous distinction of being history's foremost mass murderer.

Prior to the birth of Mao, America's top communist, William Z. Foster, appeared on the stage of human events on 25 February 1881.[1]

All of these men were hypnotised and possessed by the political, social and economic teachings of Karl Marx (born 1818) and Friedrich Engels (born 1820). These teachings became — in time — known as Marxism-Leninism or communism.[2]

The Marxist virus wormed its way deep into the long, dark halls of many imaginations. All of the men just mentioned were seized and possessed by the demon. Thereafter, they spent their lives seeking to impose this ideology upon all mankind. From each came a wild profusion of old and new political thought, all mixed with that "spirit of age", the philosophy of Marxism. This propaganda deluge came in the form of books, papers, tracts, pamphlets and publications of all sorts, couched in powerful

and emotional harangue. The aim was to capture the attention and loyalties of every curious observer. Geographically, Europe and England were the most fertile fields for the earliest propagation of the message according to Marx. It struck root early in these places.[3] A muddy river of names and titles gushed over the political scene. Fabians, socialists, communists, Marxists, anarcho-communists, anarchists, democratic-federationists, Russian socialists, populists and dozens of other appendages and names were quickly seized upon by the varied organizations and movements. Amid this labyrinth of political diversity, by far the most popular ideology (especially with the advent of the 1900s) was that using the simple name Marxism. Its concepts of the "class struggle", "the workers overcoming the bosses", "the blessings of socialism" and the so-called "equality of the new order" were sweet music in the ears of the hard-up working classes. Notably, among the various young trade union groups of England and the Continent, the teachings of Marxism were finding a wholesome reception. Later, it was called Bolshevism.

As different historical events were taking shape within the countries where infant Marxism was finding partial acceptance among the unions and workers, many of the people in these countries pulled up stakes and sailed for other parts of the world. The opening of new frontiers in America, Australia and especially South Africa beckoned scores of these pilgrims. To the faraway tip of the vast African continent, South Africa, came hundreds of these fortune-seekers. In their hands they carried a few tattered suitcases and under their arms a bundle or two of life's only possessions, but firmly fixed in their minds and hearts, they brought into South Africa the first seeds of communism.

Many years before this mass human migration into South Africa, members of Karl Marx's immediate family had been in direct touch with the country or certain of her early personalities. In years to come these events would develop and the Marxist seed would be sown. As proper conditions prevailed, they struck root and pushed their way upwards to form Africa's first communist party. That was the Communist Party of South Africa. Here is the long story of how it happened.

CHAPTER ONE

COMMUNISM'S EARLY ORIGINS IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE SISTER OF KARL MARX

On 5 June 1853, a Dutch attorney, Jan Carel Juta, born on 23 March 1824 in Zalt-Bommel, Netherlands, married the youngest sister of Karl Marx. Her name was Louise. Shortly afterwards this young man contracted to work for the firm Kolff and Company. With his wife he sailed to faraway Cape Town as the company's official representative. In September 1853, Juta bought out Kolff and Company of Cape Town. Soon it became the most prosperous and flourishing book trade in early South Africa.[4] Three daughters and two sons were born to the Jutas.

Between Juta and his brother-in-law, Karl Marx, existed a firm and friendly relationship. Marx wrote to Engels on 14 December 1853 concerning Juta, "a brave and sensible lad is he". In other correspondence he spoke highly of his brother-in-law living in Cape Town, South Africa.

Later, during Marx's self-imposed exile in London, Juta visited him and it is also known that he assisted Marx financially. Through the influence of Juta, Marx secured a job as the London correspondent for the early Cape newspaper, De Zuid-Afrikaan (The South African), which was printed in Juta's shop. This work continued for several years. During this same period, Marx was also writing for the New York Tribune. Oddly enough, Marx's name seemingly never appeared with any of his articles printed in the old Cape newspaper.

Intensive research has been done in an effort to locate some of Marx's articles in De Zuid-Afrikaan. Seemingly, these were always purposely written in a neutral tone, dealing mostly with everyday secular events such as wool prices and the Cape railways. His violent revolutionary theories were concealed during this period as he was in greater need of bourgeois capital than of preaching hate, destruction and socialism. In London, Marx and his family were continually on the brink of physical starvation. According to the authorities professors Riazanov and Rochlin, an article in De Zuid-Afrikaan (6 March 1854) reveals the characteristics of the Marx style. It was an objective and factual report, "void of communist ideology".[5] Regarding other articles by Marx appearing in this newspaper, there is no genuine certainty. But it is certain that Marx did not write in Dutch, thus in the translation of his articles into this language, much of his original style was obviously lost. Hence the difficulty in locating them in De Zuid-Afrikaan. Thus Karl Marx, the founding father of communism, wrote articles for a premier Cape Town newspaper.

MARXISM UNIMPORTANT: JUTA'S WORK

The liberal government of the Cape, in those days, paid no attention to Marx's

Africana Museum

Cape Town as it appeared in 1853, the year of J. C. Juta's arrival

articles and, indeed, it had no reason to, as he carefully avoided mentioning his revolutionary theories and dealt only with topics of normal interest. During this period of history, communism was not the full-grown monster as we see it today. It attracted little attention from world governments and the larger organized political bodies. Its infant ideology was basically adhered to by scattered individuals and unsuspecting workers. Its leadership consisted of the most sordid characters with evil reputations. Proof of its insignificant impact in those early days is seen in the attendance at Marx's funeral in 1883. Only seven people were present! Not until after the First World War did it begin to develop into a powerful, militant force, slowly projecting terror and death across portions of the world.

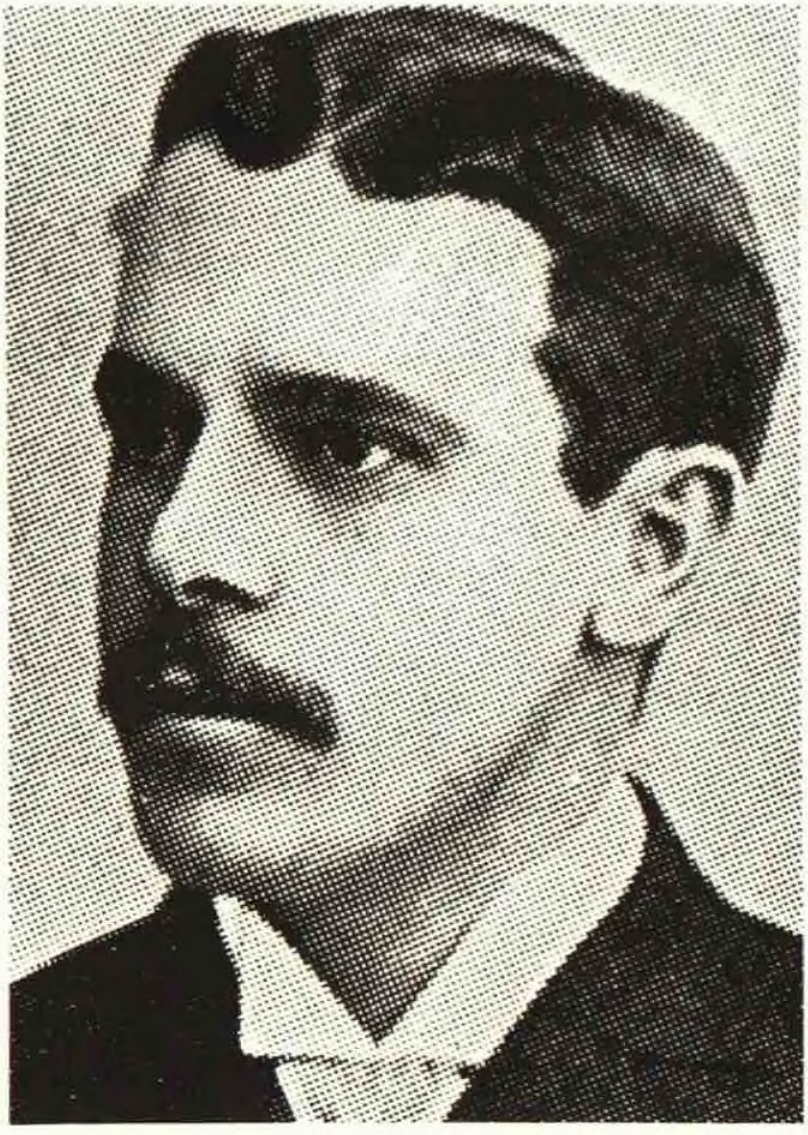
Valid historical proof that Juta was directly sympathetic to Marx's communist philosophy is lacking. One writer does present an interesting piece of information worthy of attention in this regard:

> "In connection with the association between Marx and J.C. Juta, The Publisher (August 1948) mentioned that, 'the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Republic (said they) caused a whole series of original writings by their forerunner (Karl Marx) to be reprinted and published by Juta in faraway Cape of Good Hope'. Unfortunately a complete list of the books that have been published by J.C. Juta throughout the years does not exist as yet. Even after enquiry and thorough investigation at J.C. Juta, a confirmation of the statement of The Publisher could not be found."[6]

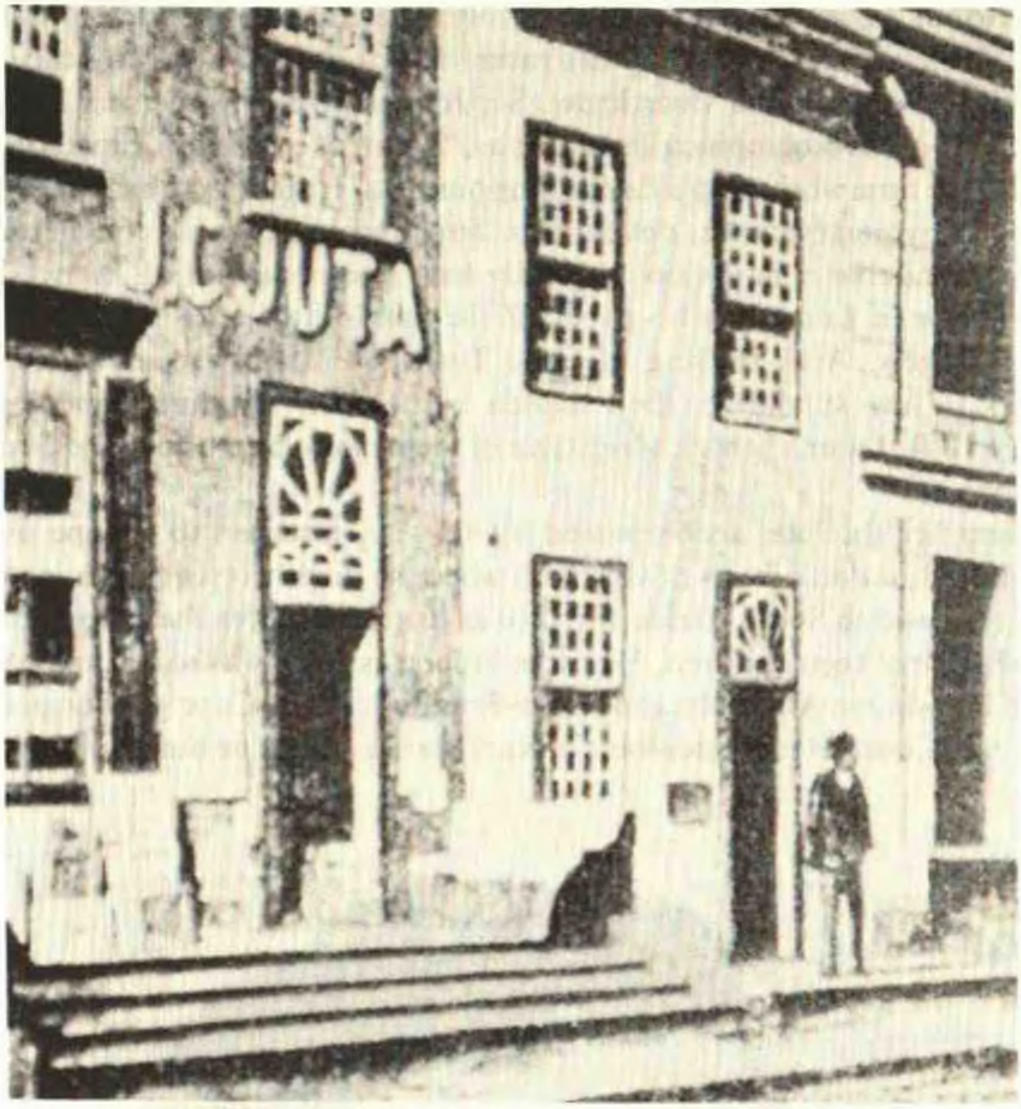
One wonders if the statement issued by the Soviets was true, or simply another example of their propaganda. Nevertheless, Juta and his wife were sympathetic towards Marx and gave him financial support. There appears to be no reason why he would not have contracted to publish the works, as listed by the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Republic. Publishing was his business. He even published the historically famous Cape Children's Bible by Professor John Murray, plus a large variety of books

and the South Africa Law Reports. Possibly, the support rendered to Marx by Juta came from the affection of family ties rather than a desire to promote the doctrine of communist revolution and overthrow. Sir John Kotze, who personally knew Juta, writes of him in his biographical memoirs as, "a man of education, capacity and strong will, he in due time worked up a flourishing business. He left us an example of what can be achieved by perseverance, devotion to duty and honourable commercial effort." Such commendable remarks could hardly have been made of his "unwashed, lazy" brother-in-law in London, who lived off the handouts of his rich capitalist friend, Friedrich Engels. After settling in Cape Town, the Jutas became members of the N.G. Kerk. They submitted their Dutch certificates of church membership on 5 January 1854. Later, their children (five of them) were baptized in the Groote Kerk, Cape Town.

In failing health, Juta, accompanied by his wife, returned to Europe in 1884 and settled in the London suburb of Chiswick where he died two years later in April 1886. His wife returned to South Africa and died at Rondebosch, in the Cape Province, on 3 July 1893. One of their children, Henricus Hubertus Juta, was to become a Speaker of the Cape Legislative Assembly and Judge-President of the Cape provincial division of the Supreme Court. Hence, members of Karl Marx's family lie buried in South African soil.



J. C. Juta, Karl Marx's brother-in-law



C. F. Albertyn - Stellenbosch

Juta's first shop in Cape Town in 1854

It is indeed ironic that the little country of South Africa, which is involved in a life-and-death struggle with communism in this century, was in the previous century, in a rather personal and family way, involved with Karl Marx, the father of communism. In those days, such contacts caused no concern whatsoever — they were hardly noticed. Such open contacts with communist leaders today would cause a sensation of international scope. The early South African contacts with Marx and his family did not end with J. C. Juta and his wife; they continued with another member of Marx's family, his daughter Eleanor.

MARX'S DAUGHTER MEETS A SOUTH AFRICAN

The youngest of Karl Marx's children, Eleanor, was born in London in 1855. Her father taught her at an early age to participate in political discussions. In 1872, at the age of seventeen, Eleanor fell in love with a thirty-four-year-old French journalist named Prosper O. Lissagary. Marx opposed the affair with all his power. Ten bitter years later, Eleanor ended the long engagement to Lissagary. This traumatic event left a permanent scar on her life.

With the death of Marx on 14 March 1883, Eleanor was freed from her father's stern command. Shortly afterward she became involved with a notorious atheistic lecturer, socialist and social dropout named Dr. Edward Aveling. Though he was married and unable to obtain a divorce, Eleanor moved in with him and they lived openly together.

De Zuid-Afrikaan.

DEEL XXIV. MAANDAG DEN 6 MAART 1854. No. 1901.

Nieuwe Goederen, Per "MAURITIUS."

WILLIAM GREIG & CO.

Nieuwe Goederen Per Stoomboot Mauritius & Boyne.

PRESSOA SELIGMANN

Uitgebreide Aankomst Per "BOYNE."

NIEUWE GEWAARWORDING

J. SPYKER,

PROFESSOR HOLLOWAY PILLEN,

Cape Town Library

This 1854 copy of De Zuid-Afrikaan carried an article written by Marx

The descriptions given of Aveling by various historians are indeed shocking. Terms such as "a shameless seducer, untrustworthy and evil creature, a complete lack of moral scruples and even ordinary honesty" were used.[7] In fact, he was so unscrupulous that the British Fabians (who shared his political views at that time) refused to have anything to do with him. One writer described Aveling in this strong language: "A perverted character and a criminal."[8]

He was the lover of the broken and disillusioned daughter of Marx. Finally, after fourteen years of this adulterous relationship and forty-three years of confused life, Eleanor took cyanide, leaving a brief suicide note.

During a portion of her lifetime Eleanor developed an intimate friendship with a very famous South African. This was the writer Olive Schreiner. Born of missionary parents on 24 March 1855, she became the most outstanding creative writer in South African history. Her unique talents are probably unparalleled in South African literary history up to the present time. It comes as a rude shock to many South Africans to learn that the top communists of the country have claimed Schreiner as one of their own!

Her first contacts with the poison of Marxist socialism probably occurred when she made her first trip to London in 1881. There, for the next seven or eight years, she met and made friends with many of the wrong people, the most notable being Havelock Ellis and Marx's daughter Eleanor.

SCHREINER, MARX'S DAUGHTER AND ELLIS

One author states: "Olive had met her (Eleanor Marx) in the spring of 1882 and the two emotional women soon became close friends."[9] She often spoke of her "associations with Eleanor, Karl Marx's daughter with whom she sometimes stayed, and said what a lovable

L. S.

Jan Karel Juta

ZALT-BOMMEL,

N.G.K. Centre - Cape Town

Juta's church certificate brought from Zalt-Bommel, dated 1853

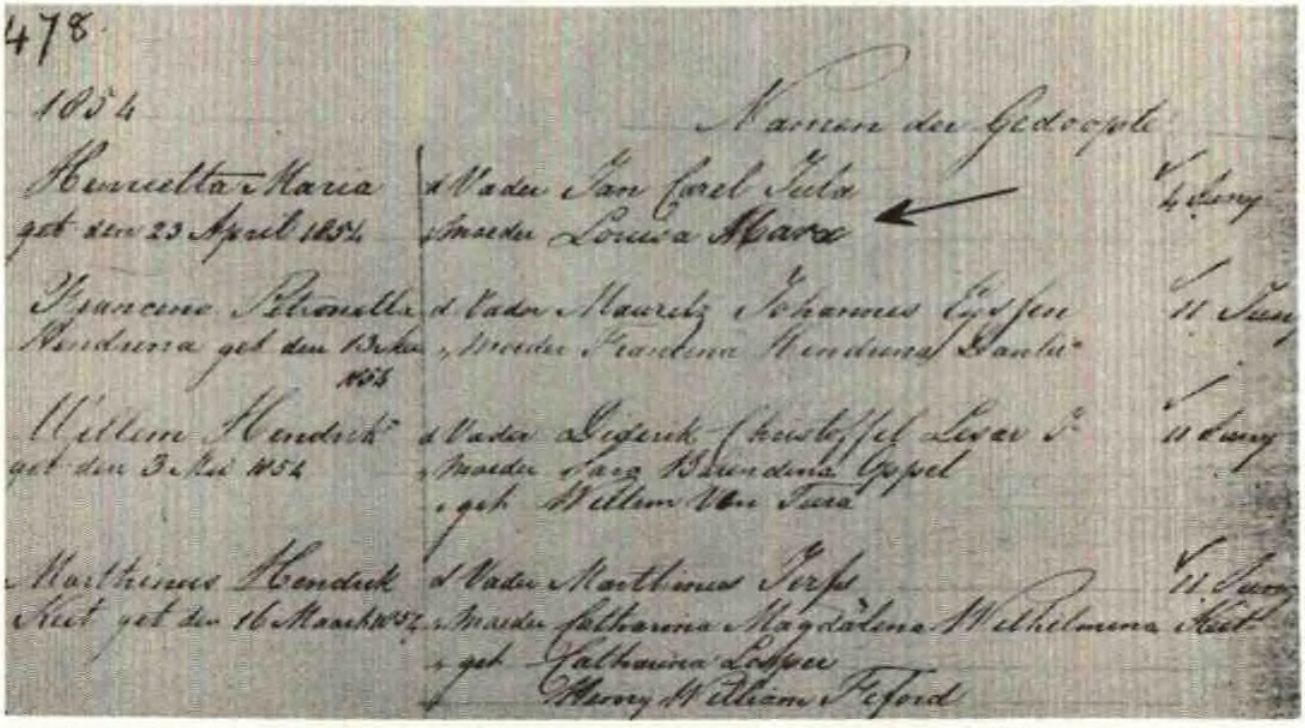
character she was."[10] It was during her visits with Eleanor that she met the vile Havelock Ellis. At the time, she was living at Fitzroy Street, near her friend Eleanor, who was already living with Dr. Aveling. Her early inhibitions towards the scruffy Ellis soon vanished.[11] They entered into what Ellis later described as a non-technical love affair! Totally apart from Schreiner's marvellous talent as a writer and the fame of her books, it remains a fact that her morals began to sink while in London. They were becoming compatible with the "spirit of that age" (and this one as well!). This is revealed in her own letters. Of the sex maniac Ellis, she wrote these startling, if not blasphemous, words regarding his naked body:

> "(His) nude form was like that of Christ in the carpenter's shop in Holman Hunt's 'Shadow of the Cross'."[12]

Pfarrer

N.G.K. Centre - Cape Town

Confirmation certificate of Marx's sister, Louise Juta



N.G.K. Centre - Cape Town

Louise's baptismal certificate, discovered in the Dutch Reformed Church archives in Cape Town

Schreiner would frequently manifest a form of exhibitionism. Vincent Broom wrote of her: "Olive would stride quite naked into a room where Ellis sat reading . . ."[13] Too vile to put into ethical print are some of the antics of Schreiner and Ellis mentioned in Ellis's own biography.[14] This sort of depravity is clearly understood from Ellis's opinion of holy marriage as "a more fashionable form of prostitution". We also read

that he "expressed scorn for current morality."[15] Similar to Eleanor and her lover, Schreiner and Ellis cohabited spasmodically for a time. They were unmarried. But by 1885 things went sour.

She also had contact with another daughter of Marx, Laura. She had married a quack medical practitioner named Paul Lafargue, who was part black. Marx and his wife continually ridiculed and sneered at Lafargue for this racial mixture, calling him all kinds of contemptible names. He was an object of scorn. (This is interesting in view of the present-day Marxist claim to be opposed to, and fighting, all forms of racism.) Like her sister Eleanor, Laura and her husband died in a suicide pact by injecting potassium cyanide into their bodies. Schreiner was aware of their tragic end. It should be noted that both of Marx's daughters with whom Schreiner had contact subscribed to his political ideology. Eleanor would even take part in debates and discussions, arguing for her father's political belief with fierce ability.

Hulton Picture Library

Eleanor Marx, close friend of Olive Schreiner, is seen with the German socialist Wilhelm Liebknecht

Schreiner's friendship with Eleanor Marx and her affair with Ellis apparently brought her under the influence of the communist thought of those days. Schreiner and Ellis both became involved in the radical socialist organizations known as the Progressive Association and New Life.[16] In the atmosphere of these revolutionary organizations such subjects as socialism, communism, anarchy, revolution, violence, prostitution, sex, capitalism, marriage, free love and countless other topics were openly and freely discussed. It seems logical to conclude that during that time Schreiner was infected by the diabolic virus that gradually influenced her morals and her life. Her "companion", the wretched Ellis, like Dr. Aveling, was such a scoundrel that he also proved too much for the Fabian socialists of that day. He has been described as a

> "harbinger of free love and forthright sexual discussion, whose impact on the morals of young intellectuals in his own time would prove similar to that of Freud after World War I. Leaders of the Fabian Society at a later date viewed Ellis uneasily as a threat to that image of respectability which was to prove their most highly prized asset."[17]

Social Democratic Archives - Bonn

The depraved Dr. Edward Aveling

But Schreiner's earliest contacts with the infant communist doctrine of those days were not altogether convincing. Writing to Ellis from the Edinburgh Hotel, in a letter dated 2 May 1884, she states:

"I like the New Life (the radical organization she and Ellis often attended)... my feeling about socialism is exactly yours. I sympathise with it, but when I see the works and aims of the men who are working for it in London, my heart sinks."[18]

Whatever doubts Schreiner entertained in those days were swept aside in later years. Some 12 months before her death she wrote: "A greater genius than Lenin has not appeared in these last 100 years — unless it was Karl Marx."[19] If this is not open identification with those two monsters of history, then words mean nothing. Certain academics have struggled with these facts regarding Schreiner. They cannot bear the thought that such a literary genius could possibly espouse the Marxist philosophy of those days. Her words quoted above are explained away by stating that she, after reading the political writings of her time, was stressing that greatness had moved from the fields of art and writing to politics and science. But Schreiner was not speaking of systems and science, but of persons. She believed in the "greatness" of Marx and Lenin and said so. This letter was written in late 1919, a year before her death in December the following year. Regarding her religious faith, it is curious to note that she referred to

Hulton Picture Library

The beautiful Olive Schreiner has been claimed by South African communists as one of their own

Almighty God by the pronoun "it" when making her famous statement, "There is NOTHING but God."[20] Our loving Heavenly Father is hardly an "it"!

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS CLAIM SCHREINER

The late South African communist, Michael Harmel, wrote many words in praise and admiration of Schreiner. He spoke of her as being bitterly opposed to the war of intervention against the Soviet Union; he added that she welcomed the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, fought for women's rights, was opposed to racism, Cecil Rhodes's empire and hated war and capitalism. She is described as a social revolutionary who, in a Cape Town meeting in 1906, spoke of Karl Marx in words of the highest praise and admiration. Harmel was a top South African communist and wrote with final authority for the party. It is indeed curious, and revealing, that in 1955, communist Harmel lamented the fact that no special postage stamps had ever been printed to commemorate a person such as Schreiner.[21] Such lamentation ceased when, in early 1984, a stamp was released in South Africa bearing the portrait of Schreiner.

A communist party publication from England describes Schreiner as a pioneer socialist and mentions her various praises for the early communist cause in Russia.[22]

When South Africa's most outstanding early, and long-time, communist leader Bill Andrews was speaking at a meeting in London (1917), we read that

> "Andrews had the pleasure of meeting the great South African novelist, Olive Schreiner, who was a communist and an ardent admirer of the Russian revolution".

This document states bluntly that Schreiner "was a communist".[23] This was only four years before the party was officially organized in South Africa and three years before Schreiner's death.

The late moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, Dr. J.D. Vorster, also wrote of Schreiner's communist connections.[24]

When the Marxist-aligned Social Democratic Federation of Cape Town was founded in the early 1900s, Schreiner sent this hysterical socialist organization a personal message. In it she spoke of the communist uprisings then taking place in Russia as the greatest event that had taken place in the last century.[25] This same Cape Town organization soon created a group called International Debating Society. During one of their public debates on the question of socialism, we read that both Schreiner and her husband, who at that time was a member of Parliament, were present for the occasion.

> "At the outset the chairman ruled that Christianity be no part of the discussion..."[26]

We read in the document that, following the meeting, W.H. Harrison, chairman of the federation, introduced Schreiner to their "impressive orator", an Australian socialist named Wilson-Wilson. It is interesting that Christianity was ruled out of the debate.

Harrison a few years later became a leading officer in the newly founded Communist Party of South Africa. He knew both Schreiner and her husband, and wrote of him: "Cronwright-Schreiner... was an avowed socialist."[27]

He added that Olive's husband "preached socialism to the people of De Aar, a small town where they lived in the Cape Colony".[28] The cancer of Marxist socialism seems to have run in the family.

During the centenary of Schreiner's birthday in 1955, one of South Africa's leading communist newspapers, New Age (now banned), carried articles for almost two months praising the female social revolutionary.

Hutchinson & Co

The sex maniac Havelock Ellis, rejected even by the radical Fabian socialists

SCHREINER'S IMPACT ON EARLY SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISM

The genius of Olive Schreiner is not reflected in the ideology of the infant Marxism of her day; it is to be found only in the literary field. Even though there is very solid evidence of her sympathies with the Marxist, revolutionary socialists of her day, backed by her public praise for the evil Karl Marx and the murderer Lenin,[29] she made no profound impact for communism herself during her lifetime. Her "great" accomplishments for it are non-existent.

It is clear that South African communists have traded on her name and fame to enhance their godless cause. It is beyond contradiction that top South African communists such as William H. Andrews, W.H. Harrison, Michael Harmel, and even the popular late Ruth First,[20] wife of KGB Colonel Joe Slovo, have all sung the praises of Schreiner and have identified her with their cause in the early days of communism in South Africa. Their claims are basically justified. But since there was no officially organized party until July 1921, and since communism as an ideology was not yet totally formalized in her day, Olive Schreiner became a member of that vast army of misguided souls who have believed portions of the big lie and on occasions she spoke out for it. However, her public appearances before crowds were few in number. It is sorely disappointing to read of her base moral life and the political scum with whom she often verbally and publicly identified herself in London and Cape Town.

Though these facts will be explained away as "proving guilt by association", it nevertheless remains a time-proven truth that all men and women seek out their own kind. Olive Schreiner did what we all are doing; she lived, laughed, loved and died amid her own kind. So shall we!

The extent of her political misjudgments are again clearly reflected in her well-worded praise of the wild British socialist lecturer, Keir Hardie, who visited South Africa in 1908 as a guest of the Social Democratic Federation. Hardie visited Schreiner on one occasion, and afterwards she held him forth as an example of political stability and methodology.[31] Hardie came to South Africa during the revival of socialism at the turn of the century and preached his message of Marxism. (See chapter 5 and the third paragraph under the heading, The Independent Labour Party of 1905.)

The greatness of Olive Schreiner's unique ability as a writer is unshakeable. Her greatness otherwise is shot through with doubts. The generally accepted and popularised notion created by the humanistic academics of Western society and their unquestioning devotees that "greatness" normally and naturally embraces varied forms of gross immorality, is a vicious untruth. It is not a mark of academic excellence to glorify and extol history's proven political lunatics and mass murderers; a perverted and basically anti-Christ interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; a God who is subject to the sins and uncontrolled passions of the human race; a love of evil and evil love, even calling wrong right and right wrong, which often includes a literary and academic glorification of sin. It is a view of life which has wrecked untold lives and damned as many souls. At times some of those brave enough to oppose this unsavoury falsehood have found themselves socially ostracized, accused of "wresting from the context" and of promoting "Victorian standards" that are no longer applicable in today's modern and enlightened society. Yet, over the centuries, Western society has produced numerous great men and women who, in exercising their considerable talents in the fields of science, medicine, the arts, politics and other professions, simultaneously manifested dignity and true greatness on the moral, spiritual and physical levels. To be "great" does not carry with it the lie that one must at the same time be a worm, slithering in passion, political poison, pseudo-liberalism and pride. Truly great people are great at all levels of human existence. There are no exceptions.

Olive Schreiner, the creative literary genius of South African history, passed into eternity on 10 December 1920. She was buried not far from Cape Town.[32] Her body was later re-interred at Buffelskop in the Karoo.

Mr. W.T. Stead wrote a commemorative article for a Johannesburg newspaper on the occasion of her death. In it he said she had been "like Moses descending from the Mount with the book of the Law in his hands".[33] The comparison is odious. There are two major differences: Moses had his clothes on, and carried in his hands the commandments of Almighty God, of which the seventh explicitly states: "Thou shalt not commit adultery" (Exodus 20:14). Schreiner seems to have had difficulties complying with both of these standards.

DOCUMENTATION FOR FOREWORD AND CHAPTER ONE

1. *A Century of World Communism*
   Barron's Education Series, Inc., New York 1970
   By George J. Prpic, pp.1-23

2. After Lenin came to power in Russia (1917-1918) the theories of Marx were united to the violent revolutionary ideals of Lenin. From this union, we have the choice communist term, Marxism-Leninism. One writer describes it with these apt words: "Stripped to its barest essentials, Marxism is the doctrine of the universality of class warfare and Leninism is the doctrine of the universal role of the communist party to consummate the universal class war in world communist victory."
   (You can trust the Communists (to be Communists)
   Long Beach, California, USA, 1972
   By Dr. Fred Schwarz, pp. 2-3

   This stance never changed over the years of communism's existence. The Cuban publication, *Gramma*, May 2 1982, confirms this with a long eulogy for Lenin on the memorial celebration of his 112th birthday. It reads in part: "Lenin updated, advanced and developed the work of Marx and Engels; he enriched Marxism with a series of important theses that opened a new stage in the development of Marxist theory." (See note number 19, under documentation for chapter 2)

3. The German Communist Party was founded on 31 December 1918; the American Communist Party on 1 September 1919; the Communist Party of England on 31 July 1920; and the Australian Communist Party on 30 October 1920. By 1927, the French Communist Party boasted of 56 000 members and Czechoslovakia of 140 000. The New Zealand group was founded in December 1920, that of China in mid-1921 and Japan's Communist Party was established in July 1922. Most of the world's communist movements were formed in the early 1900s.

4. "Jan Carel Juta was founder of the publishing firm J.C. Juta and company. His wife was a sister of Karl Marx who exercised tremendous influence on socialist and communist movements." (From a typed manuscript, *The Juta Family*, by Thalman Juta, dated 2 March 1956, in Strange Memorial Library, Johannesburg.) *Standard Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, Vol. 6 1972, p. 255, carries a brief article on Juta.

5. *Antikom*
   Pretoria, January-March 1982
   Article by Dr. J.D. Vorster, p. 1
   See also *Afrikaner Notes and News*
   December 1944
   Article by Professor S.A. Rochlin, pp. 1-2

6. First document of number 5, p. 2

7. *Karl Marx, Racist*
   Arlington House, New York 1979
   By Nathaniel Weyl, pp. 264-265

8. *Friedrich Engels*
   Howard Tertig Inc., New York 1969
   By Gustav Mayer, pp. 273, 294

9. *Havelock Ellis, A Biography*
   Allen Lane, London 1980
   By Phyllis Grosskurth, p. 108

10. Number 18 below, p. 14

11. Number 13 below, pp. 47-48

12. *My Life – 1967*
William Heinemann Ltd., London 1940
By Havelock Ellis, p. 80

13. *Havelock Ellis, Philosopher of Sex*
Routledge and Kegal Paul, London 1979
A Biography by Vincent Broom, pp. 62, 112
See number 12, p. 185 and number 30, p. 136 for more on Schreiner's "naked appearances".

14. Number 9, pp. 86-92
For Schreiner's interpretation of sex, see her bewildering statements in number 30, pp. 19, 131-132, 290-296

15. Number 9, p. 229

16. See indexes of number 9, 12, 13, 18, 20, 21 and 30 for listings of all the organizations attended by Ellis and Schreiner.

17. *The Fabian Freeway*
Western Island, Belmont, USA 1966
By Rose L. Martin, p. 12
This publication says of Ellis that his name was removed from the list of original signatories of the Fabian credo, owing to his debased and sorry character.

18. *The Letters of Olive Schreiner – 1876-1920*
Published by T. Fischer Unwin, London 1924
By S.C. Cronwright-Schreiner pp.17-18

19. Number 18, p. 363
See number 30, p. 253 for more praise of Marx.

20. *Not Without Honour*
Hutchinson and Company, London 1949
By Vera Buchanan-Gould, pp. 105-106
For Schreiner's version of the Christian faith, see number 30, pp.52-59, 339

21. *Olive Schreiner 1855-1955*
Real Printing Company, Cape Town 1955
By Michael Harmel. This is a 12 pp. booklet.
(Located in Strange Memorial Library, S. Pam. 920 Schreiner)

22. See *Fifty Fighting Years*
Inkululeko Publications, London 1971
By A. Lerumo (a communist codename meaning "a teacher") pp. 29, 33

23. *Comrade Bill: Life and Times of W.H. Andrews, Workers' Leader*
Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
By R.K. Cope, p. 191
(Hereafter referred to as *Comrade Bill)*

24. First documentation of number 5, pp. 1-2

25. Number 22, p. 33
For more on "Schreiner's message", see number 30 below, p. 23

26. *Memoirs of a Socialist in South Africa, 1903-1947*
Stewart Printing Company n.d.
By W.H. Harrison, pp. 12-13

27. Number 26, p. 14

28. Number 26, p. 14

29. The leading South African newspaper *The Cape Times* continually printed articles

regarding the heinous atrocities being perpetrated by Lenin and his Bolsheviks. (See documentation note number 14 under chapter 7 for several examples of this reporting)

30. *Olive Schreiner*
    Andre Deutsch, London 1980
    A Biography by Ruth First & Ann Scott
31. See number 30, p. 254, for Schreiner's praise of Hardie.
32. For a reasonable, but brief review of the circumstances of her death see number 20, p. 237
33. *The Star*, 11 December 1920

CHAPTER TWO

DIAMONDS, GOLD AND COMMUNISM

EARLY DIAMOND DISCOVERIES

For centuries, untouched riches lay deep in the earth of South Africa. These could only be found by digging. But alluvial diamonds and gold scattered across the open veld and along certain river banks had been ridden over by missionaries and travelling pedlars, trampled into the turfs of grass by thirsty cattle, picked up by ostriches, played with by black children (and later whites) and kicked aside by black feet or by the Boer's leather home-made shoes. This changed.

An Afrikaans lad named Erasmus Stephanus Jacobs (born on 23 October 1851) had been sent by his father to clear a water-pipe a short distance from the family homestead. Sitting under the covering shade of a large tree, about two hundred yards from the banks of the Orange River, he suddenly noticed something sparkling in the reflections of the hot sun. Retrieving the dusty stone, he carried it home as a gift for his baby sister. Later, this now neglected plaything passed into the hands of Mr van Niekerk, a nearby neighbour of the Jacobs'. After some years, this child's gift led to the discovery of diamonds in South Africa. This "toy" was later sold for £500 to the governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Philip Wodehouse.[1] Immediately, this news spurred others into a frantic search for more precious stones along the river banks and in the open veld. However, little came of the efforts of these diamond hunters. The old Boers shrugged their shoulders and went back to the hard task of farming. They were too practical for such time-wasting enterprises.

Some years later (March 1869), the diamond business boomed when an African shepherd boy picked up a huge stone and carried it to Mr van Niekerk, who by this time had gained a popular reputation as an evaluator of stones. A short time later, Van Niekerk sold this stone for the fabulous sum of over £10 000.[2]

THOUSANDS OF FOREIGNERS FLOCK TO KIMBERLEY

The country buzzed with this staggering news. Prospecting parties were organized in most towns across South Africa. Over the country, the treks began. Long covered wagons creaked and rolled inland. Diggers swarmed the countryside. Close behind, from overseas, the first diggers, prospectors and fortune-hunters poured into South Africa. In about 1870, diamonds were unearthed in what is today called Kimberley. Word of this discovery spread to England and over into the troubled continent of Europe, causing hundreds to set sail for South Africa.

Among the foreigners entering South Africa in search of the precious stones were people from every walk of life. Gamblers, butchers, bakers, sailors, tailors, lawyers, blacksmiths, masons, doctors, carpenters, traders, clerks, sextons, labourers, loafers,

thugs, thieves, murderers, prostitutes, dancing girls, musicians, missionaries, clergymen — and Marxists.

A large number consisted of honest, hard-working people seeking a new and better life. Many were experienced artisans and workmen from the industrial areas of Britain and Europe. They were already familiar with the idea of trade unions, supposedly organized to protect the workers from abuse and exploitation.

> "Trade unionism was another innovation brought to South Africa through the diamond fields. Though small craft unions, including those of printers, were previously in existence, a new type of socially conscious workman had come not only from Britain, but also from the Continent and the United States."[3]

In time much of this "social consciousness" became Marxist-orientated. From it, the seeds of early Marxism were scattered. Marxism, as known in England and the Continent, was principally transported to the southern tip of Africa by these people. In time, it would take deep root.

By 1871, Kimberley had grown to a bursting population of about 50 000.[4] Americans, Englishmen, Irishmen, Scots, Germans, Poles, Australians and Jews from a Marxist-troubled Eastern Europe were forming a type of international community at Kimberley. A few years later (1875), South Africa's first stock exchange made its debut in this diamond centre of the world.

> "By the beginning of 1883, Kimberley could claim many important 'firsts' in South African history. It... was the first South African town to have its streets lit by electricity on 1 September 1882. To many, its glitter and enterprise symbolised South Africa's entry into the modern world."[5]

Cape Archives - No. VA4324

An artist's impression of early Kimberley and the harsh conditions existing among the workers

A year later, in 1884, it was destined to chalk up another first. The first partially Marxist-inspired riot, leading to death and bloodshed in South Africa, occurred in Kimberley. It is discussed in detail in the following chapter.

These "firsts" drew international attention to South Africa. The philosophies of communism found new and opened doors into the land. They began to strike root among the masses gathered at Kimberley. Hardly a dozen years later, a second discovery, this time of the world's greatest goldfields in the Transvaal, produced a repetition of the phenomenon of Kimberley, this time on a scale unheard of in the history of South Africa. This attracted even more radicals into the country. Some of the early Marxists stopped off in Cape Town and remained there to spread their socialistic ideology.

Africana Museum

Thousands of overseas fortune-seekers flocked to Kimberley to labour in the mines

THE TRANSVAAL GOLDFIELDS AND MARXISM

The frontier community of the Transvaal in the 1850s seemed an unlikely place for an explosion of international sensation and for infant communist thought to strike its deepest roots in South Africa. A young frontier of about 100 000 square miles, inhabited only by wild beasts and a population of about 600, the Transvaal lay like a sleeping giant. In the notebook of an early German traveller we read this description of its inhabitants:

> "Tall, powerful and capable of almost any exertion, these Boers are in the main straightforward, simple and God-fearing and hospitable, but distrustful and prejudiced against anything foreign,

particularly against anything English . . . they exercise great hospitality. Their houses are solid and strongly built . . . of very modest appearance."[6]

In coming years, this quiet simplicity was to be shattered. Sporadic discoveries of gold were reported from the Transvaal over the next fifteen years. Few were of any significance. Optimistic diggers tried their luck across various portions of the Transvaal, only to suffer disappointment. Some even worked the grounds. On 7 October 1854, Pieter Jacob Marais, a young South African seasoned by experience in the American goldfields, recorded in his diary, "found a few specks of gold in the Crocodile River". Many of these disappointed prospectors were walking over the richest gold deposits on earth due to be discovered a few years later. Gold was discovered in the Eastern Transvaal in 1882. Two diggers, Jones and Jeffries, discovered gold in 1883 in the Pioneer Reef. By this time, the whole Transvaal was hot with "gold fever". Hundreds of prospectors arrived and new strike claims were being made almost daily. The Reef was swarming with gold-seekers.

GOLD DISCOVERED ON THE REEF

On a warm Sunday afternoon in February 1886, George Walker strolled over the veld from Wilgespruit to Langlaagte to call on an old friend and namesake. In the tall grass, he accidentally stumbled on a bare stone projecting above the earth's surface. Fetching his pans and tools, he took a small sample, mixed it with water and, waving it in the typical circular motion, his eyes bulged from his head. He saw gold! This simple discovery marked the finding of the world's greatest gold deposits, the Main Reef. The publication Volkstem, 28 June 1886, carried the news: "Splendid reefs have been discovered in the Highveld between Klip River and Witwatersrand." In the next few months, the Reef became a swarming, human ant-hill. As in former years in Kimberley, the word went out to England, America, Australia and Europe: "Gold discovered in the Transvaal." A second tidal wave of humanity poured into South Africa.

In the 1890s, the South African coastal ports at the Cape and in Natal were linked by inland rail to Johannesburg and the goldfields. An alien population was thus speedily transported into the various inland major mining areas. On one of these lines, South Africa's most prominent early communist was to travel to Johannesburg in 1883. He was William Henry Andrews. Among the influx of strangers and foreigners were those bringing with them firm beliefs in the doctrines of Marx and various revolutionary dogmas. More unionists arrived, more experienced revolutionists, political fighters and socialists of varying kinds. Hence, the revolutionary thoughts of the middle and late 1800s were now finding their way into the land of South Africa. In time the seeds of communism were planted; the embryo would slowly form and, in coming years, the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) was born. Basically, these are the early events that brought the Red scourge into South Africa.

CONDITIONS, CONFLICTS AND COMMUNISTS

Due to the mass entrance into the country of thousands of people from different parts of the globe in search of diamonds and gold, manifold problems of every

conceivable nature came to the fore, especially in the larger centres: Wage disputes, fights, regular quarrels and killings, theft, deplorable living conditions, disease, gambling, drunkenness and prostitution, to name a few.

As more fortune-seekers moved into the newly formed industrial areas, conditions only worsened. Adding to this, dark clouds of pending conflict hung low over the country as relations between the Afrikaner and the British gradually deteriorated. Soon they would explode into the Anglo-Boer War.

Moving daily amid these conditions, the Marxist-inclined, radical unionists and capitalist haters found themselves in a fertile field prepared to receive the seeds of their socialistic doctrine. They began to occupy themselves in organizing and implementing various strategies "designed to bring relief to the suffering workers". Soon these Marxists and a wide variety of left-wing radical unionists began winning sympathy and support from the unwary workers. History confirms that the plight of the average worker was, indeed, shocking in those early days.

A professor in business economics put the workers' case this way:

> "Economic, social and psychological security are the basic needs of the workers. These needs are best catered for by an organization having the backing of workers in a specific field, representing them at different levels, and which, with the power of collectivity behind it, is able to press for more advantages and beneficial terms of employment."[7]

Though the understanding of these essentials was not so much a part of the "social consciousness" of those early days in South African history and surely not as clearly articulated, conditions were nevertheless appalling. Soon the workers looked about for someone to help. The capitalist bosses offered little assistance.

Africana Museum

The discovery of gold lured thousands to the Reef. Among these gold seekers in Johannesburg were South Africa's early Marxists

Into these ideal situations moved the cunning Marxist. He saw them ripe for the implementation of the principles of the "class struggle" and the "conflict of the historical dialectic". The weary and disgruntled workers became the front-line soldiers in the struggle against the capitalist bosses and governments. Soon the boom centres of South Africa found themselves being torn by periodic strife, upheavals, strikes and turmoil.[8] It all started with the unions and rabble-rousers from overseas. Poor conditions among the workers became grounds for conflicts, and conflicts produced the ideal situations for the work of would-be professional agitators. When there were no grounds for agitation, the early Marxist would attempt to produce them.

TRADE UNIONS AND MARXISTS

The first organized union in South Africa, as far as the record positively shows, was the Carpenters' and Joiners' Society, established in Cape Town on 23 December 1881. Its secretary was A. Copeland. This was a branch of a British group known as the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. One writer put it in these clear words:

> "It can scarcely be disputed that the industrial labour movement in South Africa originated as an offshoot of British trade unionism..."[9]

Other branches of the same group were later formed in Durban and Johannesburg. Scrappy bits of history suggest that union groups of sorts might have been formed as "far back as 1838 within the printing industry of early South Africa".[10] However, from 1881 onwards, unions began to spring up across the country. There was the Durban Typographical Society of May 1888, and the Witwatersrand Mining Employees' and Mechanics' Union of 1892. In 1896, two groups appeared, the South African Engine Drivers' Association and the Ironmoulders' Society. The Witwatersrand Tailors' Association (known today as the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa) was formed in 1896. After the turn of the century, the Transvaal Miners' Association was formed in 1902 and others followed. Many of these became channels for socialism, unrest, violence and bloodshed, as we shall see later.

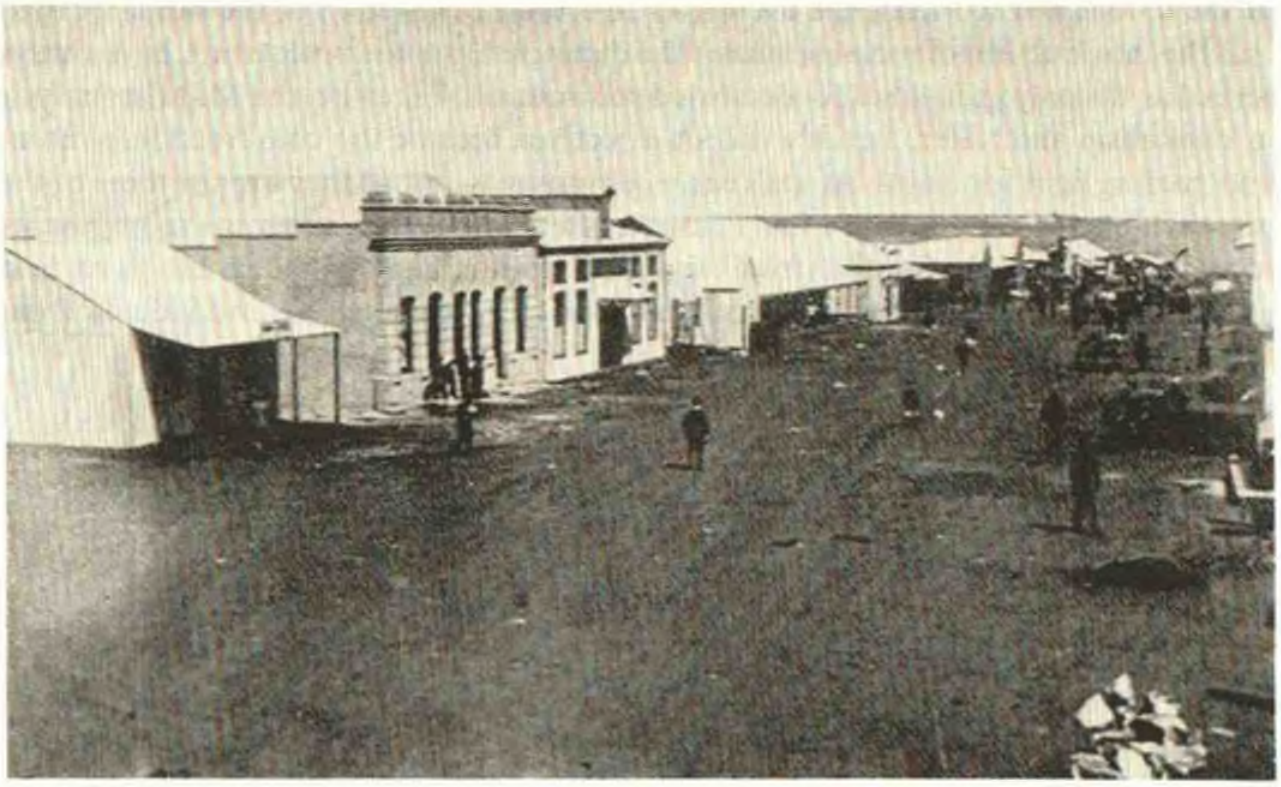
Some of South Africa's unions in their early forms have been described in these terms:

> "Among some... of the workers, organizations often had to exist as a secret club, with fearful oaths and often fanatical initiation rites. Although they were not recognized by the employers, many trade unions directed their attention to more radical methods of improving the lot of their members than the seemingly hopeless process of bargaining."[11]

Another writer speaks of the "influence of left-wing trade unionists... and strikes that frequently occurred under their leadership".[12] In seeking to reach the workers for the cause of socialism these early unionists learned to follow the dictates being laid down by the founders of the ideology. Marx, Engels and later Lenin all understood from the beginning the importance of the working class and reaching them to further communism's aims. Indeed, their basic communist doctrine was built round the working class and the so-called "glorious liberation" that will be experienced under socialism, after the total destruction of the capitalist system.

COMMUNIST STATEMENTS REGARDING UNIONS

As far back as the mid-1850s, Marx stated: "The value of the unions lies in the fact that they make the workers class conscious and organize and train them for the revolution."[13] Two years earlier (1848), Marx and Engels popularized the famous



Africana Museum

Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, in 1887

world battle-cry of the working class: "Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains."

In 1918, an American communist publication stated that "readers were being informed that every (workers') strike is a small revolution and a dress rehearsal for the big one".[14] All such workers' conflicts are part of the class struggle. America's former top authority on communism wrote: "Communists recognize that labour unions ... represent dynamic potential power which can be harnessed for communist ends."[15]

Shortly after World War II ended, the British Trades Union Congress issued a paper dated 1948 which states:

> "The communist party's most active and craftily-planned arrangements operate inside the trade union movement. The existence of communist party committees in industry and unions has been common knowledge for many years back."

A former national secretary of the Australian Communist Party declared: "Trade unions are an essential part of developing the revolutionary movement and implementing a revolutionary strategy."[16] Then the American communist paper, Political Affairs, says: "The Party continually reminds all members who are eligible to belong to, and be active in, trade unions."[17]

Similar quotations occur in that standard communist handbook for all dedicated, disciplined Marxists, written by V.I. Lenin, called Left Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder. In it, he makes declarations for the obedience of all fellow-communists such as:-

> "In its work, the communist party relies directly on trade unions. It will be necessary to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even if need be to resort to all sorts of devices, manoeuvres and illegal methods, to evasion or subterfuge, in order to penetrate into trade unions, to remain in them and to carry on communist work in them at all costs."[18]

The original commands laid down by the founders of communism regarding the use

of the unions and workers, the overthrow and total destruction of the capitalist class and the introduction of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, have always served as the only guidelines for dedicated communists. Likewise, the Marxist analysis of capitalism and, later, Lenin's violent directives became the combined inspiration and guiding light for South Africa's early communists, just as they are for those of the present time.[19] Communism's first (though often very feeble) attempts to impose its ideologies upon early South Africa originated within many of the country's earliest union organizations. These efforts were basically directed by individuals from overseas.

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWO

1. For a different version of this story, see number 3 below, pp. 25-27. This diamond was named "The Star of South Africa" and, later, in England was sold to the Earl of Dudley for the staggering amount of £125 000. News of this spread; hundreds turned their attention to South Africa, setting the stage for the mass influx in a few years' time.
2. *The Diamond Diggers*
   Tom Stacey Ltd., London 1972
   By Ivor Herbert, pp. 1-14
3. *Gold! Gold! Gold!*
   MacMillan Company, Johannesburg 1970
   By Eric Rosenthal, p. 42
4. *A History of South Africa, Social and Economic*
   Oxford University Press, London 1942
   By C.W. de Kiewiet, p. 89
5. *Kimberley Turbulent City*
   David Philip Publishers, Cape Town 1976
   By Brian Roberts, p. 214
6. Number 3, p. 10
7. *South African Trade Unions, History, Legislation, Policy*
   McGraw-Hill Book Company, Johannesburg 1976
   By M.A. du Toit, p. 6
8. The author is not suggesting that every unionist of those early days was a communist or even sympathetic to the cause. Obviously such a proposal would be absurd. He is simply dealing with that minority of leftists and Marxists who so skilfully manipulated the unwitting masses. Portions of some communist doctrine were not yet formulated at this time.
9. *The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa*
   Oxford University Press, Cape Town 1978
   By P.L. Wickins, p. 13
10. *Industrial Relations in South Africa*
    Juta and Company Ltd., Cape Town 1976
    By J.A. Grey Coetzee, pp. 1-2
11. Number 10, p. 4
12. *The Economics of the Colour Bar*
    André Deutsch, London 1964
    By W.H. Hutt, p. 58
13. *Karl Marx*
    Grosset and Dunlap, New York 1947
    By L. Schwartzchild, p. 339
14. *The Labour Defender*
    Industrial Workers of World Publication
    15 December 1918
15. *On Communism*
    Random House Books, New York 1969
    By J. Edgar Hoover, p. 122
16. *The Morning Bulletin*
    Rockhampton Q'Ld., Australia
    17 August 1970

17. *Political Affairs*
Communist Party USA
November 1971, p. 2

18. *Left Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder*
Moscow Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950
By V.I. Lenin

19. Technically speaking some "experts" attempt to distinguish between Marxism and Marxism-Leninism (i.e. communism). Marxists, we are told, accept the Marxist analysis of capitalism and are hostile to the profit motive. Otherwise, they are nice people! Whereas Marxist-Leninists embrace the same analysis, but aim to totally destroy capitalism by any and every means possible. (See note number 2, under documentation for chapter 1.) The hair-splitting differences between the two are like talking about which kills the quickest, a bayonet or a bullet. Either one will do a sufficient job, though one may operate a little slower than the other. Throughout this narrative the author has not attempted to make a strong differentiation between the two. The "experts" can resolve this one.

CHAPTER THREE

INFANT COMMUNISM, 1884 TO 1897

THE MARXISTS GET BUSY

The foreign unionists coming into South Africa were not idle. They were soon forming various labour groups similar to those in their native countries.[1] Most of the early workers' organizations created by the foreigners who poured into the diamond and goldfields of the country came under the influence of socialist-minded political militants, some of whom were fired by the illusions of the youthful Marxist doctrine. Their message contained those most essential ingredients of successful communistic service — a bitter and passionate hatred of the capitalist system and of government rule, counterbalanced by the dream of a socialist paradise.

It would be ridiculous to assert that lurking behind every strike and workers' disturbance in early South African history there was some sort of vicious plot designed to overthrow and destroy the governments of those days. On the other hand, one should not follow the pattern of various writers on South African trade union history who, for some reason, seemingly whitewash the young Red devils of those days by referring to them only as "leftists", "men with militant ideas" or "extreme agitators".[2] It is abundantly clear that many of the early trade union leaders who are presented as heroes and friends of the workers were nothing short of dedicated, lifelong radicals serving the Marxist cause. They were working for the destruction of the economic system and the establishment of some sort of socialistic order. With others, their early radical ideologies — in time — developed into mature communism.

People of the Mining Towns

Africana Museum

The seeds of infant communist thought came to South Africa through the miners and unionists

The records show that, in many cases, the workers' movements were formed and directed by these very men who had brought their socialistic ideologies from overseas or contracted the political disease of Marxism after arriving in South Africa. These alien Marxist theories were then released through the often legitimate grievances of the innocent workers of those days. For the most part, the workers were simply ignorant of being cat's paws of evil, but clever men.

The purpose of these pages is not to belittle the sufferings of those workers, but to deal with the cunning minority of Marxists, claiming always to be the workers' friends, presenting themselves as the vanguard of the proletariat and saviour of the working classes, while history has proven exactly the opposite. The utter sincerity of many of these men is not doubted, but history has proven them sincerely wrong.

In the book, The First Account of Labour Organisation in South Africa, the combined authors list a total of 55 workers' strikes occurring in various fields of labour from May 1884 until August 1925.[3] This list is not complete. In the following pages, we examine some of the most prominent of those strikes, as well as the men and workers' organisations who supervised them. As the story progresses, especially after the turn of the century, we see the monster of communism (more developed) slowly raising its ugly head among the working class. Such things as standard and historical communist hatred of capitalism, the inevitable class struggle, the glories of socialism, the liberation of the worker, all clearly emerge.

Amongst the workers, two basic groups could be identified: first, those who regarded the true purpose of trade unionism as being to protect and advance the interests of a group of workers who possessed some special skill, or other mark of distinction from the general mass of labour, and considered that by close co-operation they might secure better terms of employment and a higher status than would be possible if each man acted individually; second, there was a large group that viewed the industrial organisation of the workers as the instinctive expression of the class struggle against the bourgeoisie (or ownership classes) and pushed towards the goal of overthrowing and destroying capitalism.[4] This latter group viewed the trade unions as only a fighting movement, many times revolutionary and anarchist in spirit. It is this particular element that we are dealing with in the early stages of this writing. Engels well described this communist element working in the unions:

> "Unlike the old trade unions, they greet every suggestion of and identity of intent between capital and labour with scorn and ridicule. Thus we now see these new unions taking the lead of the working-class movement generally and more and more taking tow the rich and proud 'old unions'."[5]

Hence these "new unions" (as Engels called them) were simply old communists using the unions for their own purposes.

SOUTH AFRICA'S FIRST MARXIST-INSPIRED RIOT

The earliest instance of an industrial dispute in South Africa leading to bloodshed occurred in Kimberley as long ago as May 1884. There is little doubt that a militant body embracing portions of the doctrines of Marxist socialism was responsible for this strike.[6]

It was the accepted custom for black workers to be stripped and searched when coming off their shifts, to prevent theft of the precious stones. Because of the disappearance of large numbers of diamonds, an attempt was made to impose the same style of examination on all white workers as well. This was fiercely opposed and the

Department of Information

Market Square, Kimberley, in the 1880s. South Africa's first Marxist-inspired riot occurred here

white miners in De Beers went on strike and refused to submit to the new policy. This company of marching strikers were met by a hail of bullets as they swarmed on mining headquarters in Kimberley. When the smoke cleared, about five men lay dead and over 40 others were wounded, of whom several died a few days later.[7]

These strikers had been emotionally whipped up and directed into action by a secret militant organisation operating in the Kimberley Mine, known as the Knights of Labour. This movement was well known in both British and American labour circles and was recognised in Britain as violent and militant. The creators of this revolutionary movement in early Kimberley were overseas unionists who came to South Africa during the "diamond rush" days.

It is difficult to accept the statement of two early writers (see note 3) that the Knights of Labour "were not in any way connected with the well-known American organization". The American counterpart "was founded in 1869 by Uriah Smith, a Philadelphia tailor".[8] Other documents regarding this organization tell us that demonstrations in Kimberley were whipped up and encouraged by a militant organization known as the Knights of Labour.[9] Further we read:

> "On one occasion a total stranger appeared at a meeting organised by the Knights of Labour and spoke... his efforts to whip up the crowds failed."[10]

Two of the men who founded the organization in South Africa, under the pretence of protecting the diggers from exploitation, were Alfred Aylward and a German named Von Schlischmann. We read of them the following:

> "(They) took advantage of (the) unrest to further their own plans. Aylward was a forceful character, schemer, reckless, plausible, a loud and violent orator able to sway the diggers."[11]

Paramount among his flamboyant speeches was a call for socialism. Also among the strike-makers at Kimberley during this period was a mysterious clergyman, the Rev.

A.F. Balmar. He was a prototype of the present-day "clergymen" who have departed from the preaching of God's word and express their message according to Marx instead of the Master. Balmar was involved in "stirring up the workers" into riot situations.

There may have been no connection with overseas counterparts as far as actual membership or verbal contact was concerned, but the similarity in mob manipulation, hate, the call for socialism and physical violence were too similar to be accidental.

The radical Knights of Labour organization continued for several years in Kimberley and gained notoriety for its militancy. However, in 1890, when two of its founders, J.H. Wilson and a man named Tom Kelly, were tried and convicted of blowing up the De Beers office and sentenced to eight years in prison, this had a cooling effect on the organization. As the century ended, the ideas of the Knights of Labour were carried over into other militant bodies attempting to operate among the miners of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand. The organization itself, seemingly, more or less died a natural death, but its poisonous ideology lived on.

Thus, the first workers' strike in South Africa, resulting in death, bloodshed and violence, was directed by an organization of revolutionary violent nature, coloured by the demands of Marxist socialism.

THE FIRST UNION ON THE WITWATERSRAND

Other workers' organizations in Kimberley likewise became ideal channels through which infant Marxist propaganda was spread. It soon extended into the Transvaal. The first trade union founded in the large goldmining areas of South Africa was the Witwatersrand Mine Employees' and Mechanics' Union, established in August 1892.

> "This organization was also commonly known as the 'Labour Union' and was mainly a political movement, and its leadership attempted to organise the labourers into one large trade union, which could exercise considerable pressure in the industrial and political fields of those days."[12]

Its leadership consisted of some of South Africa's well-known rabble-rousers, crooks and thieves. Three of the leaders in the early Witwatersrand Mine Employees' and Mechanics' Union were W. Tyler, J.T. Bain and E.B. Rose. This organization had a questionable and chequered short history. It was clearly a political body whose motives were not conducive to the peace and welfare of early South Africa. In its constitution, there was a certain secrecy provision which forbade members to disclose any information regarding its activities. During the course of this organization's short existence, the Chamber of Mines tried to encourage the Transvaal Volksraad in 1892 to pass a law making it legal for policemen and detectives, appointed by the mine owners and paid by the State, to arrest persons suspected of possessing stolen gold. This proposed law was successfully opposed by an organised strike and the Bill was not passed. Regarding this particular strike (directed by Tyler, Bain and Rose), President Kruger heeded the request of the strikers' representatives and quickly refused to have the white workers searched.

J.T. Bain, one of the strike leaders, misinterpreted President Kruger's decision about searching the workers. Then, a short time later he sent a special invitation to Kruger to attend a banquet sponsored by his workers' organization. Kruger refused the invitation, and a notice appeared a few days later in the publication called Die Volkstem under the heading "Memo for Labour Union":

> "President Kruger has a peculiar way of his own in reading people's characters thoroughly after the

first interview" and he said that "'Bain's manifold talents have already been thoroughly recognised'."[13]

In this stinging public rebuke, President Kruger exposed the character and purposes of socialist Bain and his workers' organization. As a result of corruption and foul play this first trade union on the Witwatersrand collapsed in 1895. This was due to the misappropriation of funds and various secretaries disappearing with large sums of money.

. . THE . .

Johannesburg Witness

"The Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth."

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COURVOISIER'S & LOUVET & CO'S BRANDIES.
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Strange Memorial Library

J. T. Bain's early newspaper, spreading Marxism in Johannesburg

WILLIAM HENRY ANDREWS: THE LEADING COMMUNIST

In 1894, a branch of the British Amalgamated Society of Engineers was founded in Johannesburg. In subsequent years, several other trade unions and workers' organizations came into being, modelling their policies along the same lines as this organization.

One of the founders of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was a Briton named William Henry Andrews.[14] Andrews (called Bill) would become the leading and most important member of the early South African Communist Party.

He was born on 20 April 1870 in the small country town of Leiston, Suffolk, England. In August 1893, he took passage on the Howarden Castle and arrived in Cape Town within 17 days. He immediately caught a train to Johannesburg and found employment on the Geldenhuis Estate.

While attending a social function, he met Mary O'Brian, the daughter of a Church of England minister. (One document gives the clergyman's name as Brien, instead of O'Brian). They were married in Krugersdorp two years later.

Another member of this organisation was J.T. Bain, previously mentioned. Bain's qualifications for serving in this organization had been well described by Andrews: "I have never known a man to hate capitalism more than J.T. Bain."[15] The Amalgamated Society of Engineers in its early days was often involved in various strikes in South Africa. Some of its leaders consisted of men who later became South Africa's top communists.

BILL ANDREWS AS A YOUNG TRADE UNIONIST

AGE-LONG STRUGGLE

Women Order

"We shall

William Henry (Bill) Andrews as a young man. He was the leading early communist in South Africa

THE FIRST TRANSVAAL MARXIST-INSPIRED STRIKE

This strike, in which Marxists played a prominent part, was engineered by the Transvaal mineworkers and occurred in April 1897. It came about when notice was given of a reduction in wages. The workers, led by David Coppin and a strike committee, immediately informed the manager, a Mr Stubbs, that they refused to work for lower wages. The decision of the workers was given quick support by other mine groups in the area. As violence broke out, a government volunteer militia group was called in to clear the strikers off mine property. The strikers were given 24 hours to vacate the area. They responded with the overturning of (train) cabs and the physical removal of those recruited to fill their vacated jobs. The stubborn substitute workers were severely beaten. A few days later, following a meeting of the strike committee and the mine managers, the proposed wage reduction was withdrawn. The strikers won the day and returned to work. The

prominent leader in this strike was Bill Andrews, ably assisted by J.T. Bain and the outspoken and violent Australian, Peter Whiteside. Following this strike a fellow-communist described Andrews as "the key man in the labour and trade union world of South Africa".[16]

Similar to the Wits miners' strike of 1922 (see chapter 8) this terrible upheaval was caused by the utter stupidity of the capitalist bosses! They simply called for a reduction in the workers' wages with no alternative or explanation given. The anger and indignation of the miners was seized upon by the Marxists and used to their full advantage. Such saviour-like actions by Andrews and his comrades gained the highest admiration from the abused miners. Their wages were saved!

Documentation proves that Andrews and his dupes were not only interested in saving the miners' wages, but further they sought to overthrow the system and impose socialist rule. Time has clearly proven this would have been far more disastrous than a wage reduction. Later on, Andrews threw off his mask and openly called for "Bolshevik rule" in South Africa.

The unions that sprang up during this period have been described as being "British in origin and overwhelmingly in British personnel".[17] They would become the main channel for spreading Marxism in South Africa.

Curiously, Britain has maintained a very unsavoury record of conflict within its unions and workers' organizations. The excellent publication, The History of the British Communist Party, by Henry Pelling (1975) well documents this fact. One author estimated that in 1979 there were about "75 000 left-wing militants in the ranks of (British) trade unions".[18] This only has reference to the so-called "left-wing" element, not dedicated hard-core communists.

In the early days of communism in South Africa (as in our modern times) the Marxist and many revolutionary fighters of different kinds followed what would become the standard communist line of supporting and championing just and worthy causes, as in the case just cited. Every action of this nature by the Marxists always contained a clever but hidden design.

On the downtrodden and exploited workers it left a powerful psychological impact. The Marxists were proving themselves as their true friends, men of unquestionable character, fighting for the rights of the workers — while many others simply stood in the background and watched. Such successful tactics explain how a few well-trained communists can enlist the sympathies and physical support of thousands of otherwise innocent non-communist workers.

In the course of the history of communism in South Africa and other countries as well, such strategy has proven very successful. In the case of South Africa the success has usually been short-lived. But this will not continue!

Various other strikes occurred as the 1800s closed. Most of these also involved persons obsessed by Marxist thought and intent. But, with the advent of the Anglo-Boer War, the Marxists temporarily ceased their troublesome activities. One of their greatest figures, Bill Andrews, hurriedly caught a ship, taking his wife and two children, and returned to his native England for most of the war.

From 1893 through 1910, at least thirty-eight different (though sometimes overlapping) political and labour organizations were operative across South Africa. Without fail every one of these was infected by the poison of socialism, especially Marxist socialism. This reveals the intensity of the Marxist fever in those days and the widespread prominence of various forms of socialistic thought.

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER THREE

1. "According to available sources, 23 December 1881 can be accepted as the date on which the first union was established in South Africa."
   (South African Trade Unions; History, Legislation, Policy
   McGraw Hill Book Company, Johannesburg 1976
   By M.A. du Toit, p. 11)
2. Lucid examples of this are the books, *South Africa's Workers: Their Organizations and the Patterns of Employment*, by Muriel Horrell, p. 5, and the outstanding history of South African trade unions, *2000 Casualties*, by Ivan L. Walker and Bennie Weinbren. The latter contains invaluable information and also, in places, is a cover-up for communists and rabble-rousers within certain unions of South Africa. Later in chapter 10 of this writing we discover Weinbren was an early communist deeply involved in party affairs. In view of Weinbren's communist beliefs it is humorous to read that he described the Security Police as "South Africa's Gestapo or OGPU" and as having "emulated the examples of Nazi Germany and communist Russia"! (*2000 Casualties*, p. 240)
3. *The First Account of Labour Organizations in South Africa*
   Durban 1926
   By Gitsham and Trembath, pp. 15-23
4. Edited from *Industrial Relations in South Africa*
   Juta and Company Ltd., Cape Town 1976
   By J.A. Grey Coetzee, p. 30
5. *Conditions of the Working Class...*
   Allen and Unwin, London 1926
   By Friedrich Engels, preface and p. 19. (Several pages torn and missing)
6. Number 3, p. 24
   The Black Flag revolt, which occurred a few years before this strike, also contained the "capital-labour" conflict elements. For a total review of this see *Journal of South African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, April 1981, Oxford University Press, London pp. 194-235.
7. Number 3, pp. 11, 24
   Other writers give the number killed as six, seven and nine.
8. *The American People's Encyclopaedia*
   By Graber Incorp. New York, 1965, p. 149
9. *Kimberley – Turbulent City*
   David Philip Publishers, Cape Town 1976
   By Brian Roberts, pp. 269-270
   Bill Andrews wrote that the "Knights of Labour forced strikes and boycotts..."
   (Class Struggles in South Africa
   Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town 1940
   By W.H. Andrews, pp. 59-60)
10. Number 9, p. 295
11. *Graves and Guineas*
    The C. Struik Company, Cape Town 1969
    By J.T. McNish, pp. 117-122
12. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, p. 2
13. *The Johannesburg Saga*
    Published by J.R. Shorten (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg 1970
    By J.R. Shorten, p. 183
14. Number 12, p. 2

(In 1920, it became the Amalgamated Engineering Union).

15. *Comrade Bill*
Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
By R.K. Cope, p. 45
Bain's hatred for capitalism is revealed in his words: "Never in all God's earth was there devised or invented an instrument capable of inflicting torture on mankind than the lash of capitalism..." (*Johannesburg Witness*, 1-9-1899). Bain also advised the reporters from *The Star* newspaper "to read Marx's Das Kapital..." (*The Star*, 3 August 1893). Bain's own private paper, *Johannesburg Witness*, was loaded with infant Marxist propaganda.

16. Number 15, p. 103

17. Number 13, p. 183

18. *No Compromise Possible*
Published by C.M.T.C.W., Kent, England 1979
By J.C. Young, p. 20

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POST-WAR RISE OF SOCIALISM AND STRIKES

THE WAR BRINGS MORE MARXISTS

In the fifteen years before the war between Britain and the Boer Republics broke out in October 1899, British imperialism in Southern Africa was growing into an ugly monster. It was implementing the policy of surrounding the Transvaal and her sister-republic, the Orange Free State. While this stranglehold was getting tighter, the

athan Ball Publishers

British troops disembarking at Cape Town. Some remained after the war and became leading communists

economic colossus and most famed man in the diamond business appeared with secret ambitions. His name was Cecil John Rhodes.

Rhodes, a former student of Oxford and admirer of the socialist dreamer, John Ruskin, exploited the diamond fields of South Africa and rose to be Prime Minister of the Cape Colony (1890-1902).[1] The proverb, "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely", became a glaring reality in the life of Rhodes.

With the discovery of gold in the Transvaal, Rhodes's greed became passionate. His hatred of Paul Kruger, the Afrikaner President of the Transvaal, knew no limits. He was bitterly opposed to Kruger's independent Transvaal, and viewed this as the main obstacle to his efforts to sweep all Southern Africa under British rule. The Transvaal was slowly becoming a place of economic power and influence. Rhodes even attempted to overthrow Kruger's government by the secret Jameson Raid of 1895-1896, a scheme of which the British Government had foreknowledge. It was a miserable failure.

Tension continued to mount until finally the dark war clouds broke open on 11 October 1899. The British invaded the Boer Republics. For thirty-two long months, their fury was unleashed over South Africa through the Anglo-Boer War. Faced with annihilation, the Boer Republics made the agonizing decision to surrender to the British invaders. During the course of the war, the British poured over 400 000 troops into South Africa.[2] Many of the men who came to fight against the Boers remained. Others returned to South Africa after the war. Some of these became leading figures in the political history of the country. Several gained notoriety for their Marxist achievements.

Others were socialist militants of various sorts. Some became leading lights in the future Communist Party of South Africa. Again the "uitlanders" were bringing alien ideology into the land. The background of some of these persons is discussed in the following pages.

RUSSIA AND THE BOERS

It is a curious twist of history to read of "Russian volunteers" serving with the Boers in the war.[3] Since the turn of the century, South Africa has been engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Russia, in the form of Soviet communism. But it was not always so. Before the revolution of 1917, when Lenin came to power in Russia, the Czarist government had had nothing but strong admiration and respect for the Boers of South Africa. The Czarist concern for South Africa may be loosely dated from 1899 until 1905.

During the early stages of the Anglo-Boer War, observers across the world sat up and took notice of the amazing success of the Boers against overwhelming British military superiority. British power was seriously challenged in the early years of the war. As fierce opponents of "British imperialism", the Russians had the deepest respect for the Boers. They shared the Boers' feelings about the British. The Czarist press churned out words of praise for the Boers' bravery against such tremendous odds:

> "In such an atmosphere, it seemed natural that Russians would want to support directly the efforts of the Boers. By March 1900, a volunteer corps of approximately thirty Russian soldiers had found service in the area near Bloemfontein. In addition to volunteer military aid, a Russian medical detachment consisting of twenty-six persons was also sent to South Africa and, in 1900, it opened a hospital in Newcastle.... the Russian General Staff... assigned a military agent to the Boer army. On February 28, 1900, Colonel V.I. Romeiko-Gurko presented himself to President Steyn of the Boer Transvaal Republic and immediately thereafter he went to join the Boer forces at the front."[4]

CJM Publishers

The noted Russian military attaché Col. V. I. Romeiko-Gurko attached to the Boers is seen with the sword in his hand

CJM Publishers

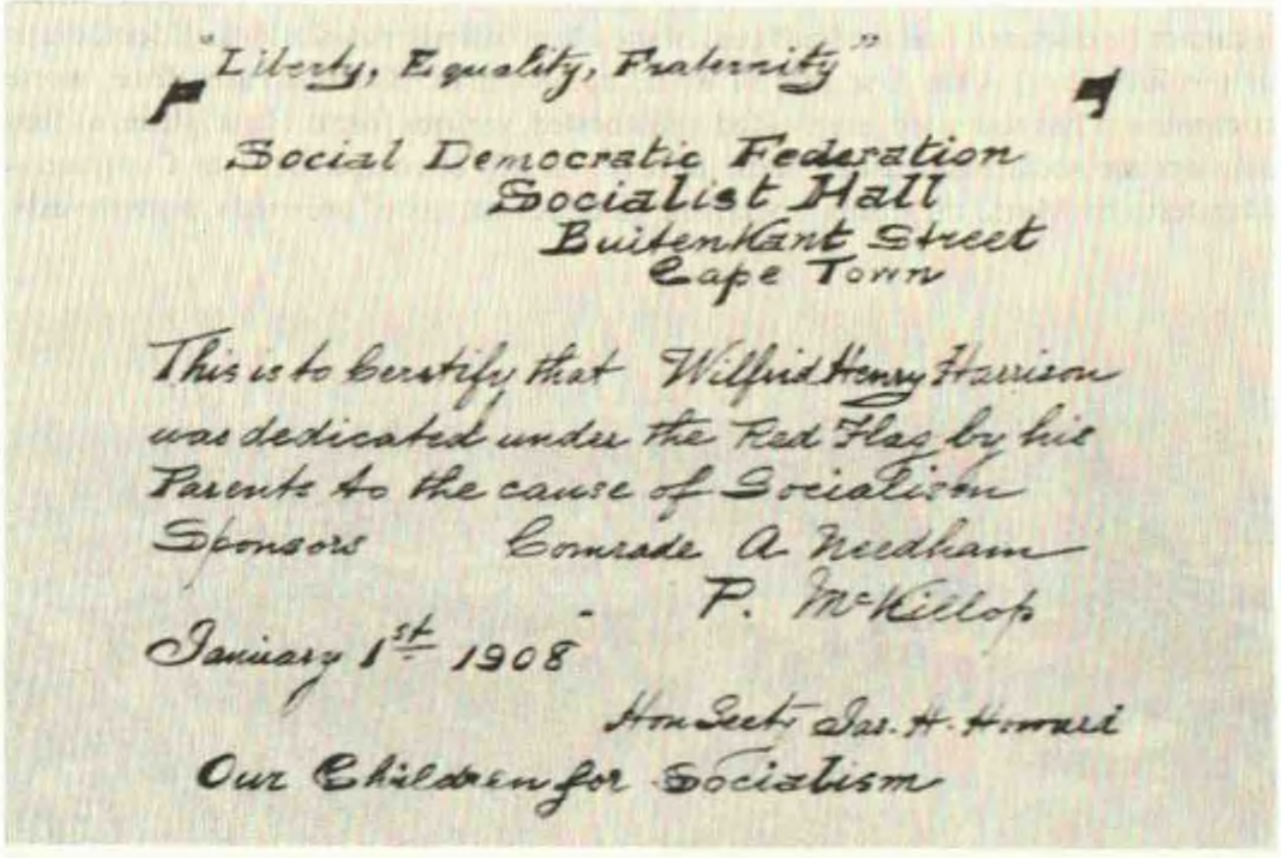
Russian nurses at the Boer hospital in Newcastle

Along with this, tentative plans were laid for an uprising among the Africans, deliberately created to

> "distract and occupy the British forces fighting the Boers, until such time as the Boers would be able to mount a massive, major offensive and sweep the British into the sea. This plan was advanced by the former Boer general, Piet Joubert, who was already known in St. Petersburg for his writings on behalf of the Boer cause."[5]

As it became obvious during the later stages of the war that the Boers would be defeated, the plan was called off. It is ironical that whereas Russia befriended South Africa in her struggle with British tyrants and money lords, today she is (in the form of Soviet communism) South Africa's sworn enemy.

During the war the young revolutionary Lenin wrote numerous comments about the event, few of which were favourable to the Boer cause. These are found in his newspaper Iskra (Spark). His chief concern was "the coming revolution".


"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"

Social Democratic Federation
Socialist Hall
Buitenkant Street
Cape Town

This is to certify that Wilfrid Henry Harrison was dedicated under the Red Flag by his Parents to the cause of Socialism
Sponsors Comrade A Needham
P. McKillop
January 1st 1908
Hon Sec Jas. H. Howell
Our Children for Socialism

Stewart - Cape Town

The extreme fanaticism of the early socialists is revealed in this card. They dedicated their infant children under the Red flag

SOCIALISM PAVES THE WAY IN LABOUR UPHEAVALS

With the cessation of the war, the wheels of industry once again began to turn in the vast mining fields. The renewal of goldmining activities again attracted scores of workers to the country from across the world. Among these were more experienced trade unionists from England and Europe. The rumble of looming war sent thousands of Jews out of Eastern Europe and many of these made their way to South Africa. Bill Andrews with his family also returned to South Africa just before the war ended.

The war, along with a severe drought, had ravaged the farms of thousands of Boers. They were unable to live off these depleted sources. Hence, hundreds turned to the

cities and the mines for a means of livelihood. This marked the entry of the Afrikaners into both the public and the political life of South Africa. Later, the Afrikaners became the number one enemy of communism in the country.

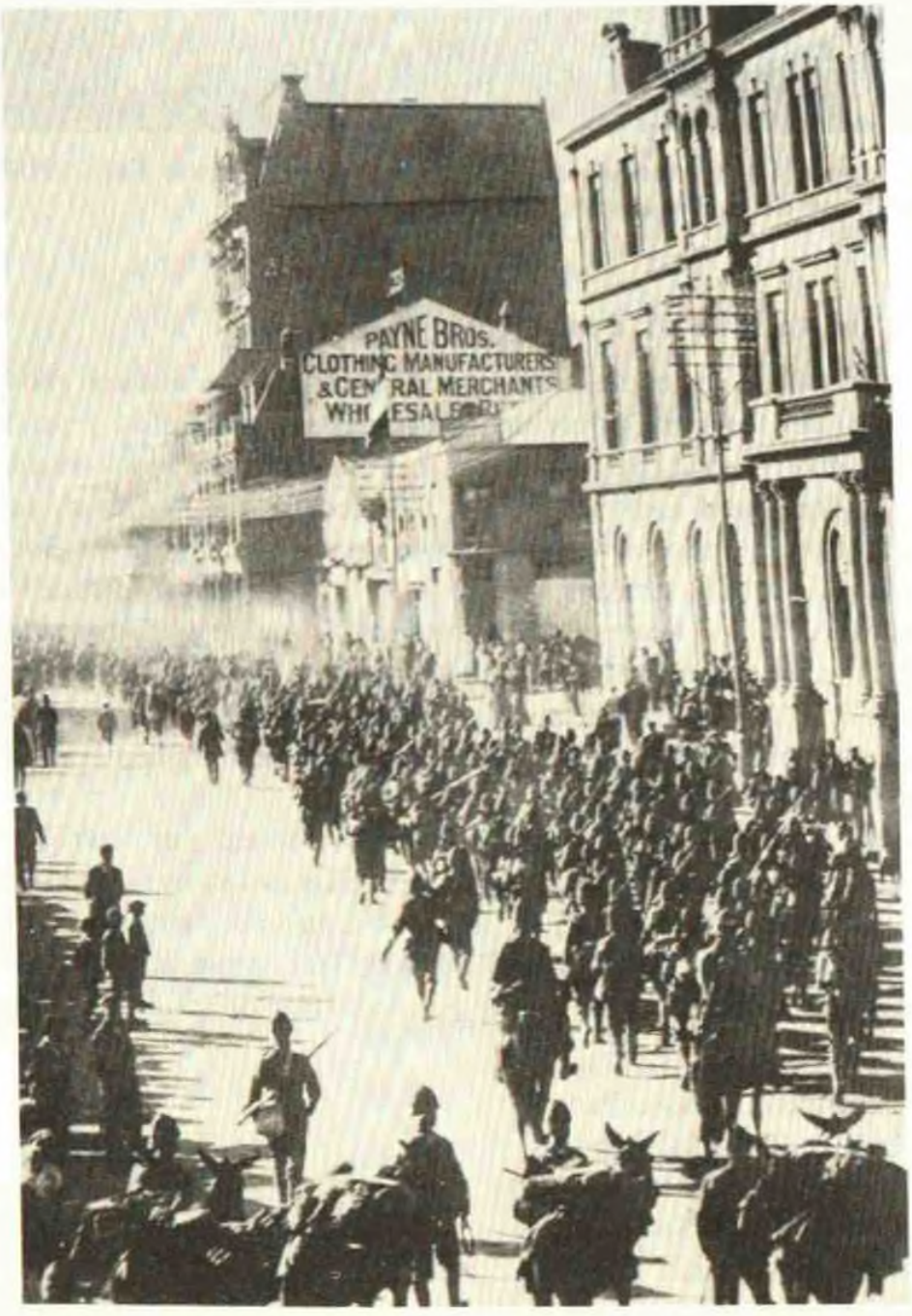
Even before the dust of the Anglo-Boer War had settled, the mineworkers were again being exposed to the radical doctrines of socialists and revolutionaries. The conditions that existed before the war, but which had subsided during the hostilities, reappeared with new vigour. Marxist thought, now becoming more clearly defined, was soon rife among the working class, fuelled and stirred by the overseas unionists. The labour strife of former days was revived by the new foreign elements entering the country and by many of those already resident.

Most prominent in the revival of labour troubles and strikes following the war were the socialists. The first three decades of the 1900s were shaken periodically by the fury of these people. Most of those involved in the socialist-inspired upheavals were foreigners. In time, a few of the conservative Afrikaners were drawn into the conflict and marched under the socialist Red Flag. Not all socialists are communists. However, it cannot be disputed that the final goal of socialism (whether evolutionary, democratic or revolutionary) is the first goal of world communism.[6] On this basis alone, world communism has tolerated, even aided and abetted, various forms of socialism, as they consider the socialists assisting them in their first step of conquest. In the Communist Manifesto by Marx, the words "socialism" and "communism" are used synonymously.

Cape Archives - No. VA4342

During part of the Anglo-Boer War, Kimberley was a deserted city

Those early socialist radicals of South African history were the ring-leaders in strikes, fights, inflammatory speech-making and various conflict situations. Some even took blood-chilling oaths, committing themselves to the destruction of capitalism. Later, many of them became leading personalities in founding and sustaining the Communist Party of South Africa. Oddly, certain writers attempt to conceal this historical fact. It is true that their socialistic philosophies often varied, ranging from the sublime to the ridiculous. Socialism was brought to South Africa long before the turn of the century.[7] But as a verbal propaganda force in the early 1900s, socialism created its most effective first platform in South Africa on the old original plinth of the statue of Jan van Riebeeck in Adderley Street, Cape Town. There the early emissaries of the gospel according to Marxist socialism debated, argued and harangued the motley crowds with their message.



Jonathan Ball Publishers

Among the British soldiers marching into Johannesburg came S. P. Bunting, the number two top communist

Department of Information

These men, once bitter enemies during the war, created the Bill (1908-1909) that became the Union Constitution of South Africa

SOUTH AFRICA'S EARLY POLITICAL PARTIES

The ruling British government then promised both the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony (Free State) the right to become self-governing within five years after the war ended. The big date was set for 1907. Prior to this exciting and long-awaited event, the Witwatersrand Trade and Labour Council, founded by Bill Andrews and his Marxist friends, commissioned Andrews and a deputy to go and confer with the Boer leaders and representatives of various groups, with a view to creating a so-called Responsible Government Association. However, the representatives of the workers made such radical proposals that the other delegates were completely discouraged and no agreement could be reached. These representatives were a gang of Marxists. They established a centre called The International Socialist Hall. It was located in Johannesburg and became a gathering place for the Marxists of the day.[8]

Consequently the Boers of the Transvaal simply formed their own Het Volk (The People) Party. A group called Oranje Unie (Orange Union) Party was also formed in the Orange Free Colony. Andrews and his anxious adherents formed a body called the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) in 1907. This committee consisted of some of the most rabid and militant groups on the political stage of those days. They were:

The (Wits) Trade and Labour Council
The Independent Labour Party
The German Vorwärts Club
The Italian Socialist Club
The Jewish Socialist Society
The Friends of Russian Freedom

A few years later (1909), this united group merged with other bodies to become the South African Labour Party.

"In February 1907, the general election in the Transvaal resulted in a victory for the Het Volk (The People) Party and its allies the Nationalists."[9] "In November 1907, the general election in the Orange River Colony resulted in the Oranje Unie (Orange Union) winning..."[10] This group was led by Abraham Fischer.[11] Hence the two former Afrikaans colonies that suffered so much during the war now had their own political parties. The formerly crushed Afrikaans people were entering the arena of South African politics. These two bodies now stood alongside the older Cape and Natal parliaments. Soon the men who had been bitter enemies in the war sat together in the National Convention (1908-1909) to draft a highly important Bill. It was later passed by the British government and came into effect on 31 May 1910, and so "the Union of South Africa took its place as a self-governing dominion within the British Empire...", with General Louis Botha as its first premier.[12] This brief sketch of the birth of early government is given so that the reader might, from this point, trace how succeeding governments viewed and dealt with the menace of communism as it appeared on the stage of South African history.

Whilst the above political events were developing, the country was again feeling the sting of riots and strikes. Let us revert to the period from 1902 until three years after the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910. During this time we examine some of the major attempts of early Marxists to use the workers and their organizations for the purpose of seeking to establish socialism in South Africa.

Stewart - Cape Town

J. L. Page preaches his socialism under the statue of Van Riebeeck in 1903

EARLY STRIKES AND SOCIALISM — 1902

One month prior to the termination of the war (April 1902), a short strike occurred in the Crown Reef mine area. It arose over the attempted introduction of a piece-work system across the Reef. This strike occurred while the Transvaal was still under Martial Law imposed during the war. It was instigated and directed by a man named T.A. Haynes.[13]

A Durban railway workers' strike occurred in mid-1902. Then there was a printers' strike in Johannesburg, in the offices of The Star newspaper, in September 1902. It soon spread to Bloemfontein and Maritzburg in 1903. Marxist socialists were involved in all of these disruptions.

The Cape Town printers' strike "for increased wages and shorter hours" occurred in May 1905. Amid various other strikes and walkouts, the Cape Town Cigarette Makers' Union went on strike and invented their famous "lock-out" policy.[14] It cannot be denied that socialists were busy in every case, performing their usual tasks of using the generally innocent workers to unwittingly create the necessary disturbances. Often the grievances were justified, and the often horrible conditions of the workers surely called for adjustment. Into these ideal situations stepped the skilled agitators, condemning the capitalist system and extolling the benefits of socialism. Many of the workers danced to the sweet music played so well by the socialist professionals.

The Worker

Tom Matthews during the 1913 strike

The Star Archives

Sam Lowen, M. Furlong, J. F. Brown and A. Crawford hunt for scabs during the 1914 strike

THE FIRST GENERAL STRIKE OF 1907

In May 1907, the first general miners' strike occurred at the Knights Deep mine and spread across the Reef. This involved about 6 400 men. The chief figure was Tom Matthews, a trade union leader. Matthews was born in Cornwall, England. As a very

young man he sailed to America and participated in the unions in the state of Montana. He sailed for South Africa in the latter portion of the 1800s. He was general secretary of the Transvaal Miners' Association from 1907-1915 and of the South African Mineworkers' Union from 1907 onwards.[15] One writer tells that, during this time, a mysterious group "called the 'Red Raskolnikoffs' set out to expound the doctrines of Karl Marx..."[16] Matthews had links with this group and was an outspoken socialist.

Another author gives us an actual account of Matthews dealing with the Chamber of Mines representatives. Boisterously he shouts: "It's no good talking to you — the only thing to do is to organize a revolution and upset the lot of you."[17] Matthews was assisted by an apostate Australian clergyman named Wilson-Wilson. This double-named Aussie was called the "orator" and "spell-binder". He was a noted socialist proponent. He arrived in Cape Town in July 1906 and threw himself into the battle for a socialist South Africa. During the general miners' strike of May 1907, the government called in troops to protect the mining machinery and property from possible sabotage, and the strike efforts collapsed. This first general strike was described as "workers on the old Marxian battlefield of capital versus labour".[18] Matthews died on 10 March 1915, a victim of the dreaded miners' disease, phthisis.

THE DE BEERS LOCK-OUT OF 1908

In October 1908, the De Beers lock-out at Kimberley occurred. The future top communist, Bill Andrews, played the leading role in this disturbance. Andrews was in close union with the strike leaders at Kimberley and provided "at least two new speakers each week".[19] These speakers drew crowds of up to 2000. One of these speakers confessed in his book (see note 14) "they kept up the agitation". This was socialist J.F. Trembath.

Another speaker was the fierce street fighter Archie Crawford, a former Scottish soldier.[20] Crawford stayed in South Africa following the Anglo-Boer War. In 1912 he

The Worker

The wild Mary FitzGerald and her pickhandle

attempted to form the United Socialist Party in Johannesburg. A conference was convened to boost the organization. Present were such leading militants as Harry Norrie, Mrs Dora Montefiore (an Australian socialist related to the British socialist leader, Sir Moses Montefiore) and Mary FitzGerald. A newspaper was launched called The Voice of Labour, but after a few weeks the whole effort collapsed. Crawford, like his comrades, was a noted militant socialist. He later married the famous female socialist street fighter, Mary FitzGerald. She gained something of a reputation by beating up scabs with a pickhandle. Groups of angry strikers inspired by Mary often joined in the hunt. Those who would not join the ranks of the strikers and attempted to return to work were often beaten into a state of complete unconsciousness by Mary and her goons. Brutal intimidation was the chief weapon of the socialist liberators.

A third speaker supplied by Andrews was H.W. Sampson, also a socialist, born in London in 1872. A final speaker was Jimmy Trembath, born in Cornwall, England, in 1874. He came to South Africa in 1897. Like his colleague Sampson, Trembath was "fully socialist" and assisted in founding the first Cape Town Trades' Council in 1899. Trembath was elected to the first Union Parliament in 1910. The October 1908 strike in Kimberley lasted two months and was a failure, with many of the workers losing their jobs. The socialists lost the day, but they were gaining something of a reputation as "friends of the workers".

The Star Archives

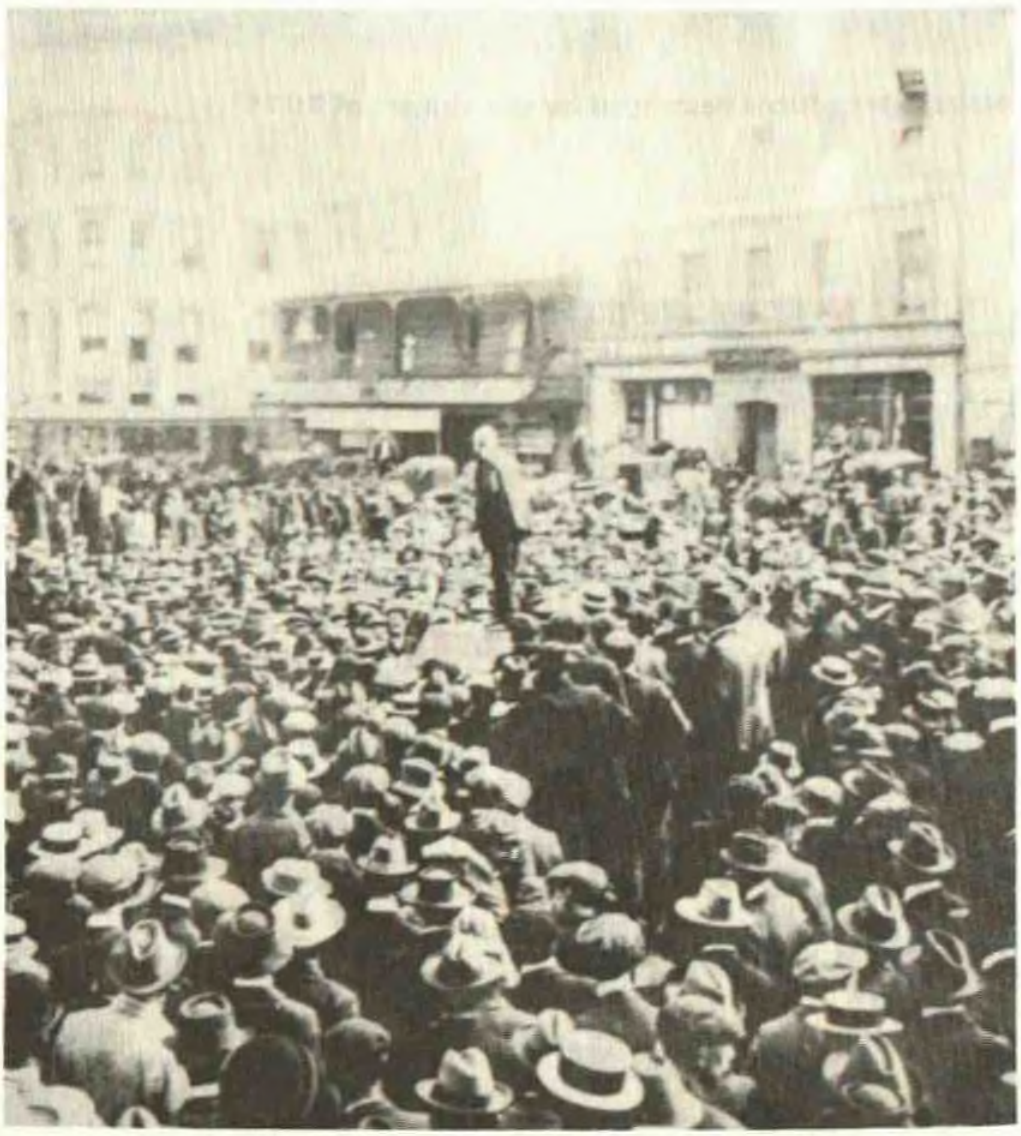
These strikers pose for a picture just before the first tram came out

THE NATAL RAILWAY WORKERS' STRIKE OF 1909

This action came about as a result of the government's announcement of a lay-off and piece-work being introduced. It was led by Andrew Dunbar, a blacksmith. This strike continued for several months. It is noteworthy that the strike leaders took part in the May Day parade.[21] Hundreds of Red flags were waved as the milling mobs heartily sang The Red Flag, the official anthem of the socialist movement.

THE RAND TRAMWAYMEN'S STRIKE IN 1911

This strike was over "harsh conditions being imposed by a mine inspector". It was led by W. Glendon, a Briton named Glynn and the stormy Andrew Dunbar. All three men were members of the organization International Workers of the World.[22] This was a confirmed Marxist-orientated movement. Jock Campbell was also a ringleader in this strike endeavour. A group of female strikers, led by Mary FitzGerald, went so far as to prostrate themselves on the tramline to prevent movement of the vehicles. Thousands of police were used to calm the explosive situation whipped up by Dunbar, Campbell and their kind. Again the socialist and anti-capitalist spirit was prevalent in this strike. Finally, when the dominant socialists let the wheels roll again, the first tram emerged from the shed carrying a Red flag!



S.A. Pictorial

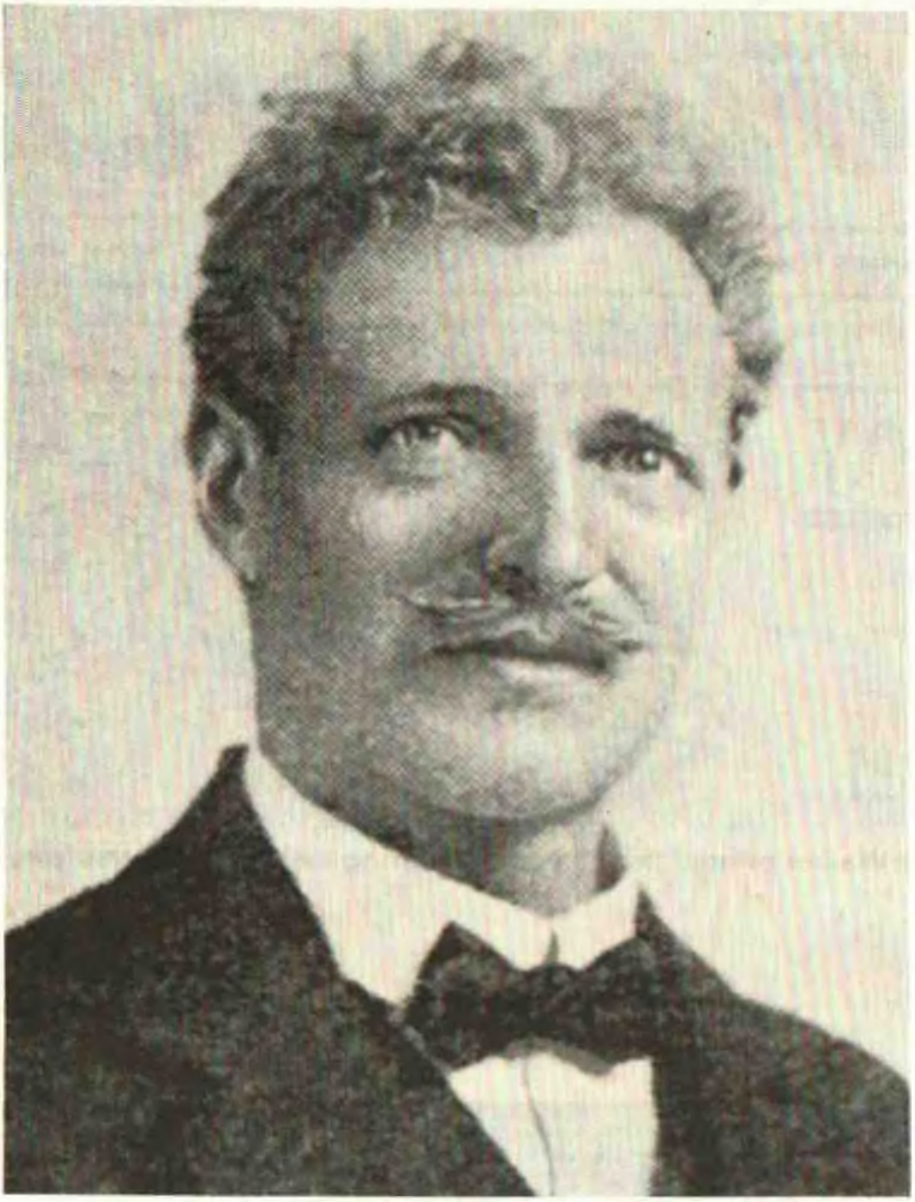
Inflammatory speech-making is a prerequisite to any riot. Here J.T. Bain addresses the mob

The Star Archives

The Star newspaper offices destroyed by the strikers of 1914

The Star Archives

Strikers read the declarations of Martial Law posted in Johannesburg



C. B. Mussared defied law and order during the strike

THE KLEINFONTEIN STRIKE OF 1913-1914

At the New Kleinfontein mine, trouble again flared over a change in working hours. By June 1913, 63 mines and more than 18 000 men had stopped work. Soon every mine on the Reef was affected. Hundreds of police and special troops were called in to maintain law and order. The strikers, incited by their leaders, burned the homes and personal belongings of some who opposed the strike. Vehicles carrying food and clothing to the mines were burned. The Star newspaper's offices were burnt out, as well as a portion of Park Station. Red flags were seen everywhere. Lists of names of the scabs who returned to work were displayed, calling for death to be imposed on them.[23] More socialist-implemented intimidation.

In defiance of a government order, a large meeting was held at Benoni and the workers were told: "Come armed if you can."[24] Inflamed by such rhetoric the strike leaders called a mass meeting at the Market Square for 4 July. The ever-present J. T. Bain, radical hothead and dedicated Marxist, whipped up the crowds. He shouted from a platform: "We are here to exercise our right of free speech."[25] Soon the crowd of about 10 000 broke loose in Johannesburg. They forced entry into shops and stores, stealing whatever they chose,

The Strike Herald

Registered as a Newspaper at the G.P.O.

No. 4. Benoni, Transvaal Wednesday, July 2nd, 1913. South Africa Price 3d.

Published on Wednesdays and Saturdays by the Strike Committee, and Issued by the Transvaal Federation of Trade Unions.

SAVOY

BENONI,

Where everybody goes

TO-NIGHT,

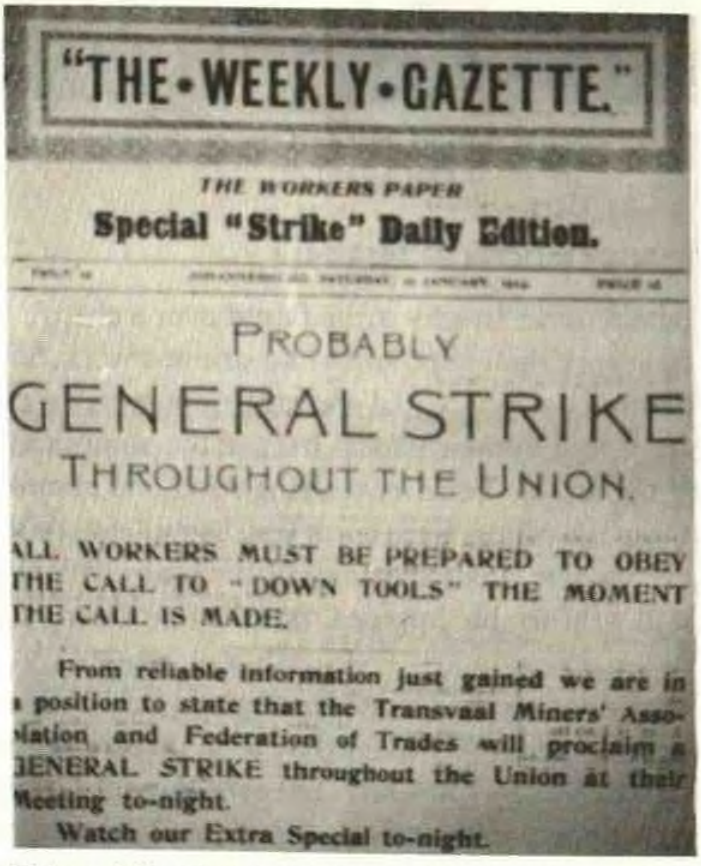
The Nature of the Brute

Grand Theatre, Benoni.

Proprietor: Dan Thomas.

Strange Memorial Library

Socialist Ivan Walker printed this newspaper during the strike. He was imprisoned for his trouble



"THE • WEEKLY • GAZETTE."

THE WORKERS PAPER

Special "Strike" Daily Edition.

PROBABLY

GENERAL STRIKE

THROUGHOUT THE UNION.

ALL WORKERS MUST BE PREPARED TO OBEY THE CALL TO "DOWN TOOLS" THE MOMENT THE CALL IS MADE.

From reliable information just gained we are in a position to state that the Transvaal Miners' Association and Federation of Trades will proclaim a GENERAL STRIKE throughout the Union at their Meeting to-night.

Watch our Extra Special to-night.

Strange Memorial Library

This publication kept the strike fires burning. It was edited by socialists

especially arms and ammunition. There can be no doubt that Bain's speeches incited the mobs to violence. Bain was assisted by socialist George Mason, one of the nine men illegally deported by the government a short time later. Various members of the Labour Party (LP) joined in the speech-making along with Bain and Mason and whipped up the wild mobs. Anarchy ruled!

S.A. Pictorial

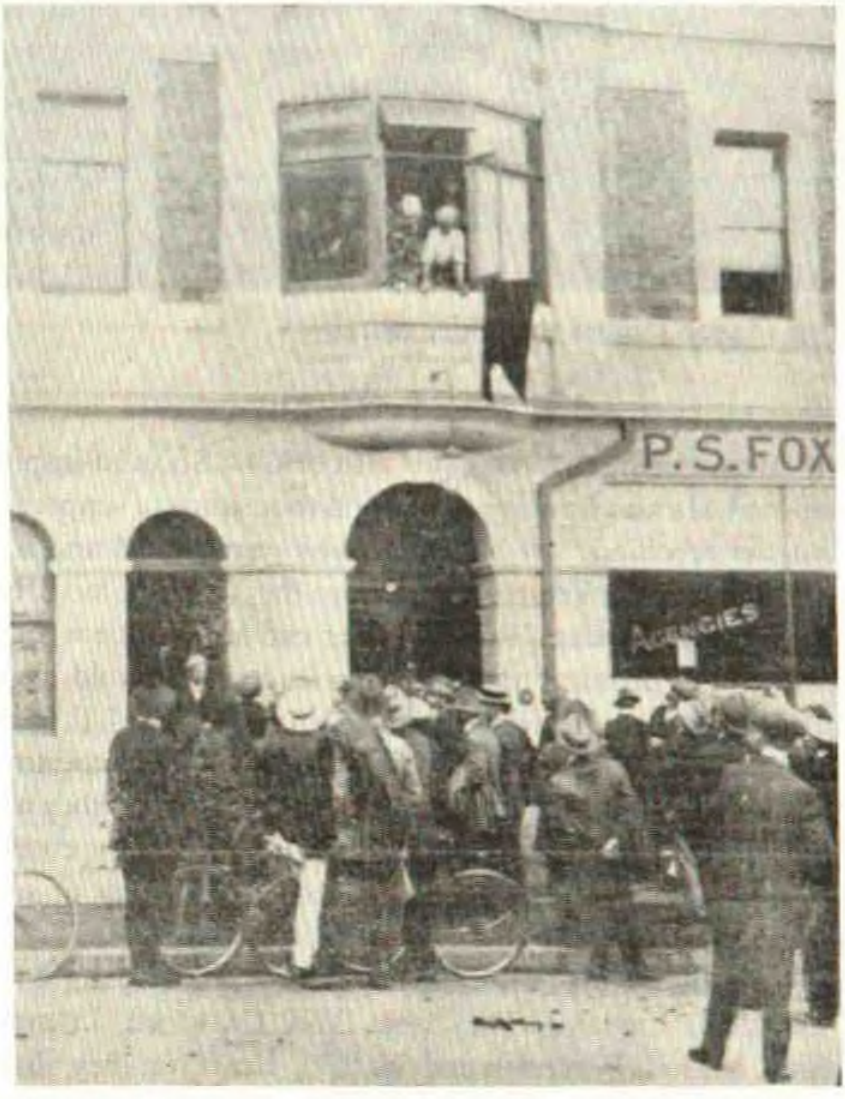
Socialist George Mason incites the angry workers

The turmoil and unrest carried over into 1914. Socialist-inspired resistance to government-imposed Martial Law continued and thousands of support troops were called in to stamp out the rebellion. All bars and pubs were closed and a rigid curfew was imposed. The strike leaders locked themselves into the Trades' Union Hall and threatened to shoot anyone who came near. However, their end soon came when a fearful-looking field gun was rolled into position and the strike leaders were told to surrender. After a speech by Bain, standing in the window, they marched out. J.T. Bain led the parade. Following him were Andrew Watson, Archie Crawford, H. Hutchinson, G. Kretschmar, G. Mason,[26] C. Mussared, G. Walmsley and J. C. Williamson. As they were marched away by the police, they broke into the singing of The Red Flag.[27] At the cost of 21 civilian lives and the death of six policemen the strike ended. Bain's gang of socialist thugs had performed well.

Shortly afterwards, the Smuts Government (without recourse to the law) deported nine of the strike leaders to England. They were Bain, Crawford, Livingstone, McKerrill, Morgan, Poutsma, Mason, Waterson and Watson. However, they all returned to South Africa a few months later, and most of them continued their revolutionary activities. One politician described them as "trained agitators, who will preach their own martyrdom and

The Star Archives

This arms and ammunition shop was raided by the strikers and looted



The Star Archives

George Mason and Bain, waving the Red flag, speak to strikers

our (South Africa's) damnation".[28] General Smuts once described Bain as "a villain" and another strike leader, Poutsma, as "a sinister figure, trained by the Dutch Syndicalist leader of Holland".[29] Many of the workers not sympathetic to the strike were caught by Bain's gangsters, locked in iron cages and pulled down the main streets to be scorned by the screaming mobs. Some were beaten while others had their homes burned to the ground. Along with comrades Bain and Mason, two other leaders in this fierce battle were Bill Andrews and Mary FitzGerald.

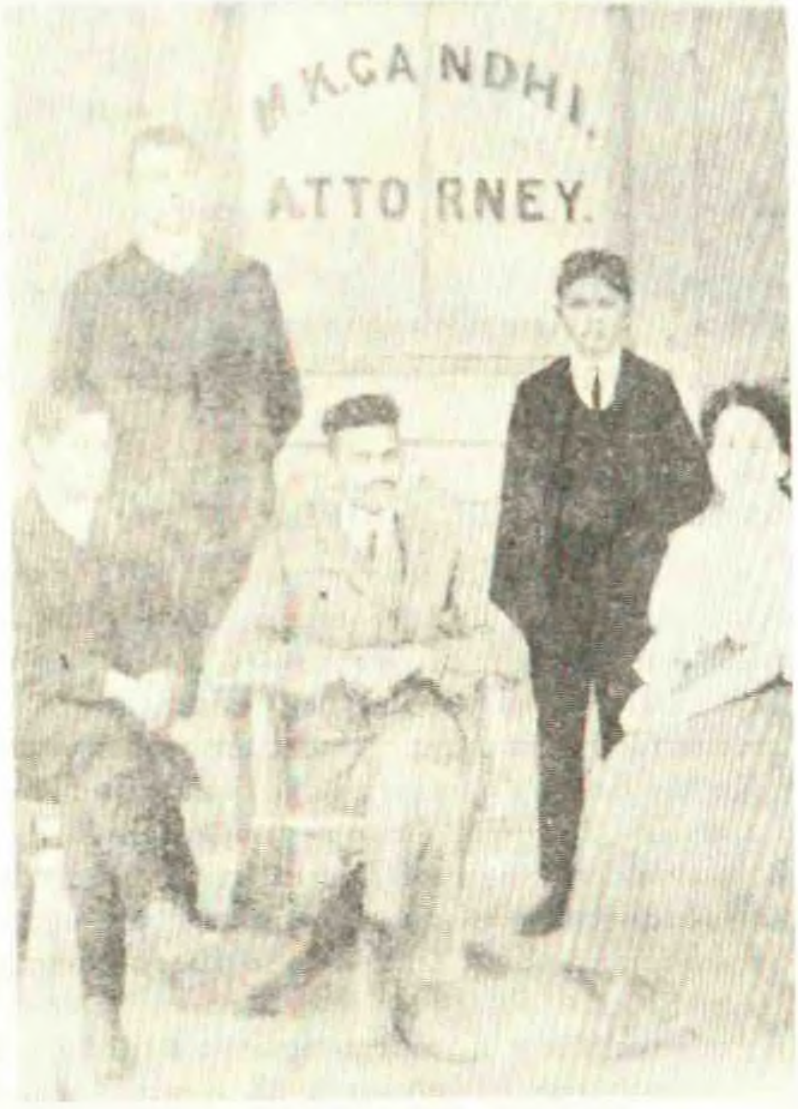
S.A. Pictorial

Labourite Dr. Haggard (left) stirs the boiling pot of riot. George Mason stands by

MAHATMA GANDHI'S STRIKE OF 1913

This strike arose out of a government law that required all Indians working in South Africa to pay a tax of £3 per year. This applied only to those who chose not to return to India, preferring to live in Natal. By 1913, there were well over 22 000 Indians working in Natal. An Indian lawyer, Mahatma Gandhi, came to South Africa in 1893 for a court case, but later took up the cause of the Indians. Gandhi suffered bitter insult, due to race hatred, while travelling in a train to Pretoria. From this time he fought for the Indians. In Natal, he established the Natal Indian Congress and led them on "non-violent" strike demonstrations. He was ably assisted by H.S.L. Polak and W.J. McIntyre.[30] Gandhi was a confirmed socialist. His actions on behalf of the suffering Indian people were not only on humanitarian grounds. They were also based on his socialistic, passive-resistance ideology. He left South Africa in 1914, never to return. However, his Natal Indian Congress would figure prominently in future communist activities in South Africa.[31] The organization subsequently merged into the South African Indian Congress, which later became a

When the police moved in this field gun (inset) and gave the strikers 20 minutes to march out, Bain decided the battle was over. Escorted by the police, they marched down the street singing The Red Flag



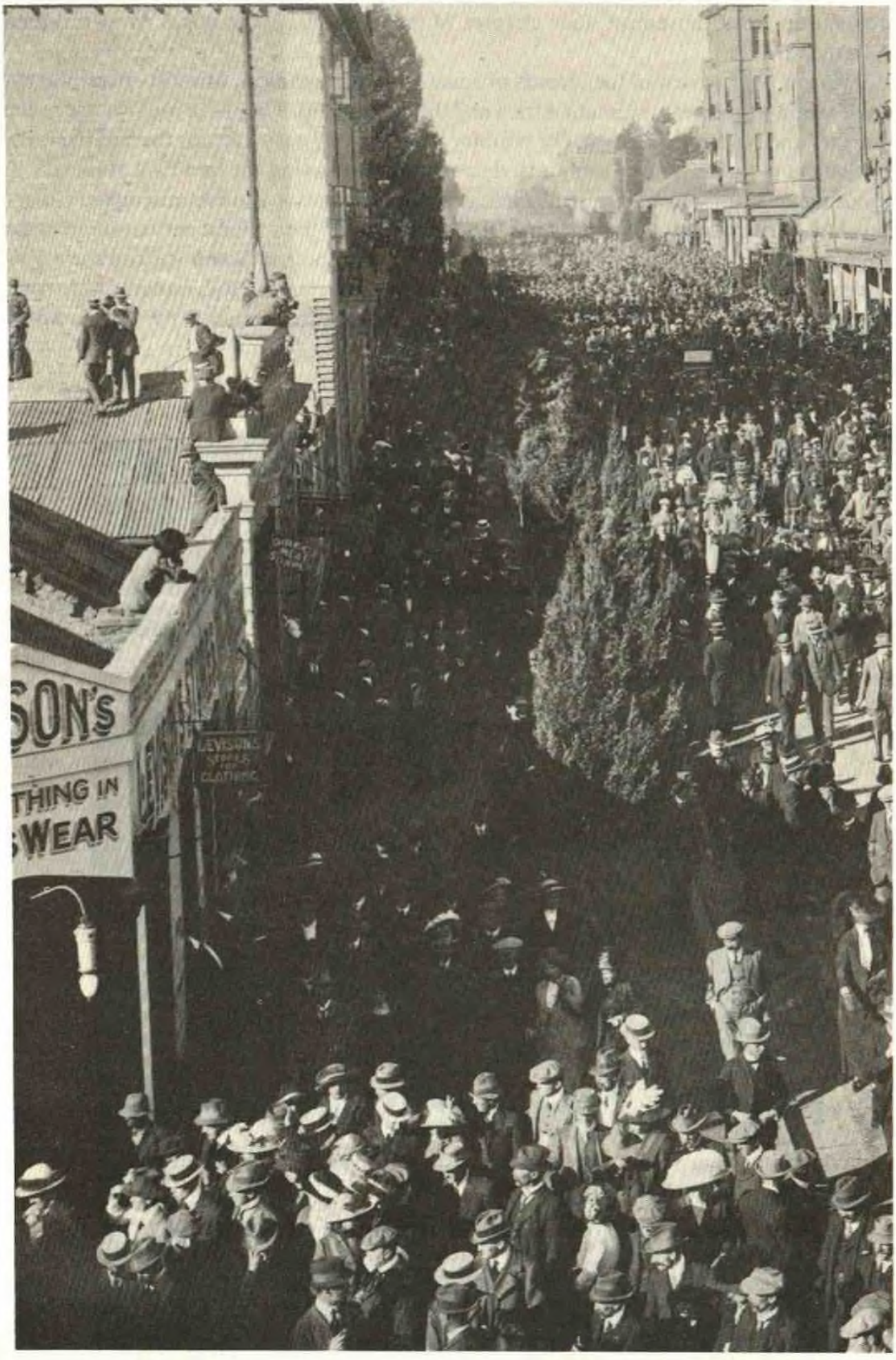
A rare photo of Gandhi and Polak (seated) during the days of Gandhi's "non-violent" demonstrations

communist front movement. (See chapter 14 under heading, The South African Indian Congress.)

This is a brief review of the records of some of the early radical, Marxist-contaminated trade union movements in South Africa and their leadership. They have been a curse to the workers and to the economy of the country in general. History exposes them as frontline promoters of fights, strikes, lock-outs, demonstrations, waving the Red Flag of socialism, shouting their anti-God Marxist slogans; guilty of inciting riot and even attempted violent revolutionary changes and overthrow. Various writers of the socialist persuasion struggle to gloss over these ugly facts and present these cancer spots in South African society as "angels of light" fighting for a better deal for the working classes. Nothing could be further from the truth. Later, many of these "good men" became the leaders in the CPSA. Some served it till death swept them into eternity.

The Star Archives

Marxist J. T. Bain refuses to vacate the Trades' Hall where he and other strikers were holding out. Police stand in the street below



The Argus Archives

Bree Street packed with strikers during the funeral of one of their "comrades" killed in the violence

Railwaymen & Workers All!

Do not be intimidated by the action of the Government in arresting your Leaders. The Government cannot arrest all the British Workers in the Colony, and all the Workers (British and Dutch alike) are with you, and willing to help you to win the fight.

Stand Together!

Fight Together!!

And the Fight is Won!!!

Strange Memorial Library

One of the handbills prepared by the socialists during the strike

The Star Archives

H. J. Poutsma, described as a "sinister figure", was a leader in the violence of the strike

DANGERS IN PRESENT AND FUTURE TRADE UNIONS

The myth that South Africa's trade unions present no trouble as far as the communist threat is concerned, must be attributed to a lack of knowledge. A former Cabinet Minister, Mr Fanie Botha, has gone on record as saying that "South African trade unions are no danger to the country".[32] One is astounded at the lack of knowledge of the history of South Africa's leftist unions and the turmoil they have created nationwide. Such knowledge deficiency can only harm the best trade unions, and assist those of socialist objectives. And positive distinction must always be made between the two.

Mr Joe Foster, general secretary of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), made some very daring statements in a speech given at a Fosatu meeting.

> "For the first time since the 1950s a major legal political force in South Africa has spelt out a commitment to overtly socialist society. Mr Foster praised the ANC (and called for) a workers control of society, for the Fosatu theme to be The Workers' Struggle and spoke of the possibility of 'overt socialism' entering the mainstream of South African politics, should Fosatu achieve its aims."[33]

Terms such as "workers' struggle", the "worker control of society", socialism entering South African politics and these things being a "precondition for Fosatu's contribution to the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa", are signals that someone in security circles should note carefully.

The Internal Security Act, 1982 reads in part:

> "Communism means any doctrine, ideology or scheme... which aims at the establishment of any form of socialism or collective ownership."[34]

As previously mentioned, various trade unions have over the course of South African history been the channels for leftist and communist agitation and serious unrest. A highly respected Pretoria publication writes that "Fosatu... (is) opposed to free enterprise (and) capitalism..."[35] Hence, Foster's call for "overt socialism".

Even ecumenical religion has entered the "struggle" as mentioned by certain trade unionists and joined hands with them. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has been involved in supporting "unregistered black trade unions in South Africa, especially (the) Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA)". The SACC (for some reason?) sent one of its editors, Mr Goba Ndhlovu, to America to study trade unionism. Upon his return to South Africa, he was appointed to the executive of the Southern Transvaal region of MWASA.[36]

A top man in the SACC, Bishop Tutu, refused to comment on rumours that the SACC was funding striking members of MWASA.[37] Tutu, well known as a radical and for his verbal support of the Marxist regime in former Rhodesia, has personally addressed MWASA congresses.[38] In addition, the SACC, in August 1981, invited several of the most radical trade unions, some having links with the SACTU, to a conference at its headquarters in Johannesburg.[39] These contacts and associations have not come about by accident, but have been skilfully planned.

Concerned South Africans of all race groups would do well to keep their eyes on the radical trade unions of present and future days. Once again, from these quarters, men will arise with hidden motives. As in the early days of the country, again the call for a "socialist South Africa" will be sounded and the struggle for Marxism will be revived within various leftist trade union circles. Even now sinister men are secretly plotting to

shake the nation via the channels of such organizations. It is surely coming.

Watch the radical trade unions!

Dedicated and determined communists have not forgotten the law laid down by Lenin regarding the union movements of the free, non-communist world. His words were: "In its work, the (Communist) Party relies directly on the trade unions..."[40]

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER FOUR

1. The socialist ambitions of Ruskin are briefly outlined in
   The Naked Capitalist
   The Ensign Publishing Company, Utah, USA 1978
   By W. Cleon Skousen, pp. 26-32
2. *The Boer War*
   J. Ball Publishers, Johannesburg 1979
   By Thomas Pakenham, p. 572
3. *Africa Insight*
   The Africa Institute,
   Pretoria No. 1, 1982, p. 19
   A comprehensive review of Russia's involvement in the war is found in
   Russia and the Anglo-Boer War 1899-1902
   CUM Books, Roodepoort, 1981
   By Elisaveta Kandyba-Foxcroft
4. *Russia and Black Africa Before World War II*
   Holmes and Meier Publishers, New York 1974
   By E.T. Wilson, pp. 80-81
5. Number 4, p. 82
6. "Socialists may imagine that they are not communists, for the reason that they believe in evolutionary, not revolutionary socialism; but communism is socialism. It was given the name 'communism' in the first place to distinguish between it and the Utopian socialism from which it was derived. Liberals ... are persuaded that if they want what communists want, for humanitarian or idealist reasons, they are not communists. (They are) bringing the communists closer to their objectives." (*Intelligence Survey*, December 1970, p. 4)

   Late party boss Khrushchev declared: "No, you won't accept communism outright, but we'll keep feeding you small doses of socialism until you wake up and find you have communism." *(National Committee of Christian Laymen*, New Jersey, 1972, p. 1)

   The final goal of all socialism is the state ownership of all the means of production and all the goods produced. This of necessity requires the removal and/or destruction of the capitalist system of free enterprise. This is exactly the first goal of world communism. After this point some socialists take different roads from the communists, but there is no economic difference between the two systems regarding this common and like goal. All the antagonisms and differences between present-day socialism and communism do not concern the ultimate and final aim of their policies.

   For a lucid explanation of the two systems see, *The Anti-Capitalist Mentality*, Libertarian Press, Illinois, USA, 1972. By Ludwig von Mises. For a clear interpretation of the final results of Marxist socialism, take a long look at the Berlin Wall! (See chapter 32, note 20 for further comments on socialism)
7. A Jewish traveller wrote these words about socialism in South Africa in the year 1885: "To many, socialism is like a red flag to a bull, and the socialist is looked upon as an outcast and a fire-brand by a large section of the community. The gospel of socialism is becoming a factor in all our future legislation."
   (*The Immortal History of South Africa*
   Vail and Company, London 1885
   By M.J. Boon, Vol. II, p. 374)
8. From article in the *Transvaal Leader*, 23 January 1905
9. *500 Years South African History*

H.R. Academica, Pretoria 1969
Edited by C.F.J. Muller, p. 369

10. Number 9, p. 369
11. This man was the grandfather of Bram Fischer, South Africa's leading communist in the late 1950s and early 1960s.
12. *History of South Africa*
Heer Printing Company, Pretoria 1971
By W.J. de Kock, p. 21
13. Research has provided little information about Haynes, save that he was a socialist trade unionist from England.
14. *A First Account of Labour Organization in South Africa*
Durban 1926
By Gitsham and Trembath, pp. 16-18
15. Number 14, p. 160.
Leaders in this movement were Jack Erasmus, W.H. Harrison and H.B. Levinson. All were socialists.
16. *Out of the Crucible*
Juta and Company Ltd., Johannesburg 1948
By Hedley A. Chilvers, p. 191
17. *2 000 Casualties*
Trade Union Council, Johannesburg 1961
By Ivan L. Walker and Bennie Weinbren, pp. 293-294
18. Number 16, pp. 188-189
19. Number 17, pp. 25-26
20. Number 14, p. 29
21. "In 1889 at an International Congress of Socialists, the working men of all countries decided that the first of May should henceforth be set apart as a working-class holiday, a day of struggle and a day of international brotherhood." (*The Young Worker*, Vol. II, No. 3, May 1924)

    From that date in 1889 up to the present, world socialists, communists and their breed have flexed their muscles and rattled their sabres at the capitalist world on May Day. However, its roots may be traced further back in history, even to the insane ex-Jesuit priest, Adam Weishaupt, leader of the secret Bavarian Illuminati of the late 1700s.

    Until the banning of the CPSA in 1950, South African communists and their friends always made a big noise every May Day to demonstrate their faith in socialism.
22. *The Cape Times*, 18 April 1919, carried an article by an American Senator, Mr King, in which he described "the Bolshevik organization and the International Workers of the World as essentially the same.
23. *Traitor's End: The Rise and Fall of the Communist Movement in Southern Africa*
Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
By N. Weyl, p. 44
(Hereafter referred to as *Traitor's End*)
24. *The Johannesburg Saga*
Published by John R. Shorten (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg 1970
By John R. Shorten, p. 264
25. Bain did his best to incite the strikers on the East Rand. Number 16, p. 192
26. George Mason played the leading role in inciting the blacks during the strike.

Comrade Bill
Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
By R.K. Cope, p. 30

27. *The Transvaal Leader*, 16 January 1914
28. Number 24, p. 265
29. Number 24, p. 265
30. *Memoirs of a Socialist in South Africa 1903-1947*
Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
By W.H. Harrison, p. 36
(Hereafter referred to as, *Memoirs of a Socialist*)
31. Number 9, pp. 371-398
32. *Die Burger*, 21 August 1982
33. Edited from *Sunday Times*, 18 April 1982
34. *Government Gazette*, No. 8232, 9 June 1982, p. 2
35. *Africa Insight*, Pretoria, Vol. 13, No. 3, p. 197, 1983
36. *The Star*, 16 February 1981, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 February 1981
37. *The Star*, 26 November 1980

    Despite the Bishop's refusal to comment, the truth is out! From 25 November 1980 through 29 November 1982 the SACC from its "Assingeni Disbursements" dished out to 8 different trade unions the sum total of R90 868. Several of these "recipients" allegedly have contacts with the communist mouthpiece SACTU. The money was given to aid in the "liberation struggle". (See *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into South African Council of Churches*, Pretoria, 1983, pp. 224-236)
38. *The Star*, 2 February and 25 March 1981
39. *The Citizen*, 11 September 1981, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 September 1981
40. *Left Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder*
Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1950
By V.I. Lenin, p. 53

CHAPTER FIVE

VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE LABOUR PARTY

SOCIALIST GROUPS FROM 1902 TILL 1909

During this period of South African history, various trade unions, national, social and political organizations were springing up. Some of these might correctly be called the great-grandparents of the Communist Party of South Africa. The standard feature of many of these groups (as already mentioned) was that their leadership consisted of radicals, socialists, Marxists and revolutionary fighters. Here is a brief review of some of these movements.

South Africa's top communist for years, William Henry (Bill) Andrews, a few months before his death

WITWATERSRAND TRADE AND LABOUR COUNCIL OF 1902

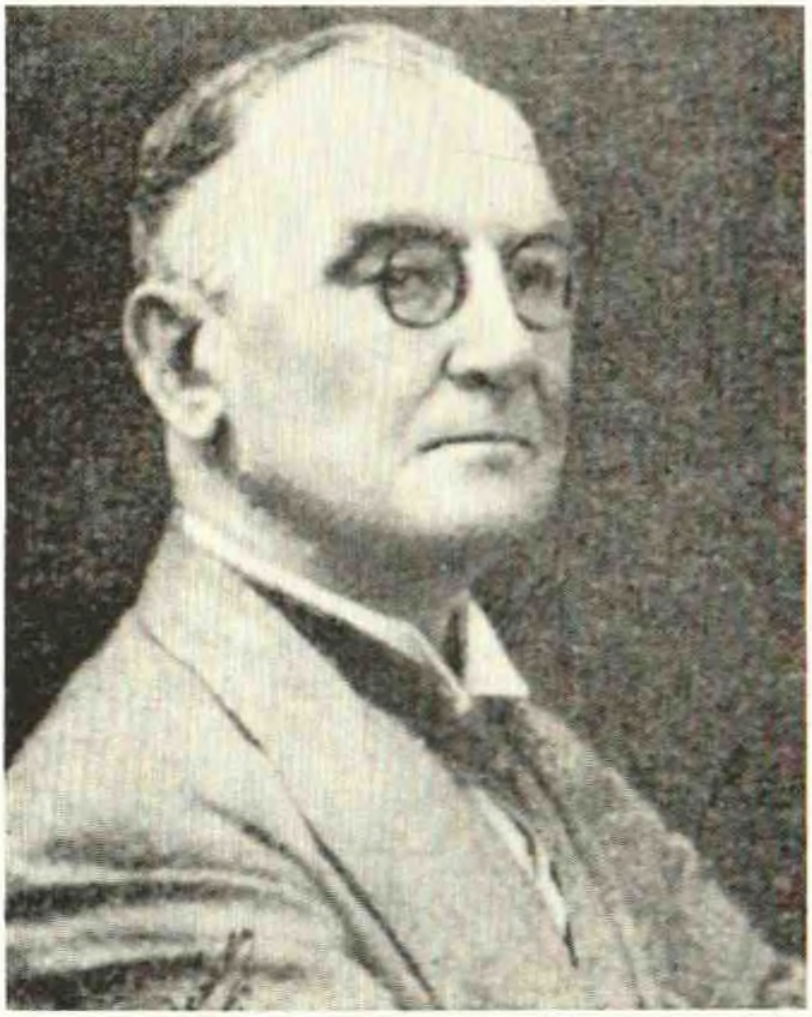
This was founded by Bill Andrews and Peter Whiteside, the militant Australian socialist.

After leaving the country at the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, Andrews returned to South Africa in early 1900. He was involved in countless strikes, labour troubles, demonstrations, riots and conflict situations with the police. Though he withdrew from active service in the communist party on one occasion for a few years, he later re-entered the CPSA. Andrews remained a dedicated communist all of his life. His biographer, R.K. Cope, says of Andrews' last days:

> "Every week young men and women in the communist and trade unions' movements trek out to the bungalow to talk to Comrade Bill. As students of Marxism they are probably above owning to any idea of hero worship."[1]

Andrews was over 70 years old when these youths were flocking to him for instruction in Marxism.

Peter Whiteside, born in Ballarat, Australia, in 1870, came to South Africa in 1893.[2] Whiteside was a noted socialist and participated in various labour and political events for years. Andrews' and Whiteside's Trade and Labour Council became a political pressure group trying to force various issues on the Chamber of Mines and the Boers. This was at the close of the war. At best, it should be classified as a militant pressure group, attempting to propagate the message of socialism and destroy the Chamber of Mines.



The tough Australian socialist Peter Whiteside

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY OF 1902

This was a dedicated Marxist organization. It was born under the direction of Jock Campbell, R. Rabb, I. Israelstam and C.B. Tyler. All of these men were noted for their vicious revolutionary proclivities. Their main work was a vast literary outreach. Receiving overseas shipments of socialist-revolutionary literature, they placed these in the hands of the unsuspecting miners.[3] This radical organization merged with the International Socialist League in 1915 and later with the communist party.

THE GENERAL WORKERS' UNION OF 1903

This was one of the earliest socialist bodies formed in Cape Town. It consisted of W.H. Harrison, J.L. Page and a harbour worker named Griffiths, all from England. Because of his outspoken socialism, Griffiths' job was threatened and he resigned. Briton J.L. Page, famed for his speeches on socialism from beneath the statue of Van Riebeeck, entered Parliament and Harrison resigned, being the only member left!

Despite this organization's short-lived existence, Harrison remarked that "he did not lose his enthusiasm".[4] He went on to form another socialist movement, of which some lengthy details are given in the next paragraph.

Former British soldier W. H. Harrison was a leading Marxist

concluded with "the unfurling of a Red flag" inscribed with the slogan, Socialism: the Hope of the Age, and they all stood and "sang The Red Flag".[16] Like their British parent body, which united with the British Labour movement,[17] Bain's group some years later merged into the South African Labour Party. Then a split from the Labour Party would a few years later become the CPSA.

During this period dozens of other organizations sprang up. Several of interest were the Jewish Socialist Society, the Friends of Russian Freedom, the German Vorwärts Club, the Natal Labour Party, the Bloemfontein Labour Party and the Socialist Society. Without exception, these were all infected by the doctrines of Marxist socialism.

Early leaders of the African National Congress. From left to right, front: Solomon T. Plaatje, Rev. H. Ngcayinya. Back: J. T. Gumede, L. T. Mvabaza, R. V. Selope Thema. Taken about 1918.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF 1912

Before the turn of the century, a few Africans were trying to organize themselves into

political groups. The first African political body was formed in the Eastern Cape in 1882. It was made up of teachers, a few clergymen and others. This organization was named Imbumba Yama Afrika (Moulding of Africa). Then, a few years later, the first black newspaper, called Imvo Zabantsunda (Voice of the People), appeared.

A Zulu who had been studying law at Columbia University and Oxford in England, Dr. Pixley ka I. Seme, returned to his native South Africa in 1910 and settled in Johannesburg.

Other black lawyers, such as Alfred Mangena, G.D. Monstioa and R.W. Msimang, returned to South Africa with Seme.[18] Led by Seme, these men organized the African National Congress (formerly South African Native National Congress) at a meeting in Bloemfontein in January 1912. Later, they issued their own ANC newspaper. Its membership consisted of some of the black intellectuals of those days, including teachers, lawyers and clergymen. The ANC was created originally as a respectable body, seeking a better deal for the blacks. The conditions of those days, the fierce oppression, the demon of race hatred, all held sway. Hence, the ANC was founded to aid and assist the blacks of South Africa. However, it was not destined to continue on this politically wholesome course.

Shortly after the CPSA was officially organized in 1921, its attention turned towards this powerful black organization. Later on, the ANC fell into the hands of the communists and became a captive organization for the aims of Marxism-Leninism in South Africa. (See chapter 14 under heading, Was The ANC A "Nationalist Organization"?)

THE FORMATION OF THE LABOUR PARTY 1909

In order to trace the roots of the South African communist movement, it is necessary to have a general understanding of the Labour Party. This political organization helped to pave the way for the founding of the CPSA. Within its ranks were scores of liberals, left-wingers, socialists, Marxists, "conservatives" and outright communists. In 1907, six small organizations united to form the Labour Representation Committee (LRC), headed by Bill Andrews.[19]

A year later (1908), a provisional conference was held in Durban, with the aim of amalgamating the various labour groups into one united party. Later, a conference was held in Johannesburg during October 1909 at which, inter alia, the following were represented:

The Labour Representation Committee
The Natal Labour Party
The Bloemfontein Labour Party
The Cape Socialist Democratic Federation
The Independent Labour Party
The Socialist Society

Several trade unions were also represented. The document relating these facts continues: "after a final conference at Durban during January 1910, the South African Labour Party was officially established".[20] Communist Bill Andrews was a foundation member of the Labour Party. This new body was under the leadership of F.H.P. Creswell, a former mining engineer. Its official newspaper was The Worker, edited by Wilfred Wybergh. This listing of bizarre political groups which merged to form the Labour Party allows one to see the organization's political content.

South African Labour Party Conference, Johannesburg, 9-11 October 1909

Top row, left to right: C. Mussared, W. Holmes, W. S. Brebner, J. Dowd, unknown, W. J. Carbis, Tom Matthews, J. Coward, D. Walker, I. Cook, H. Locker, J. J. Ware. Middle row: J. Reid, H. Thomas, unknown, T. Kirby, unknown, unknown, J. Davidson, R. Stuart, W. Blake, A. Crawford, D. Livingstone, J. Clark, J. W. Capstick, L. Austoker, F. T. Proudie, Mr Gold, unknown. Front row: Unknown, W. R. Burns, Mr McQueen, Mr Hildebrand, Mr Jackson, J. Dalgetty, J. Duff, W. H. Finch, H. W. Sampson. W. H. Andrews, G. H. Parkhouse, Dr C. H. Haggard, W. H. Pritchard. J. Trembath, Mary FitzGerald, Robert Taylor, unknown. Sitting in front: J. Berman and O. H. Evans. This list is not complete

THE

WEEKLY NEWS

AND TRADES CHRONICLE.

Workers, Support the "Worker"

The Worker

The "Worker" Supports You

THE OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY.

JOHANNESBURG, THURSDAY, JULY 3, 1913. Published Weekly. Price 3d.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK.

Anti-Strike Legislation in Peru.

BRIGHT'S STOCKTAKING SALE. Mens' and Boys'

Strange Memorial Library

The Worker was the official voice of the Labour Party. The Weekly News also carried the Labour Party line

THE LABOUR PARTY AND "WHITE SOCIALISM" ONLY

The Labour Party, which continually advertised as being "fully socialistic", found itself forced into a situation which revealed its true colours. Its boast of "bringing in a just socialist society" was demolished by the issue of Chinese labour. During the Boer War, the goldmines closed and the black labour force was scattered. They did not return to the mines at the end of the war in the numbers anticipated. Thus, with a drastic shortage in the workforce, the mines could not operate properly.

Several attempts were made to solve the problem. A group of Italians were imported into the goldfields and this produced a riot situation. There were also rumours of contracts for 100 000 young Russian Jews to augment the labour force of that time. Finally, on 2 December 1902, a resolution was passed by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines to bring Chinese workers to the goldfields on a repatriation system. The resolution created an explosion.

By 1906, some 50 000 Chinese were working on the Rand. The sudden increase in robberies, murders, rapes and other crimes caused panic. Rumours spread that the Chinese were criminals and gangsters sent to South Africa to relieve a Chinese prison shortage. The Labour Party, led by Creswell, fought to have the Chinese deported and demanded white supremacy, a fixed colour bar and strict job reservation for all skilled and semi-skilled white workers. It was continually beating the drum for socialist equality in its early days, but the rhythm was only understood by the whites. (The present-day Chinese population of South Africa are not descendants of those brought into the country at the turn of the century.) Such actions of the Labour Party socialists revealed their hypocrisy.

The principles of socialism are (supposedly) universal, applying to all workers regardless of their race or colour. Despite this fact, the South African Labour Party looked upon itself as a protector of white labour against coloured competition, as well as against every form of capitalism.

Africana Museum

A protest meeting held in Boksburg (1907) over the question of bringing Chinese to work in the mines

Africana Museum

The ruthless Chinese mine police were given this special work by the Chamber of Mines officials

THE LABOUR PARTY: A SOCIALIST-MARXIST HOTBED

Heated debate has raged regarding the Labour Party and the South African communist movement. Many Labourites were ignorant enough to deny any likeness or similarity. The more honest ones have candidly admitted the truth. One writer says: "Its main plank of attainment was the socialist objective."[21] Another writes that "the Labour Party (was) the political wing for the trade unions".[22] One of South Africa's prominent socialists stated: "The only difference between the Communist Party and the Labour Party is that the communists, following the Moscow slogan, give special attention to the Natives..."[23] He continued: "the objective of the two bodies is the same . . ." [24] An undated booklet (found in the Strange Memorial Library) put out by the South African Labour Party (circa. 1940) reads: "The Labour Party seeks to establish a people's government in the place of a capitalist one."[25]

During the early days, the Labour Party, swollen with success, had within its ranks the Marxist radicals who would years later break forth and create the communist party.[26] Throughout its existence, it was a mecca of political militants of every sort, mixed with "non-communist conservatives". Such a mixture of political light and darkness carried within itself the seeds of destruction.

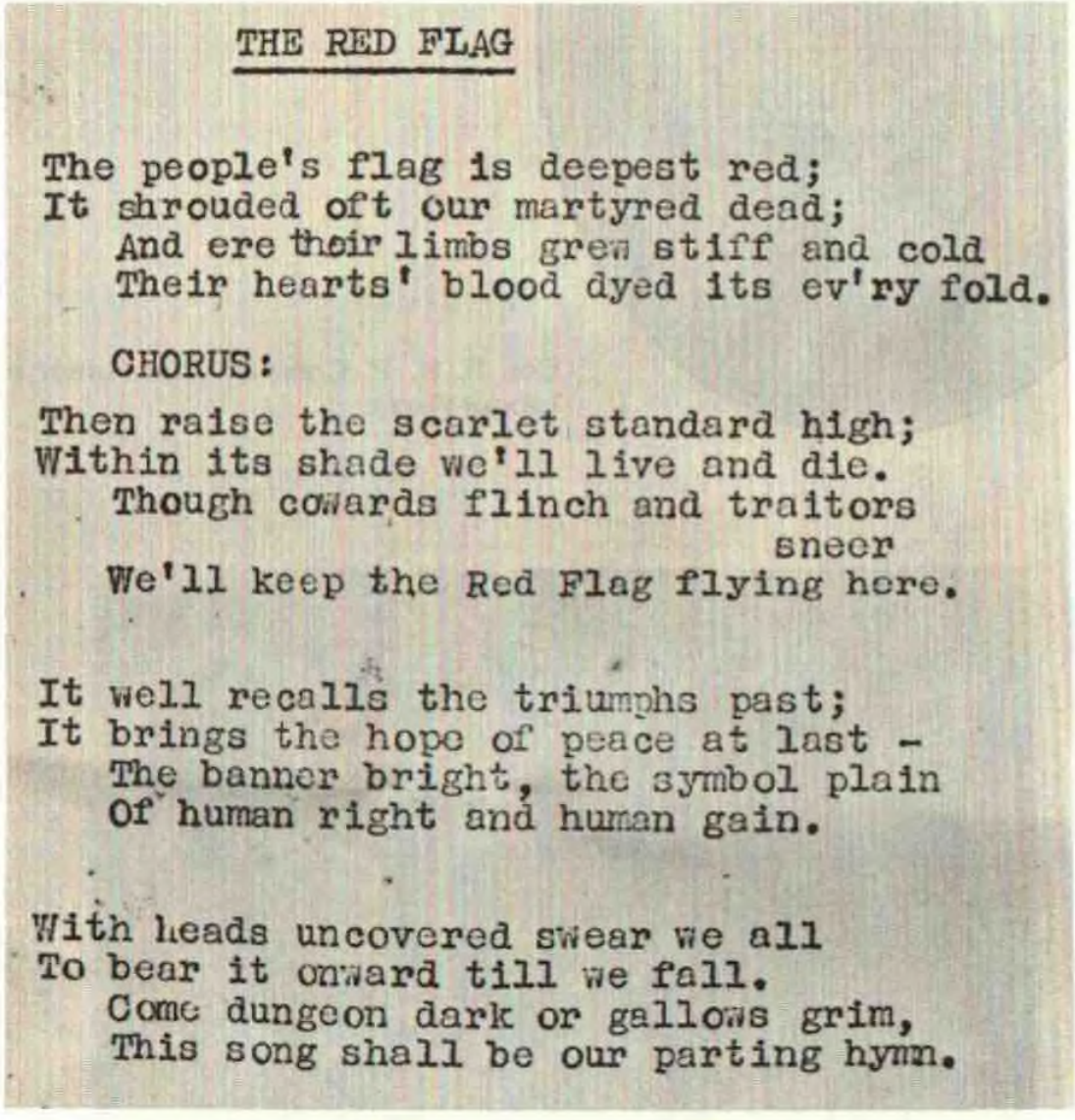
Both communists and Labourites used the Red flag, rigorously observed May Day celebrations and sang the socialist hymn, The Red Flag. British socialist W.H. Harrison flatly stated: "Fundamentally . . . the Labour Party and the communists do not differ."[27] Harrison, in a letter to a newspaper, declared of the Labour Party: "They are all Marxians, basing their policy on the original Marx and Engels Manifesto of 1848. They . . . support all forms of industrial unrest on a class-war basis."[28] "In 1913 the Labour Party became a member of the notorious International Socialist Bureau."[29] Still worse, the Labour Party for years was infected by moral rot. Letters found in the personal files of the elite Labour Party Club in Johannesburg tell a revealing story.

Among the letters are several from the South African Police, dated 15 November and 12 December 1939 and addressed to the Secretary of Labour Party Club, Kerk Street, Johannesburg. They carry numerous warnings about "drunkenness, brawling, and suspected gambling". One letter complains of "women of dreadful character accompanying men to the club for drinks" and of "frequent fights".[30] Numerous leaders of

the Labour Party held strong ties with the Bolsheviks and later with the Russian tyrant Joseph Stalin. Jessie McPherson, who in 1946 became Johannesburg's first woman mayor, was also national chairman of the Labour Party. One author reports of her:

> "She was a very active committee member of the Medical Aid for Russia Fund, from its inception to the end of the war, and in recognition of her services, the Russian government awarded her the Soviet Medical Red Cross Crescent."[31]

Details of McPherson's close association with communists are given later.



THE RED FLAG

The people's flag is deepest red;
It shrouded oft our martyred dead;
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold
Their hearts' blood dyed its ev'ry fold.

CHORUS:

Then raise the scarlet standard high;
Within its shade we'll live and die.
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer
We'll keep the Red Flag flying here.

It well recalls the triumphs past;
It brings the hope of peace at last -
The banner bright, the symbol plain
Of human right and human gain.

With heads uncovered swear we all
To bear it onward till we fall.
Come dungeon dark or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn.

Strange Memorial Library

The Red Flag, official anthem of socialists and communists in early South Africa

C.F. Miles-Cadman, a leading member of the Labour Party, wrote the book, Socialism for South Africa (The Rustica Press, Cape Town, 1942). Its concluding chapter has the title, Socialism the Complete Solution. This reveals the ignorance of various LP supporters and their total faith in socialism.

The Labour Party had left it to the communists to provide leadership for the non-European workers (the blacks). But this slowly changed. By 1941, the leaders began to rethink their isolationist policies towards black workers. In 1953, the Labour Party issued a statement of "peaceful co-operation between black and white... and to remove all obstacles to its achievement".[32]

News Room - Jhb Library

Col. F. H. P. Creswell, first leader of the Labour Party

The famous "Red Provincial Council" of 1914. Front row: J. Clark, G. Hills, A. F. Crisp. Second row: Dan Dingwall, G. B. Steer, G. H. Kretschmar, Frank Lucas, P. Deys, J. J. Ware, Harry Miller. Third row: R. M. Forrester, I. Kuper, A. Grant, W. Light, S. P Bunting, A. Ruffels, E. Cresswells. Back row: S. J. Pienaar, Colin Wade, J. Forrester Brown, J. E. Riley, and Sam Parker (See documentation note number 26)

At the close of 1953, the South African Labour Party was firmly supporting more worldwide socialist movements and policies than ever before.[33] But it had become something of a head without a body. In 1958, the Labour Party died a natural death and vanished from the political arena of South Africa.

The political history of the Western world demonstrates that labour groups of this nature have been a curse to society. Basically they have, in time, become chief trouble-makers and channels for strikes, riots, bloodshed, demonstrations, fights and a target for communist infiltration. On 9 July 1966, a successful attempt was made to create a new Labour Party within the South African context. Among the coloured communities of the country it appeared as the Coloured Labour Party. A well-known and brilliant coloured educationist, Dr. Richard van der Ross, delivered the keynote address at the occasion.[34] Several Labour Party leaders are often seen stepping onto the stage and behind the speaker's rostrum flashing the clenched-fist salute. This act gives serious offence to the better-informed people of the coloured community, because they are familiar with its origin and vicious meaning.[35]

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER FIVE

1. The most exhaustive study of Andrews' life is found in
   Comrade Bill
   Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
   By R.K. Cope, pp. 7-17, 275, 331-332
2. *A First Account of Labour Organization in South Africa*
   Durban 1926
   By Gitsham and Trembath, p. 179
3. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, p. 2
   J.T. Bain was the chief distributor of socialist literature coming from overseas. Two of the most popular publications were Robert Blatchford's *Clarion* and his Marxist paper called *Merrie England*. (See note 12 below)
4. *Memoirs of a Socialist*
   Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
   By W.H. Harrison, p. 2
5. *The British Communist Party*
   Adam and Black, London 1975
   By Henry Pelling p. 1
6. Number 5, pp. 2-3
7. Number 4, p. 5
8. Number 4, p. 6
9. Number 4, pp. 13-14
10. Number 4, p. 13
11. Number 4, pp. 16-17
12. Blatchford Clarion Group. This was a radical, anti-Semitic group located in Britain. Robert Blatchford published a newspaper, *Clarion*, which had a large circulation even in America. They were connected with the Fabian Socialists. (See note 3 above and also *The Great Deceit*, Veritas Foundation, New York 1964 by A.B. Roosevelt and Z. Dobbs, pp. 141-142)
13. Number 4, p. 39
14. Number 2, p. 150
15. Hardie was a renegade Fabian who spoke to thousands around the world during his "Socialist Campaigns". He died in 1915.
16. Number 4, pp. 21-22
17. Number 5, pp. 13, 15, 83 and 92
18. *The Voice*, 17 January 1982
19. Number 3, p. 4
20. Number 3, p. 4
21. *2 000 Casualties*
    Trade Union Council, Johannesburg 1961
    By Ivan L. Walker and Bennie Weinbren, p. 319
22. *South African Workers*
    Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg 1969
    By Muriel Horrell, p. 2
23. Number 4, p. 145
24. Number 4, p. 145

25. The Wits University department of historical manuscripts, Cullen Library, contains one of the best collections of Labour Party documents.

26. Because so many of the Labour Party members were elected to the Provincial Council of the Transvaal in March 1914, it was called "The Red Provincial Council". A photo of it is reproduced in this chapter.

27. Number 4, p. 150

28. Number 4, p. 150

29. Number 3, p. 4

30. From a portion of the official records of the Labour Party, 1936-1940, in Strange Memorial Library, Johannesburg, classification No. 329 (68).

31. *The Johannesburg Saga*
Published by John R. Shorten (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg 1970
By John R. Shorten, p. 138

32. Edited from *The Politics of Inequality*
Thames and Hudson, London 1958
By G.M. Carter, pp. 341-342

33. The Labour Party sought to retain association with the world Socialist International movement. In one of its publications, *Socialist International Information*, November 1970, this group's aim is clearly stated: "The ultimate objective of the parties of the Socialist International is nothing less than world government. As a first step towards it, they seek to strengthen the United Nations." It is indeed interesting that the United Nations is cited as a first step to world government!

34. *Coloured: A Profile of Two Million South Africans*
Human & Rousseau, Cape Town 1974
By Al J. Venter, p. 4

35. Though often used by individuals who are totally ignorant of its significance, the clenched-fist is nevertheless a signal reflecting the total destruction of every opponent. (See note 5 under documentation for chapter 17)

CHAPTER SIX

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE AND BOLSHEVISM

THE WAR OF 1914 SPLITS THE LABOUR PARTY

With the advent of the First World War, the powerful organization, the South African Labour Party, found itself split down the middle. Officially, the Labour Party, in joining the International Socialist Bureau and signing the Stuttgart anti-war agreement, should have cleared itself from the war question.[1] But this was not so. The war hurled a thunderbolt into the very middle of the organization. Some of the Labourites were clearly in favour of supporting the South African Government's entrance into the war against Germany. Others were fiercely opposed to such a policy. Consequently, a crisis situation appeared.

Numerous groups rose up to denounce the war. One of these was the Administrative Council of the Labour Party, which met on 2 August 1914 under the chairmanship of Bill Andrews. They drew up a sharp resolution of protest against entering the war.[2] Other socialistic bodies followed suit. The Worker, official organ of the Labour Party, still edited by socialist W. Wybergh (who was a very close friend of Creswell, the leader of the party), put out an edition praising the entrance into the war.[3]

In September 1914, the Botha-Smuts Government decided to enter the war and to invade the Germans in South West Africa. Later, Creswell himself volunteered for military service and was given the rank of colonel. A large number of Labourites cast their lots for the war and in favour of fighting Germany. However, 20 leading members defected from the party, being opposed to entering the war.

THE LABOURITE INTERNATIONALISTS GET BUSY

Those not in favour of the war soon acquired the name of Internationalists. This was considered proof of their unswerving international socialist principles. However, the first split soon occurred in this anti-war, socialist organization.

Andrews, who at first fiercely opposed the war, suddenly changed sides. He stepped over into the camp of his former enemies.[4] He was now for the war! Soon an opposing group known as the War on War League appeared. A socialist named Colin Wade issued a leaflet in Germston calling for War on the Warites.[5] A deluge of printed matter flooded the Reef from the War on War League. It condemned the government for entering the war and fought everyone who felt otherwise. Some of the old staunch Labourites even converted to the League. The Internationalists were continually active. For two months, they published a paper called The War on War Gazette. It became so vicious that the government censored it out of existence.[6]

Finally, there was a grand showdown on the issue. On 22 August 1915, a Labour Party conference was held in the Selbourne Hall, Johannesburg. Creswell (in favour of

the war) had marshalled a majority. After many fights, skirmishes, boos and cheers and amid the singing of The Red Flag, the end came.[7] An observer at the meeting described it in this way:

> "The hall rocked to the thunder of shouting, booing and cheering. Singing The Red Flag, Andrews and his supporters walked out. They took with them three leading officials of the Labour Party and seven of the executive."[8]

This group that walked out, six years later became the Communist Party of South Africa.

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE FOUNDED IN 1915

One month following the big walkout from the Labour Party meeting in the Selbourne Hall, a new organization appeared. It was named the International Socialist League (ISL). On 22 September 1915, a general meeting was held in the Trades' Hall, Rissik Street, Johannesburg. Eight Rand branches of the now weakened Labour Party were present and linked up with the ISL. Bill Andrews was elected as chairman, David Ivor Jones as secretary and Gabriel Weinstock as treasurer. S.P. Bunting, A.B. Dunbar and W. Light were elected as members of the administrative committee. J. A. Clark and A. F. Crisp were elected as sub-chairmen. Some of the men involved in forming the ISL on this occasion were J. M. Gibson, C. B. Tyler, J. T. Bain, George Mason, Andrew Watson and numerous others.[9] Many communists united with the ISL. After a "windy" speech-making session, the meeting concluded with the crowd singing The Red Flag.[10]

The Star

Jimmie Clark and A. F. Crisp. Both were leading Marxists in the ISL

In September 1915, they launched their own newspaper, The International, which, in time, became the first chief mouthpiece for communism across South Africa. Its distribution reached as far as Cape Town and into every major centre. An early edition of The International carried a major article by David I. Jones which opened with these words:

> "Here we plant the flag of the New International in South Africa. What the Labour movement requires is a return to the communist Manifesto of Karl Marx."[11]

The Star

Left to right: H. W. Sampson, H. Chapman, H. J. Poutsma, A. Watson, Tom Matthews, J. Connerty and Tom A. Haynes make up a delegation to Pretoria. All were socialists

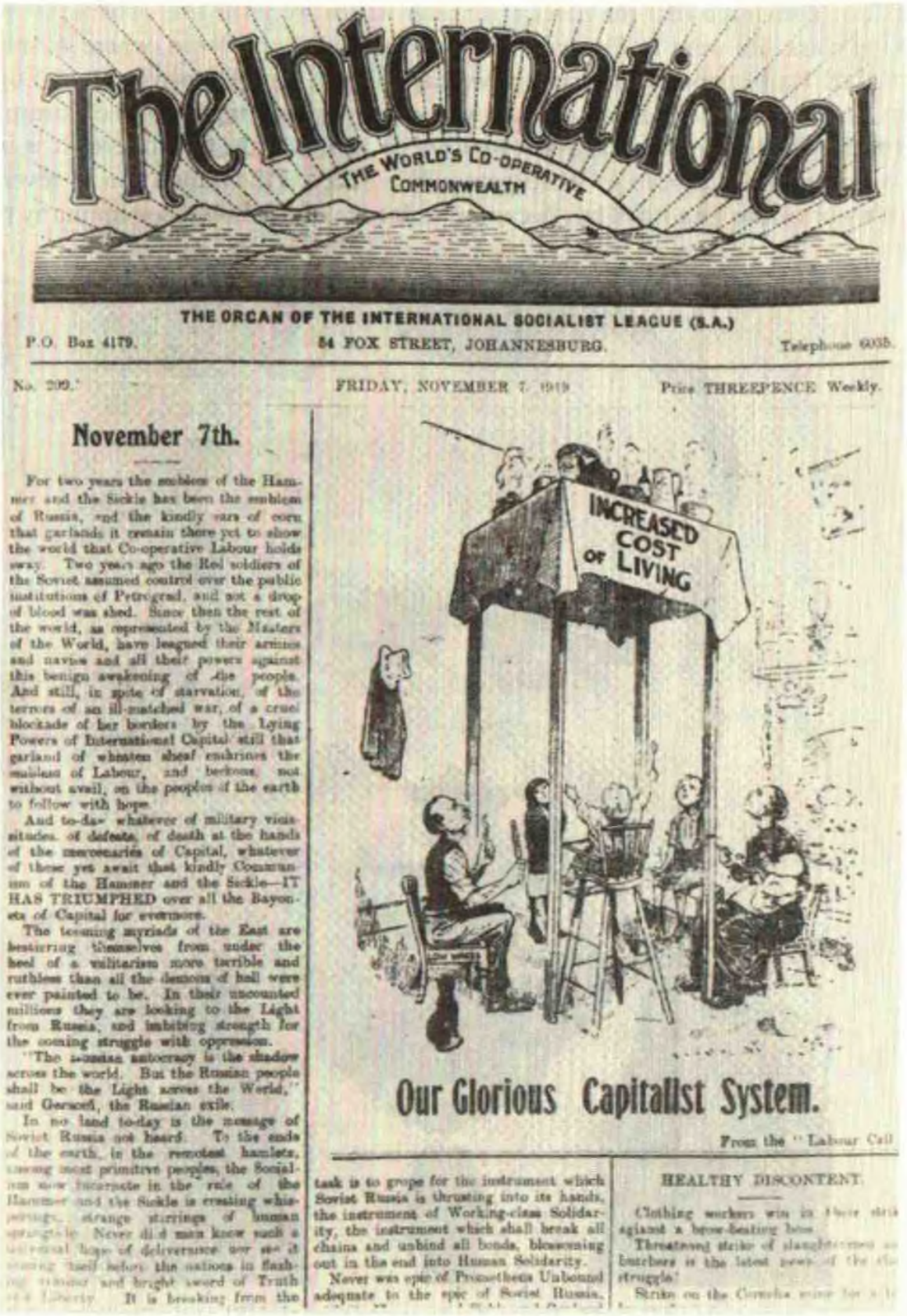
The ISL also received into its membership the Socialist Labour Party, a fierce Marxist movement. Since its founding in 1902, it had propagated the version of Marxism as originated by the American communist, Daniel de Leon, who died in 1914. The De Leonites made a tremendous impact in both Britain and America. Their message of Marxism bristled with hate and damning harangue for all opponents. They were rigid and immovable in plan and pursuit. On one occasion, they received praises from Lenin himself, but this was short-lived.

From the De Leonites' organization came the militant Industrial Workers of the World movement. Two of their most famous converts were Englishmen Tom Mann and Willie Gallagher.[12] The leading De Leon proponents within the Socialist Labour Party, Jock Campbell and R. Rabb, now began preaching their militancy within the ranks of the ISL. However, the end soon came for all "distortions in true communist thought" with the publishing of Lenin's book (in 1920), Left Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder. It laid down the law for every form of communist tactics to be used. It carried the command: Use anything that works, to reach your desired goal. This devastated the inflexible De Leonites. Within a few years, the ISL, with its mixture of weird and wonderful proponents of Marxism, was to become the Communist Party of South Africa, hereafter mostly referred to as the CPSA.

They immediately went to work to seek alliances with similar organizations. When the ISL of South Africa learned that a body overseas was attempting to establish a new International League, they quickly requested affiliation. The body, led by Lenin (called Zimmerwald-group), granted their request. With this move, the "ISL was drawn into the Leninist sphere of influence".[13] This must be considered as the first really fatal step taken by the ISL, which would, in time, lead them into the arms of the

future Moscow Comintern, directed by Lenin himself. Today, over sixty years later, the CPSA is still slavishly one of the most loyal communistic groups, dedicated in blind fanaticism to the Kremlin.

Later the Zimmerwald-group became the famous Third International. Soon, the South African ISL had established a Socialist Sunday School and were busy writing and attempting to distribute their Marxist propaganda in the major centres.



The International

THE WORLD'S CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH

THE ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE (S.A.)

P.O. Box 4179. 84 FOX STREET, JOHANNESBURG. Telephone 6035.

No. 209. FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1919. Price THREEPENCE Weekly.

November 7th.

For two years the emblem of the Hammer and the Sickle has been the emblem of Russia, and the kindly ears of corn that garlands it remain there yet to show the world that Co-operative Labour holds sway. Two years ago the Red soldiers of the Soviet assumed control over the public institutions of Petrograd, and not a drop of blood was shed. Since then the rest of the world, as represented by the Masters of the World, have leagued their armies and navies and all their powers against this benign awakening of the people. And still, in spite of starvation, of the terrors of an ill-matched war, of a cruel blockade of her borders by the Lying Powers of International Capital still that garland of wheaten sheaf enshrines the emblem of Labour, and bellows, not without avail, on the peoples of the earth to follow with hope.

And to-day whatever of military vicissitudes, of defeats, of death at the hands of the mercenaries of Capital, whatever of these yet await that kindly Communism of the Hammer and the Sickle—IT HAS TRIUMPHED over all the Bayonets of Capital for evermore.

The teeming myriads of the East are bestirring themselves from under the heel of a militarism more terrible and ruthless than all the demons of hell were ever painted to be. In their uncounted millions they are looking to the Light from Russia, and imbibing strength for the coming struggle with oppression.

"The Russian autocracy is the shadow across the world. But the Russian people shall be the Light across the World," said Gerscoff, the Russian exile.

In no land to-day is the message of Soviet Russia not heard. To the ends of the earth, in the remotest hamlets, among most primitive peoples, the Socialism now incarnate in the rule of the Hammer and the Sickle is creating whispers, strange stirrings of human sympathy. Never did man know such a universal hope of deliverance nor see it [illegible] before the nations in flashing armour and bright sword of Truth [illegible]. It is breaking from the

Our Glorious Capitalist System.

From the "Labour Call

task is to grope for the instrument which Soviet Russia is thrusting into its hands, the instrument of Working-class Solidarity, the instrument which shall break all chains and unbind all bonds, blossoming out in the end into Human Solidarity.

Never was epic of Prometheus Unbound adequate to the epic of Soviet Russia.

HEALTHY DISCONTENT.

Clothing workers win in their strike against a brow-beating boss.

Threatened strike of slaughtermen as butchers is the latest news of the class struggle.

Strike on the Cornish mines for a [illegible]

Cape Town Library

The International, first official newspaper of communism in South Africa

FAMOUS ISL MEMBERS

Among the many charter members of the newly founded ISL were several men who were destined to become "famous" for promoting communism in South Africa, and one of them in Russia itself.

The first was David Ivor Jones, born in 1883 in Wales. He came to South Africa for health reasons in 1909. He joined the Labour Party headed by Creswell and was elected as its secretary in 1914. He broke with the group and helped to form the ISL in 1915. Jones was convinced that the blacks of South Africa were the true proletariat of the working class. He went to France in 1920 along with Sam Barlin, where he met the fierce Karl Radik, one of the most powerful Bolshevik spokesmen in all of Europe. From France, he travelled to Russia to attend the second congress of the Communist International. Remaining in Russia, he went to work for the Comintern. It is ironic that a South African (born in Wales) actually pioneered the translation of several of Lenin's works into English. They became standard texts and were used for many years.

Institute for Study of Marxism

A rare photo of David I. Jones, first secretary of the ISL and a leading communist. He died in Russia in 1924 and was buried in the Kremlin

Jones pleaded with the Comintern to "reinforce the communist movement in South Africa".[14] He maintained a prolific correspondence with Bill Andrews. Jones remained in Russia and died in Yalta in 1924.[15] He was reportedly buried with the highest honours in the Kremlin Wall of Moscow. Bill Andrews visited him shortly before his death. (See chapter 8 under heading, Comrade Andrews Goes To Moscow.)

Another big name in the early communist movement of South Africa was Sidney Percival Bunting. He came to South Africa as a British soldier in the Boer War. Born in London in 1873 and educated at the fashionable St. Paul's School, Bunting was described by a former teacher as "brilliant". Following the cessation of the war, he returned to South Africa. He took a degree in law and opened his own practice in Johannesburg. An accomplished musician, he assisted in founding the Johannesburg Musical Society in 1902. In December 1916, he married a Russian Jewess named Rebecca Notlowitz, herself a dedicated lifelong communist. Rebecca worked faithfully with her husband in the ISL and later the CPSA.[16] Their son Brian became a lifelong follower of Soviet communism.

S. P. Bunting, a top early South African communist, lawyer and musician. He came to the country in the Boer War as a British soldier

Apart from Bill Andrews, Bunting and Jones, other ISL members who achieved fame for their exploits were the Sachs brothers, Bernard and Solly, and the First family, parents of the leading female communist, the late Ruth First.

David I. Jones' days were cut short by continual illness, but Bunting served the CPSA for all of his life — even after being expelled. Andrews also remained a loyal communist until his death in December 1950. His background is briefly sketched in chapter 3 under the heading, William Henry Andrews: The Leading Communist.

THE ISL AND "AFRICAN RIGHTS"

The group led by Andrews that marched out of the Labour Party meeting in the Selbourne Hall went to work. They were not going to be outdone. After forming themselves into the ISL, they held their first national conference in Johannesburg on 9 January 1916. At this meeting, two blacks from the ANC shared the platform. They were S. Masane and A. Mbelle. Two delegates from the Pretoria Socialist Society were received. They were comrades W. Blake and H.H. Tame.

Since the "old Labour Party" from which this new group originated was more inclined to a white man's socialism, the newly founded ISL took its cue from this policy and sought to move in the opposite direction. At their first conference, S.P. Bunting came forward with a "petition of rights" for the native workers.[17] Bunting was a faithful champion of "African rights" on the basis of his understanding of Marxist socialism. His petition called for "equal rights and abolition of pass laws". With this new approach to the black's social standing, the ISL began to focus its attention and activities on socialist propaganda among the African people and other non-white workers. One writer put it this way: "The ISL took the unprecedented step of admitting black men into its membership and meetings and even having them address its gatherings."

Comrade Andrews went so far as to say the ISL was to "treat the natives as part of the working class".[18] Comrades in the "old Labour Party" were stunned at this new approach.

The League's early efforts to establish working contacts with African and coloured people met with little success. However, in time, the ISL "attracted more and more non-whites and, before long, the sight of black men frequenting the Trades' Hall roused the Labour bureaucrats".[19] Bunting worked hard to bring the black man into the League. This threw many fellow comrades into a state of utter shock. Finally, an African actually addressed an audience in the Trades' Hall. He was a schoolteacher, C. Kunene, editor of the African National Congress (ANC) newspaper, Abantu-Batho (Our People).

Bunting was continually assisted by David I. Jones, the Welsh orphan, in his devices. They formed special study classes to educate the Africans in Marxist thought. From these study groups came the short-lived African workers' movement called the Industrial Workers of Africa. It is discussed below.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF AFRICA

Bunting not only presented a written programme to recruit blacks to the cause of Marxist socialism, but he transferred his theories into practical action. On 19 July 1917 the ISL made its first attempt to bring the message of the Marxist to the African people of the Reef. The venue was at Mr Neppe's store, located in Fox Street in a black area of Johannesburg. The time was set for 8 pm. Here ten militant white socialists from the ISL

attempted to convey their message of Marxist socialism to the twenty Africans present. Unbeknown to all those gathered, there were in their midst two members of the South African Police,[20] a black constable, Wilfred Jali, and his companion, a detective named John. They posed as "mineworkers". The information given in this section comes from the reports filed by these police infiltrators.[21]

Meetings of this nature continued for over a year. Through a study of the official (now declassified) police records, we can obtain some clear insight into the attempts of Marxists to recruit the blacks for their cause. At the second meeting, several members of the ISL were present and the fiery Marxist Andrew Dunbar did the talking. He preached to the blacks the standard communist message of the "class war and the need to overthrow and destroy the capitalist system". He even drew a large diagram on a board to illustrate Marxism. He urged the blacks to unite and fight to overthrow the system. The ISL provided a regular string of white men, such as S.P. Bunting, J. Gibson, Ivor Jones, Barron Wright and a Russian named Israelstein, to teach Marxism to the blacks.

With encouragement from the ISL and the ANC, the blacks soon moved to form their own organization. It was named the Industrial Workers of Africa (IWA). A pamphlet committee was selected and its literature was distributed across the Reef, as far south as Durban and north to Pretoria.

The coloured group, Africa People's Organization (APO), was represented by Talbot Williams. At their meeting on 29 November 1917, a Mr Crow from the APO was also present. By January 1918, the IWA had grown to a membership of sixty-nine. White ISL members encouraged the blacks of the IWA to rise up and "do what the workers had accomplished during the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, 1917". One of the outstanding leaders in the IWA was William Thibedi, a brilliant schoolteacher and later a professional agitator for communism. Later, Thibedi moved into the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) and served communism in this area. Even though the IWA collapsed in the 1920s, it was the first "open door" to reach the blacks for Marxism on a fairly well-organized level.[22]

MAJOR EVENTS OF 1917 THAT AFFECTED SOUTH AFRICA

From 1917 onwards, the attention of South African socialists was drawn more and more to the epoch-making events in Europe. In faraway Russia, the Kerensky revolution made them take careful notice. Socialists across the world were making plans to send their delegates to the Stockholm Socialist Peace Conference, and

> "an appeal of the Russian socialists reached South Africa through the Berne International Socialist Commission (better known as the Zimmerwaldians) for all socialists to rally in support of the revolution (going on in Russia)".[23]

In July, various radical groups on the Reef called a meeting in the Trades' Hall to decide about sending a delegate. After an hour of shouting, cursing and swearing, the pandemonium subsided. Two socialists marched out in fury (F. W. A. Lucas and the notorious J. T. Bain), while the remainder stood and sang The Red Flag. Others vacated the hall. More chaos. The meeting ended with nothing accomplished.

A short while later, the ISL called another meeting (5 August) and officially accepted the plea of their Russian comrades to send a delegate to Stockholm. Bill Andrews was the man chosen. However, both the British and American governments saw through the peace conference. United efforts were made to stop this meeting. It was a gathering of world communist leaders. "The Allies, however, used their control

over ship movements to the Swedish capital to prevent the delegates from getting there."[24] The meeting was never held. (This was in the "good old days" when the Allies were not afraid to stand up against the savages of anti-God communism.)

The South African communist leader, Andrews, got only as far as England. From the viewpoint of increasing his passion for revolution and communism, the trip was not in vain. In London, he met Ramsay MacDonald, the far left-leaning, anti-war M.P. In Glasgow, Scotland, he met the leaders of the Scottish revolutionary movement.

Andrews travelled to Manchester and South Wales and met the comrades leading the fight for Marxism in these places. Back in London, he met comrades Inkpin and Fairchild and a Mr Plebs of the Labour College. These persons formed the nucleus of the British Communist Party established a few years later. Marxist A.W. Gallagher invited Andrews to attend the famous Clyde Workers' Committee, a full-fledged Marxist organization. While visiting the famous Communist Club in London, the place was raided by the police! This only increased Andrews' hatred for the capitalist system.

> "At a meeting he addressed in London, Andrews had the pleasure of meeting the great South African novelist, Olive Schreiner, who was a communist and an ardent admirer of the Russian Revolution."[25]

Probably the most important contact Andrews made was with Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet representative in London at that time. Andrews held "long conversations" with this English-speaking Russian communist. From this source he was "fully enlightened about the revolution in Russia and its accomplishments". Later, comrade Litvinov was arrested and kicked out of London on charges of spying and attempted revolution.

THE IWA USED BY THE MARXISTS

During Andrews' absence, Bunting was busy establishing the IWA and, in a short time, he and his fellow-Marxists were using the organization for the purpose of attempted revolution against the capitalist system. They were preaching revolution to the blacks in their secret meetings at Mr Neppe's store. ISL member Andrew Dunbar told the blacks to "fight against the capitalists and take them down from their ruling place". At another secret meeting a short time later, he preached: "When you organize into one strong body you will be able to fight the capitalist." In the distribution of their revolutionary literature, ISL member Barron Wright instructed the blacks: "All this should be done secretly."[26]

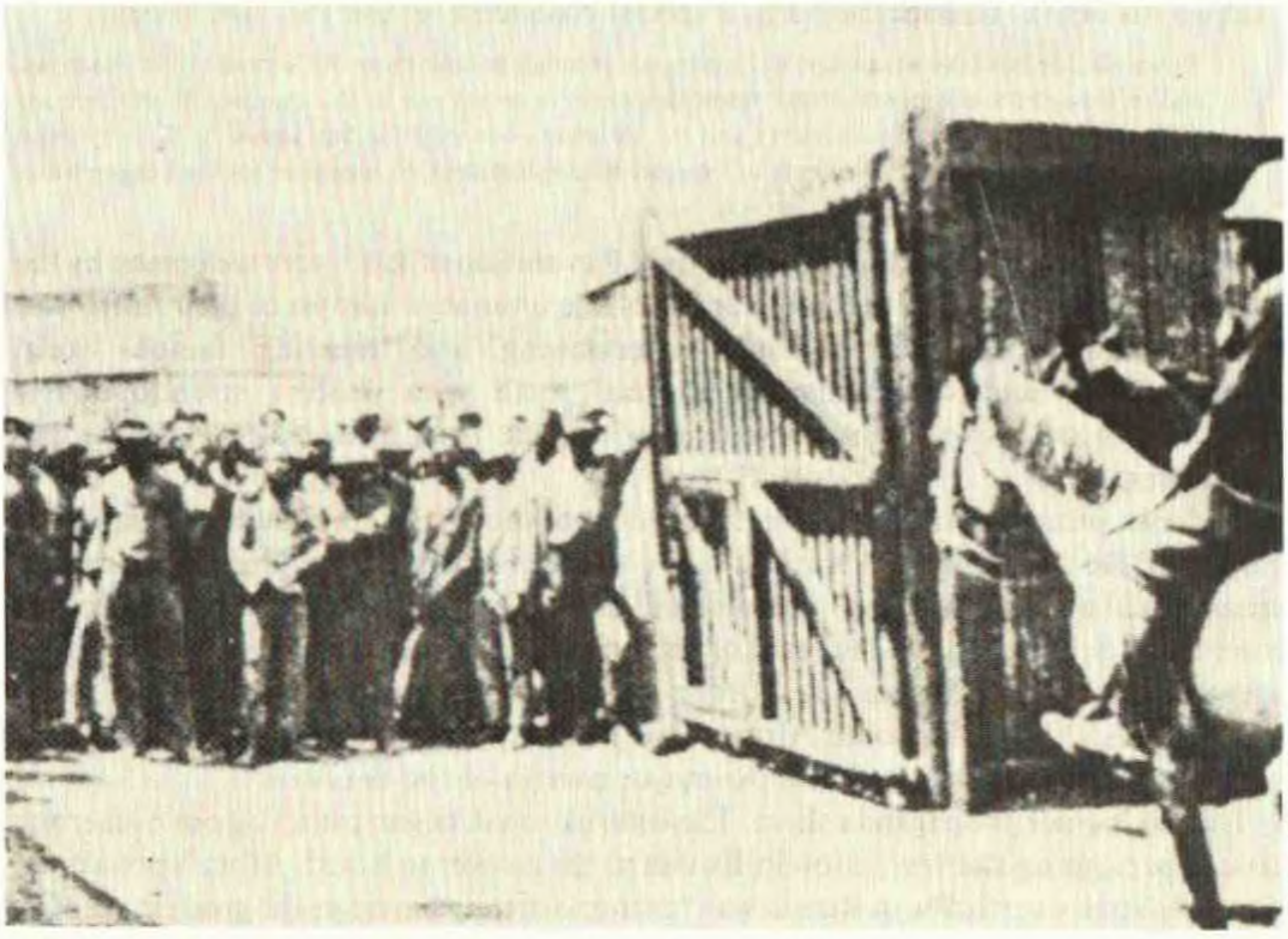
In modern terminology, the IWA would be described as a created communist front organization.

The poor, ill-informed and ignorant blacks of those days were simply tools in the hands of the white ISL masterminds. David I. Jones started night classes for the Africans and taught some to read and write. He taught some to write on their slates the Marxist slogan: "Workers of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains..." Many of these blacks were whipped up and used to "unleash a series of minor wildcat strikes within the Witwatersrand" in late 1917.[27]

Bunting, assisted by comrades Dunbar and Jones, incited numerous blacks and directed them into the Bantu sanitary workers' strike in Johannesburg in June 1918. The other super-brains behind this plot were comrades T.P. Tinker and H.C. Hanscombe. About 152 black workers were recruited to do the actual work. Bunting was arrested for incitement but the charge was subsequently withdrawn. He and his white-skinned Marxist associates went free. They were freed after an African detective confessed that he had made

Africana Museum

Bunting's IWA front stirred up these Africans to burn their passes and riot. They went to prison and Bunting escaped punishment.



Africana Museum

Africans incited to strike in Johannesburg by the IWA. They were brainwashed by Bunting, Andrew Dunbar and David I. Jones

a false affidavit against them. However, the blacks involved were "lawfully prosecuted" and sent to prison and instructed that "while in prison they would have to do the same work as they had been doing ... If they attempted to escape and if it were necessary, they would be shot down".[28] This glaring inequality of justice caused many of the blacks still in the IWA to give serious thought to the organization. Some actually withdrew over this very issue.

A few weeks later, the IWA attempted to produce an African mineworkers' strike. This was in July 1918. The coloured man named Talbot Williams of the APO was the main leader in this attempted strike. Many members of the ANC responded to the strike call.[29] Ugly clashes occurred, with several persons being slightly wounded and others hospitalised. The police collected large wagonloads of weapons, including axes, iron jumpers, chains, iron pipes, ropes and assegais. Again, some of the leaders of the ISL were arrested, including Bunting, Tinker and Hanscombe, who were all charged with inciting mob violence. They were assisted by five ANC members, J.D. Njojo, D.S. Letanka, A. Cetyiwe, L.T. Nvabasa and H. Karaai. All were refused bail. However, the prosecution lost the case and the professional troublemakers of the ISL and their dupes went free.

It was into this revolutionary atmosphere that Bill Andrews returned from his aborted trip to Stockholm. On his return in July 1918, he was greeted with great enthusiasm and described as the "Bolshevik leader of South Africa". In Cape Town, after stepping off the boat, he boasted: "If I was in Russia, I would be in the Red Guards."[30] Now, the inflamed Andrews was ready to establish communism in South Africa. Three years later, he did.

ANDREWS AND THE ISL WORK FOR BOLSHEVISM

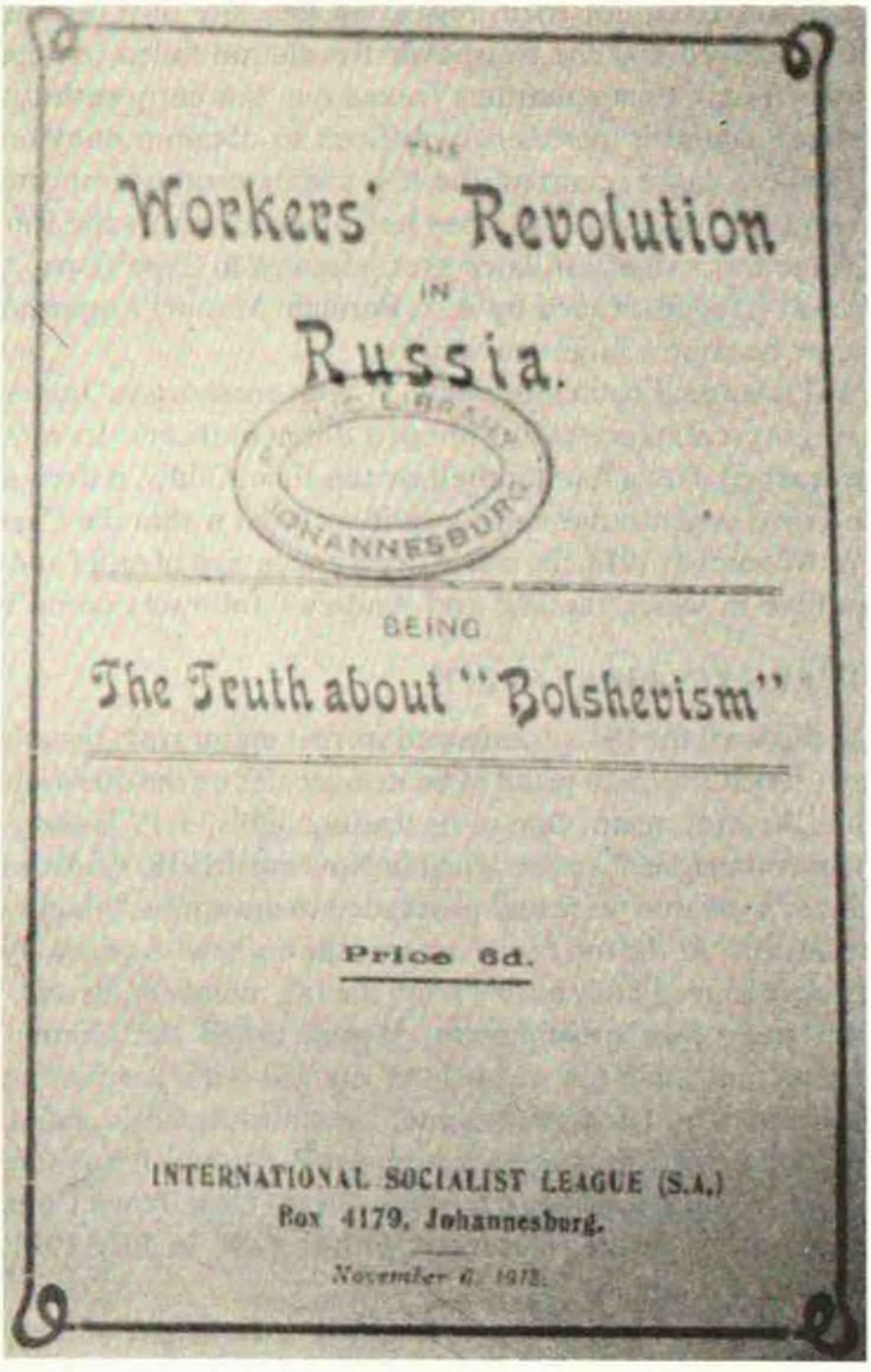
Upon his arrival in Johannesburg, a special conference of the ISL was called.

> "It was decided to take advantage of the presence amongst us once more of Comrade W.H. Andrews, and to inaugurate a renewed attack upon the forces of capitalism in this country. With Comrade Andrews' experience and personality and the intimate knowledge he has gained of the very latest phases of the industrial movements in Europe, his appointment as organiser for the League was a foregone conclusion."[31]

Andrews' reports regarding the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 were welcomed by the South African socialists as tangible proof of the ultimate triumph of their faith. The brainwashing he had received while "interviewing" and "meeting" famous world revolutionaries and communists blossomed forth with profuse splendour. His previous sympathies with Moscow were now justified. Their Bolshevik Revolution was the answer.

Andrews returned to the Reef in the middle of the African mineworkers' strike of July 1918. He was delighted! His first move was to put pen to paper and write a special message called the Workers' Revolution in Russia. This was an early piece of communist propaganda in the form of the printed page in booklet style.[32] It was well prepared and dripped with praises for the Bolsheviks. Its message called for Bolshevik rule to be established in South Africa. This booklet, produced in English, Afrikaans and Yiddish, was distributed in most major centres of the country.

The ISL's chief propaganda sheet, The International, began pumping out numerous articles presenting the revolution in Russia as the answer to South Africa's problems. The Bolshevik overthrow in Russia was "enthusiastically hailed as the greatest event in human history for the working classes".[33] The mass propaganda effort paid off and the membership of the ISL increased.



Strange Memorial Library

Bill Andrews' first propaganda booklet written after his return from Russia in 1918. It was distributed in South Africa in three languages

JEWISH SUPPORT FOR THE ISL

Andrews' printing of his pamphlet in the Yiddish dialect was no accident. The news of the revolution in Russia was accorded the warmest reception by hundreds of Jews across the country and especially in the Johannesburg district. These were largely Jews of Lithuanian origin who had come to South Africa as refugees during the era of the intense Czarist persecutions, which covered the period from about 1881 to 1917. Some of them were now well established in the country and were successful business people.[34] Many of the Jews retained very warm sympathies for the Bolsheviks of Russia, as they saw them as the enemies of the Czar who had persecuted them. These Jews were willing to express their support in the form of cash handouts. They were quick to support The International, as they understood it to be on the side of the "oppressed". It was also the

main source of information for them regarding the state of things back in Russia. However, as time passed and the Bolshevik Revolution failed to spread across the world and news of Lenin's mass murders leaked out, this early enthusiasm soon died down and Andrews found it increasingly difficult to obtain money for his projects.

Before this financial lapse occurred, the ISL and its various supporters were riding high on the crest of the wave. By 1919, they had branches across the Rand, in Pretoria and Durban. There was a small affiliated group located in Cape Town calling itself the Industrial Socialist League, headed by A.Z. Berman, Manuel Lopaz and others. The Cape group never became a large movement.

During the ISL's annual conference held in Johannesburg in January 1919, there were 39 delegates present, representing about a dozen branches. Its total membership could not have reached over a few hundred by this time. Oddly, it drew strong support from the Cape Town organization until a split occurred within the Cape group. With the Armistice in November 1918, the world drew a deep sigh of relief and this produced a better atmosphere in which the ISL and Andrews' followers could work.

THE ISL SUFFERS ITS FIRST SPLIT

At the end of the war, the ISL experienced its first major row, resulting in a split in the organization. It occurred as a result of heated debates on the question of tactics and principles within the movement. One of its leading lights, T.P. Tinker, who was also the secretary, had "other ideas" and resigned in November 1918. Andrews stepped in to fill comrade Tinker's vacated place and proceeded to draw up a "blacklist" of all those of Tinker's persuasion. At the top of the list was the hothead Andrew Dunbar and his followers. They were immediately ousted from the ISL membership and, in retaliation, hurried to form their own organization. It was called the Communist League. Dunbar's group of radicals a few years later merged with Berman's militant Cape movement, the Industrial Socialist League, previously mentioned. Later on, this merger formed a body called the Cape Communist Party, which was something of a de facto organization. In some documents it is listed as the Cape Town Communist Party. Along with several other groups, it merged with the ISL in July 1921. This merger became the official CPSA.

The ISL purchased their first printing press during the height of their popularity in July 1919. They churned out thousands of pieces of literature calling for communism in South Africa.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party, out of which the genuine radicals came to form the ISL, found itself in strife. In December 1918, the Labour Party, weakened by its unprincipled conduct and shaken by internal scandals, opened negotiations with the ISL for reunion. The Labour Party delegates on this occasion were Morris Kentridge and Gabriel Weinstock. Later, Andrews wrote to comrade David I. Jones about this meeting. He said: "We laughed at them and refused to consider the question of joining (the Labour Party)."[35] Clearly, by this time, Andrews and his ISL felt confident of their position and power. They thought their early popularity would carry them to a socialist victory.

Later, in 1920, the ISL leadership became so brave that they openly issued threats to the government. Andrews wrote the following threat in The International:

> "The ISL will continue its work of agitation and organization of the masses, irrespective of race, colour or creed, on class line, to fight and destroy the system (meaning capitalism) responsible for the present world misery — peacefully if possible, by force if needs be."[36]

LENIN'S BOLSHEVIK AGENTS VISIT SOUTH AFRICA IN 1919

The previously mentioned Marxist organization, the Social Democratic Federation (SDF), with headquarters in Cape Town,

> "had been in touch with the revolutionary elements in Russia since... 1905. A certain Surgis Reiger came to South Africa to collect funds for the Bolsheviks and the SDF aided his mission and actually organized his meetings with some success."[37]

Feelings for world socialism within South Africa at this stage were high. Various Marxist groups were in regular contact with the Bolsheviks in London and Moscow. Hence, it came as no great surprise when, some time after the revolution of November 1917, several mysterious Bolsheviks appeared on the docks in Durban. Three persons direct from Moscow had arrived.

Underwood & Underwood

Lenin described his mass murders as "breaking eggs to make omelettes". These fifty leaders in the city of Wesenberg were shot, mutilated and thrown into the nearby river by the killer Bolsheviks

Mr. Israel Sosnovick and Mr. and Mrs. Leo Lapitsky landed at Durban on 13 February 1919 aboard the S.S. Tabora. Shortly after their arrival, they travelled to Johannesburg and were received with open arms by the socialist comrades of the ISL. A public meeting was called and hundreds flocked to hear the "truth about the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia". The South African Police were also present. The following is an excerpt from a formerly classified letter from the Governor General to the Secretary of State. It is dated 8 April 1919 and, regarding the two Russian men, it reads: "No sooner did the men arrive in Johannesburg, than a meeting was called..." It concludes with this warning note: "and they forwarded the spread of Bolshevism in the Union..."[38] The two Russians did not speak in English, but their speech was read by a Mr. Beer to the packed Johannesburg City

Under Distinguished Patronage
A LECTURE
In English on the
HISTORY OF THE
Russian Revolution
And the
Bolshevik Regime
Will be delivered in the
TOWN HALL
On
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26
At 8.15 p.m. Sharp, by
MESSRS.
L. LAPITSKY
(Sasha Chorny), Barrister at Law of the University of Petrograd, ex-Secretary to the Minister of Labour, Attorney-General of the Ukraine, etc., and
I. SOSNOVICK
Journalist, Knight of the Order of St. George, Delegate to the Soldiers' Council in Petrograd, ex-Assistant Minister of War in the Ukraine, Member of the People's Tribunal of Justice, etc., who
Have Just Arrived from Russia.
After the Lecture, Questions put forward by the Public will be answered.
Tickets: 5s., 3s., 2s., 1s.
Booking Office Open from 5 p.m. on the Day of the Lecture.

Sunday Times

This ad appeared in the Sunday Times, 26 March 1919. Bolsheviks spoke in Johannesburg to a packed house

Hall. The meeting concluded with a word from Bill Andrews and the singing of The Red Flag.[39]

A national stir arose over the presence of these two men and the woman travelling under the name of Mrs. Lapitsky. As the situation became explosive, socialists, Marxists, revolutionaries of every sort and the ISL sided with the Russians. Conservatives united to raise their voices in protest against the lies being spread by Lenin's agents. After leaving Johannesburg, the three of them went to Cape Town and were received by Harrison's SDF, the Jewish Socialist Society and other far-left groups. At their meeting in Cape Town the Bolsheviks were seated on the stage with the Rev. Ramsden Blamforth[40] and a Marxist called Dr. Forsyth.

A.Z. Berman, who now headed the Industrial Socialist League in Cape Town, was a noted Russian Marxist. He was the official interpreter for the Bolshevik agents. (Berman's League was a split from Harrison's SDF, which was located in Cape Town. Later on, it merged with the Communist League, a similar split-off from the Johannesburg ISL, headed by Andrew Dunbar, and the two groups named themselves the Cape Town, or Cape Communist Party. They were not officially recognised by Moscow.)

Another formerly classified document from the Acting Deputy Commissioner of the

THE BOLSHEVIKS ARE COMING

(Leaflet issued by the International Socialist League in 1918. For distributing this leaflet in Maritzburg, its author, D. I. Jones and L. Green were arrested and unsuccessfully prosecuted.)

To the Workers of South Africa – Black and White:

A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of Bolshevism!

What is this Bolshevism that the ruling class is so much afraid of?

Why do they send British armies to Russia to fight the Bolsheviks?

Have they not had enough killing? Or is it a thirst for righteousness that makes them pack Tommy Atkins off to freeze in the snows of Archangel, just when he was looking forward to Home and Blighty?

The Czar massacred half a million nomads in Southern Russia in one swoop. They did not send an army against him.

Why then are they so scared of Bolshevism? Why do they turn pale at its shadows as at the ghosts of murdered men? Why? We will tell you why!

The Great War of Nations is over and the Class War against Labour has openly begun.

Bolshevism means the rule of the working class. And when the workers rule, the capitalists cannot carry on their robber system any more.

A Campaign of Lies

Workers! Do not be misled when the capitalist press reviles the Bolsheviks. They slander the Bolsheviks because they have lost the fat money bags they lent to the Czar to crush the Russian people.

They slander the Bolsheviks because they have lost the rich mines and factories which the Russian working men are now working for themselves, and the land which forty million peasants are farming in common under the Soviet Republic.

They slander Bolsheviks because they fear you will follow suit. They are afraid the workers in South Africa will also become free and independent.

Bolshevism Means Labour on Top

The workers of Russia and Germany are forming themselves into Soviets – that is: Councils of Workmen.

They are taking over the control of the country into their own hands – the hands of the great wage-earning proletariat. That means the end of the profiteering system, the end of the capitalist exploitation of wage-labour for profit.

Why have the workers of Russia and Germany to shed their blood?

Because the capitalist class of all countries will sooner tear the people to pieces with their cannons rather than let the people rule. The workers are the people.

Remember the massacre of the workers in Johannesburg in 1913 and in Bloemfontein in February.

Down with British Militarism! It is a weapon to crush the workers.

Down with Allied intervention in Russia!

Down with the capitalist class in all countries!

The hope of the workers is coming from Bolshevism. The free commonwealth of labour is an actual fact in Russia today.

Bolshevism means the victory of the wage-earners. It will soon spread to Britain, France, America and throughout the world.

Get ready for the World-wide Republic of Labour.

The way to get ready is to combine in the workshops. Combine as workers, no matter what colour.

Remember that an injury to one is an injury to all, be he black or white.

While the black worker is oppressed the white worker cannot be free.

Before Labour can emancipate itself black workers as well as white must combine in one organisation of Labour, irrespective of craft, colour or creed.

This is Bolshevism: the Solidarity of Labour.

Workers of the world, unite!

You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win!

(The International, 25 April 1919.)

Institute for the Study of Marxism

A reproduction of the tract issued by ISL communists Jones and Green. (See documentation note 19)

Western Division of the South African Police reads in part: "Lapitsky while here (in Cape Town) addressed two political meetings in which he showed distinct Bolshevik tendencies..."[41] Shortly afterwards, the government stepped in and served deportation papers on the visitors from Moscow. This was in April 1919. Sympathisers gathered to bid them farewell at the Cape Town docks. The occasion was described in these words:

> "Lapitsky threw off the mask completely when he addressed the small mob of revolutionary socialists, largely foreigners who gathered at the docks yesterday on the occasion of his departure with his wife and a pet monkey..."[42]

The expulsion of these Bolshevik agents was to the credit of the South African Government. However, others were to take their place.

Typical of the Cape Town socialists, they fought to have the last word before the government expelled their Russian comrades. Following the farewell words of Lapitsky, Harrison jumped on the stage and made his own speech: "The means employed in Russia to check counter-revolutionism (meaning the attempted genocide of V.I. Lenin and his murderers) might be necessary if revolution comes here."[43] Meanwhile, over in Russia, Lenin was echoing the sentiments of comrade Harrison with these chilling words:

> "Terror must be perpetrated unmercifully and in the shortest time possible, because people cannot endure continued cruelty... the trials must be conducted promptly, ending in swift sentences for the greatest number... the confiscation of monasteries and churches (must) be carried out with the greatest severity, without scruples and in the shortest possible time. The more priests executed during this occasion the better."[44]

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER SIX

1. *Comrade Bill*
   Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
   By R.K. Cope, p. 162
2. Number 1, p. 162
3. Number 1, p. 162. See also
   Memoirs of a Socialist
   Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
   By W.H. Harrison, p. 51
4. Number 1, p. 163
5. Number 1, p. 163
6. Number 1, p. 166
7. Number 1, p. 172
8. Number 1, p. 173
9. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, p. 4
10. Number 1, pp. 174-175
11. *The International*, 10 December 1915
12. Both of these British Communists maintained regular contact with their comrades in South Africa. Both were personal friends of Andrews. Mann's visit to South Africa in 1922 is discussed in chapter 8.
13. Number 9, pp. 5-6. See also
    Communism & South Africa
    Tafelberg, Cape Town 1982
    By Prof. D.J. Kotzé, p. 199
14. *Russia and Black Africa Before World War II*
    Holmes and Meire Publishers, New York 1974
    By E.T. Wilson, p. 125
15. Number 9, pp. 5-6
16. *Traitor's End*
    Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
    By Nathaniel Weyl, p. 49
17. Number 1, p. 30
18. Number 16, pp. 46-47
19. Number 1, pp. 183-184. Bunting was assisted by David I. Jones in an attempt to reach the blacks for communism. While in a sanatorium in Pietermaritzburg, Jones issued a tract called, *The Bolsheviks are Coming*. He was supported in the distribution of this revolutionary paper by L.H. Green, the leading communist in the Pietermaritzburg-Durban area at that time. Written in English, Zulu and Sotho, the tract created a tremendous stir, resulting in the arrest of both Jones and Green. They were, however, released on appeal to the Supreme Court, and continued their work.
20. "The IWA, because of its revolutionary proclivities, invited official suspicion." *(The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa*, Oxford University Press, Cape Town 1978. By P.L. Wickins, p. 49)
21. National Archives, Pretoria. Department of Justice, File Series, J.D. 3/527/17.
22. *Labour, Townships and Protest*
    Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1976

Compiled and introduced by Belinda Bozzoli, pp. 248-271

23. Number 1, p. 190
24. Number 16, p. 47
25. Number 1, pp. 191-192
26. Number 21, same file
    Actual quotations were taken down by a police agent who had infiltrated these secret meetings.
27. *Africa and Communism,*
    Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1967
    By F.R. Metrowich, p. 192
28. *Cape Argus,* 11 June 1918. Later, David I. Jones, from his Moscow sanctuary, wrote a significant article in *Pravda,* dated 8 August 1921. In it, he confessed that South African communists were involved in founding the (front) Cape Union of Natives in Cape Town and that the sanitary workers' strike, the Bulhoek Massacre and the riots in Port Elizabeth, in which many were killed, were "the communists trying to show the way... for the Native African worker..." (Cited in *Report of the Martial Law Inquiry Judicial Commission,* Pretoria, 1922, p. 30)
29. *2 000 Casualties*
    South African Trade Union Council, Johannesburg 1961
    By I.L. Walker and B. Weinbren, pp. 277-278
30. Number 1, p. 193
31. Number 1, p. 193
32. As early as July 1917, a month before Andrews left for Stockholm, *The International* began to receive and publish information direct from Bolshevik sources in Moscow. Numerous quotations appeared in *The International* taken from *Pravda* and *Izvestia* praising the Bolshevik victory.
33. *S.P. Bunting*
    The African Bookman, Cape Town 1943
    By Edward Roux, p. 37
34. Number 16, pp. 49-50
35. Number 1, p. 206
36. Quoted in number 1, p. 209
37. Second document of number 3, p. 65
38. National Archives, Pretoria No. 36/141. Only a few days after the Russians had departed from Johannesburg and their speech-making in the City Hall, a group of Bolsheviks led by J.T. Bain physically took control of the Johannesburg City Council. More details regarding this aspect are given in chapter 7 under heading, The Soviet In The Johannesburg City Hall.
39. *The Transvaal Critic,* 28 March 1919
40. Rev. R.B. Blamforth was a noted liberal clergyman who preached at the Unitarian Church, Cape Town. On 1 February 1914, he delivered a "famous sermon" dealing with a strike that had occurred on the Reef. In a copy of this sermon, located in the Strange Memorial Library, Johannesburg, one can read that Blamforth was an early type of today's "Christian-Marxists". He disbelieved the very Bible he was supposed to preach; he spent his time meddling in politics, instead of bringing men to the Lord Jesus Christ. The entire sermon is one big noise about socialism, wages, workers, strikes and the Fabian Society. Christ the peacemaker and saviour is not mentioned. Over the decades, certain clergymen have loaned their pomp and prestige to the cause of the Devil. South Africa has numerous examples of this in its history. It should be noted

that this same preacher of Marxist socialism was one of the mourners at Olive Schreiner's funeral. *(The Cape Times,* 13 December 1920)

41. Number 38, No. 36/145
The Cape Times, 15 April 1919, carried a long article about "what they failed to say about Russia!" Also, during the same period the Bolsheviks were in Johannesburg preaching their blatant lies about conditions in Russia, a local newspaper carried these words about food prices in Moscow: "Potatoes cost 4 shillings each and dog flesh was being sold for 50 shillings a pound..." *(The Transvaal Critic,* 28 March 1919). Fifty shillings amounted to one month's wages in Russia during this time!

42. *The Argus,* 18 April 1919

43. Number 37, p. 66

44. *The Samizdat Bulletin*
San Mateo, California, USA
May 1984, pp. 4-5

CHAPTER SEVEN

BOTHA'S DEATH TO THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

General Louis Botha, one of the famous Boer leaders during the war, was the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. He served from 1910 until August 1919. Botha's tenure as Prime Minister has been described as "uneasy years".[1] A serious row with Hertzog left its mark on him. The profusion of socialist-inspired strikes, demonstrations, fights and even killings lay heavily on his shoulders.

Many of the strikes previously mentioned fell into his lap for settlement. Especially difficult were those of 1911, during the Pickhandle Brigade Strike, and those of 1913 and early 1914, during which he was forced to call in commandos and units of the Active Citizen Force. In desperation he deported to England certain strike rebels without recourse to law. This was under the direction of Botha's Minister of Justice, General Smuts. The radical socialists never forgave him this serious blunder.

The issue of entering the First World War against Germany, his invasion of German South West Africa and the deaths of such Afrikaans heroes as General Koos de la Rey, accidentally shot near Johannesburg, along with General Christiaan Beyers, who drowned in the Vaal River, and Jopie Fourie, who was executed in the Pretoria jail, resulted in violent opposition from his own Afrikaans people. The problems facing Botha were numerous. His dealings with the socialist and Marxist troublemakers were weak. There was a serious and costly breakdown in the passing of critical intelligence information back to the police and prosecutors. They lost numerous cases on this weak point alone.

> "The Riotous Assemblies Act and Criminal Law Amendment Act No. 27 were put on the Statute Book. This Act gave the government the right to ban outdoor meetings, and all picketing; and empowered the police to arrest any speaker present or person present at a public meeting, and, in the last resort to open fire to restore order."[2]

However, this was enforced only on rare occasions.

With the death of General Botha in 1919, a change came in leadership. General Smuts automatically took his place. His first term in office was from 1919 to 1924. A second term, when he led the United Party, was from 1939 to 1948. In his early years as Prime Minister, Smuts had been described as "ruthless". His orders to his police were, "Don't hesitate to shoot." Consequently, much blood was shed during the early days of Smuts's rule. He handled the communists and rebels with a firm hand, but later (1939-1948) this attitude changed.

THE SOVIET IN THE JOHANNESBURG CITY (OR TOWN) HALL

A few months before the death of General Botha, a strange event occurred in Johannesburg, of which many South Africans are unaware. At a meeting of the

Johannesburg City Council in March 1919, Councillor Mr A.S. Reed said that "the power station was overstaffed and that a number of men were idling — sitting around doing nothing". Word of this got back to the alleged loafers at the power station. An explosion followed! The workers called for an apology, the resignation of Reed, plus a new joint board of control to be established to take over the Johannesburg City Council. Inspired by J.T. Bain, who worked at the power station, they went on strike for higher wages, and for several days there was no electricity and the trams did not run.[3]

Into this ideal situation stepped Andrews and his ISL comrades. Socialist circles along the Reef area had been inflamed by the speeches of the two Russians given a short time before at the Johannesburg City Hall. Andrews, on learning of the allegation by Councillor Reed, called for action. The plan was for a "Council of Workers to take over the city of Johannesburg!" Thus, on April Fool's Day, 1919, the wild man, J.T. Bain, and his comrades stormed into the council chamber during a private meeting. Socialist Jimmy Clark shouted out: "You are all sacked," and ordered the councillors out! Stunned and in a state of shock, the men filed out like whipped dogs. Immediately, a new session was called and Bain was elected as chairman and comrade F. Martin as the town clerk. They were ably assisted by an Australian, Ben Caddy, and attorney Morris Kentridge. Taking his seat in the mayoral chair, Marxist Bain ordered "the electric trams to start running again". Bain and his gang, who called themselves "The Soviet", were running Johannesburg. The Mayor, Mr. T. F. Allen, sent a letter to The Star and told citizens it was up to each individual conscience whether to continue paying rates or not. Finally, angry citizens demanded that the Marxists be turfed out of their civic offices.

S A Pictorial

Demonstrators gather at the Johannesburg Power Station to protest against the allegation of "loafing and doing nothing". J. T. Bain, the "Marxist loudmouth", was also employed here

S.A. Pictorial

Crowds leave the Johannesburg Town Hall after gathering to see the takeover by Bain and his socialist comrades

Under great pressure, "The Soviet" running Johannesburg handed back control to the City Council. Bain and his stubborn comrades, in a final show of strength paraded from the hall amid the hundreds of spectators crowding the streets. The Red flag of socialism was lowered. The Union Jack was raised in its place. One editor called Bain an "ass" and "stupid" if he thought the people of South Africa would submit to his Bolshevism.[4]

Such bold actions reveal the daring of the early ISL socialists and their communist comrades.

RED UNDERWEAR OVER DURBAN

Eight months later, a riot broke out in Durban over the dismissal of a municipal employee. Then, in January 1920, a group of strikers invaded the City Hall and attempted to emulate the example of their comrades in Johannesburg. They managed to seize control of the building for one day. Many unsuspecting people were drawn into this conflict. The influence of socialism was so strong that some of the Durban police joined the strikers and quietly picketed the administrative offices. One newspaper referred to this as "a tin-pot revolution".[5]

During the one-day period, this group established what they described as The Soviet. They were imitating their comrades in Johannesburg. "Soviet" is the Russian word for "council" and it gained popularity during the Russian revolutions of 1905, 1917 and thereafter.[6] In communist theory, The Soviets were the strike committees who had seized control. The popular slogan and chant of the Bolshevists was: "All power to the Soviets." The leader in this Durban coup was socialist Harry Haynes, a member of the ISL. He had entered South Africa as a British soldier in the Boer War and, unfortunately, decided to remain in the country. He took a leading part in the strikes of 1907, 1913 and 1914. He was

The haughty J. T. Bain established "The Soviet" control of Johannesburg. Here he poses with comrades, front row, left to right: P. F. Burnett, F. Martin, Bain, J. E. Lewis and F. Hicks. Back row: A. E. Brett, R. J. Styles, J. Blaker, A. Matthews and comrade Innes. Top left inset: J. A. Clark and, right, M. Kentridge. Photograph made in April 1919

a noted troublemaker in the early days. The ISL in Johannesburg sent a message of "solidarity" to their comrades in Durban.

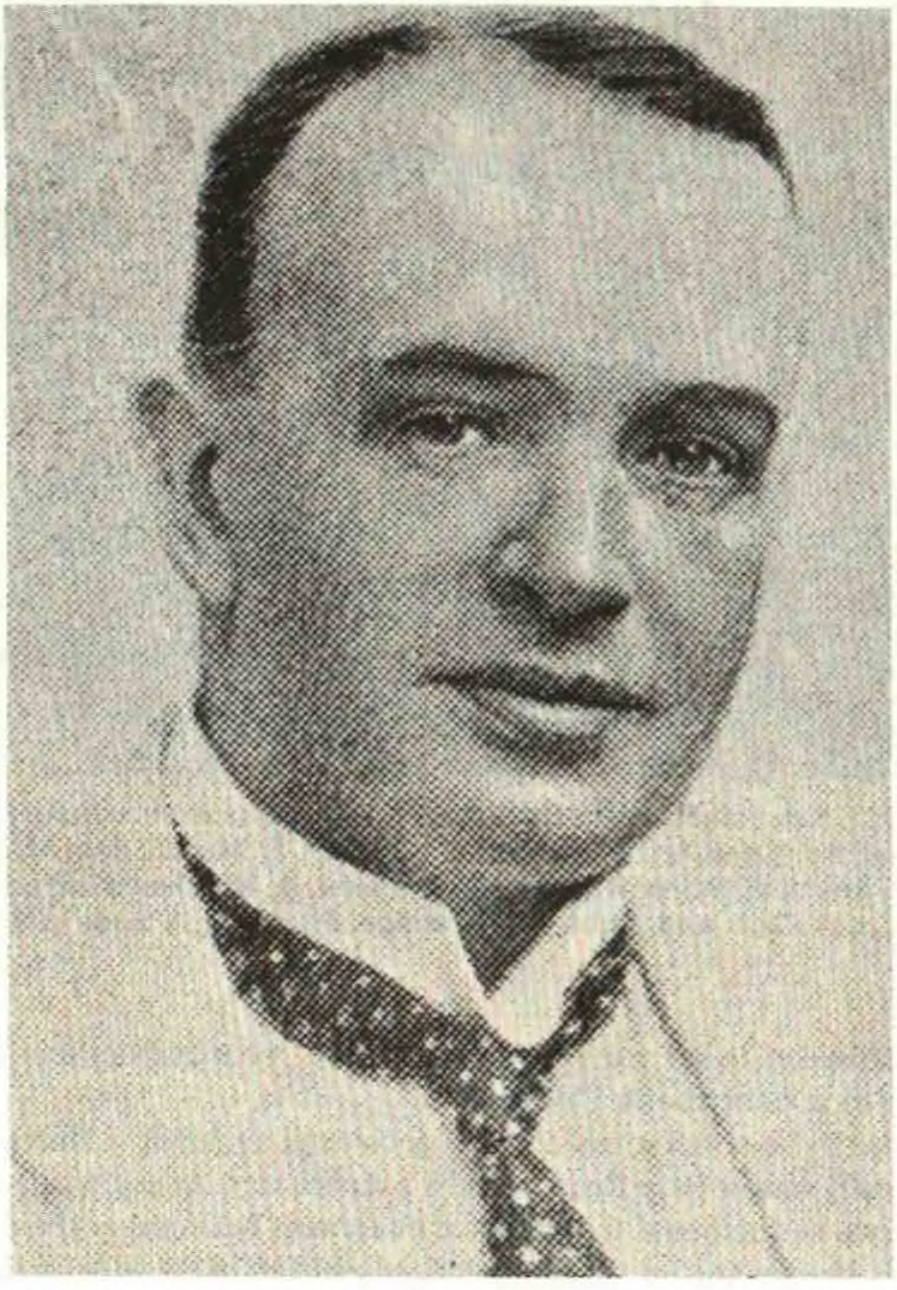
Overwhelmed by his socialist zeal and having controlling power in Durban's City Hall, Haynes frantically sought for a Red flag to fly over the city. After a fruitless search for a piece of red cloth, he discovered the bright red underwear belonging to the wife of the City Hall caretaker. Haynes hoisted this as the official emblem of the socialist victory! It was certainly a fitting emblem. However, the enraged caretaker soon lowered the flag, under the direction of his equally red-faced wife. Meanwhile a proper Red flag was raised over the Durban Trades' Hall.

This is the same Harry Haynes who, along with comrades J.H. McCarthy and V.C. Woudberg, chained himself to the seats of the visitors gallery of the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town, in order to force a specially prepared speech on the Assembly. This event occurred shortly after the Durban "tin-pot revolution".

In a Bolshevik publication released in Moscow, the Comintern praised the takeovers in Johannesburg and Durban and identified them with the "Soviet cause of Moscow".[7] The actions of the strikers pleased the Kremlin lords.

It is noteworthy that during this period South Africa was regularly torn by industrial strife, strikes and upheavals. Without fail the socialists and their kind were always leading the way in the turmoil and riots. The official yearbook of the Union of South Africa lists the number of strikes from 1906 to 1920 as 199. It is interesting that, of this large number, a

total of 168 occurred during the period from 1916 to 1920. Most of these must be ascribed to the influence of the leftists and Marxist agitators of those days. Their battlecry was "a socialist South Africa".



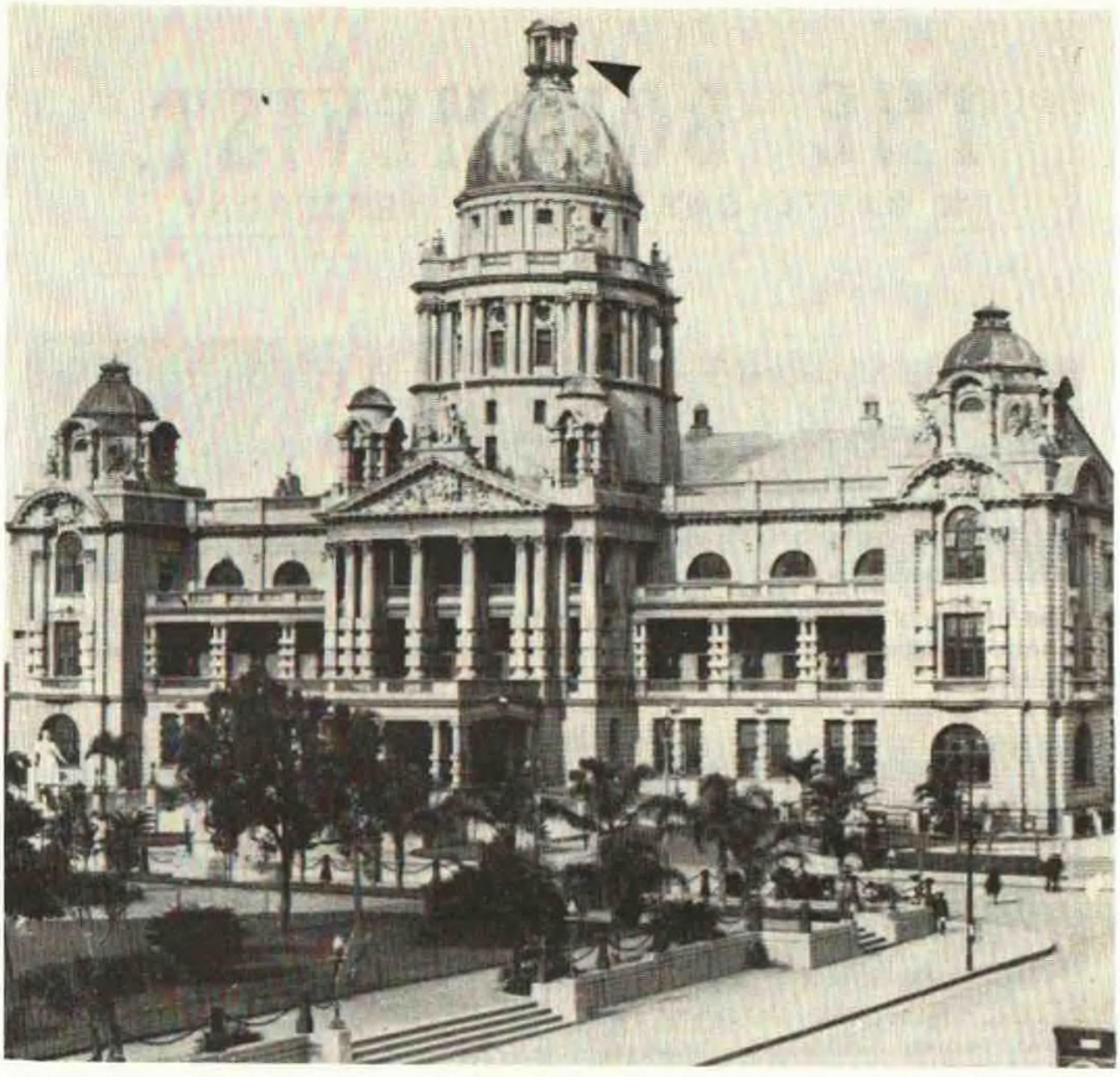
Strange Memorial Library

Socialist Harry Haynes, the man who raised the red underwear over Durban

THE PREMATURE CAPE COMMUNIST PARTY

Mention has been made of the premature Cape (or Cape Town) Communist Party. Amid a national wave of brilliant propaganda regarding the "truth" of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, hundreds of persons and radical-leftist political organizations were swept into the Bolshevik net. There was some sort of magical attraction attached to the revolution in Russia. Hundreds of people who otherwise had little political interest were ensnared in the vast propaganda campaign glorifying the takeover by Lenin's followers. He was a world hero who had "liberated the oppressed workers of Russia".

In Cape Town, A. Z. Berman and Manuel Lopaz, along with C. F. Glass, J. Pick and a few others, had broken away from Harrison's Social Democratic Federation. They



Africana Museum

Durban City Hall in 1919. The red underwear flew from the area marked with the arrow

formed the Industrial Socialist League and were assisted by the Jewish Society (also called the Jewish Socialist Society). Soon they were publishing a paper called The Bolshevist (and later The Bolshevik) which called for violent revolutionary action against the government and the capitalist system. Shortly afterwards, a similar group appeared in the Transvaal. This Transvaal body had, in turn, split from Andrews' ISL, and were led by the famous brawler-blacksmith Andrew Dunbar. They called themselves the Communist League.[8] In October 1920, these two groups united to form the first Communist Party of South Africa, which was called by several different names. However, because their policies differed somewhat from those laid down by the Third International of Moscow, they could not lay claim to being the "officially accepted" Communist Party of South Africa.[9] Their application to Moscow to become the official party for South Africa was refused. The following year, this group merged with the ISL and, along with several other Marxist bodies, formed the "official" Communist Party of South Africa.

A communist named E. J. Brown, expelled from the Belgian Congo for trade union agitation, was sent to Cape Town to persuade the communist group there to unite with Andrews' ISL in forming a Comintern-recognised Communist Party of South Africa.

THE BOLSHEVIST.

Our Motto: TO-DAY'S NEWS YESTERDAY.

VOL. I. CAPE TOWN SATURDAY 10th MAY 1919 NO. 1

CAPITALIST AGITATORS EXPOSED

THE BOLSHEVIK.

The Official Organ of the Industrial Socialist League of South Africa,

P.O. BOX 2778. 20. PLEIN ST., CAPE TOWN.

VOL. I. SEPTEMBER 1919 NO. 1.

ON THE CROSS ROADS.

Strange Memorial Library

The Industrial Socialist League of Cape Town and the Jewish Socialist Society united to issue this publication, first called The Bolshevist and later renamed The Bolshevik

THE BOLSHEVIK

THE OFFICIAL COMMUNIST PARTY

ORGAN OF THE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

VOL. II. MARCH, 1921. NO

"BLESSED ARE THE MEEK."

THE LAST STRUGGL

Strange Memorial Library

After becoming the premature Communist Party of South Africa, the Industrial Socialist League of Cape Town and the Transvaal Communist League produced this publication

The Star

Blacksmith Andrew Dunbar, founder of the Transvaal Communist League and famous strike leader

LENIN'S PLAN FOR A COMINTERN

The Comintern (Communist International) became the means by which Lenin and his successors could control world communist organizations. Plans for the Comintern started in January 1919, when the Soviet government issued invitations for a conference to be held in Moscow in March of that year. Lenin knew well that the apparent success of the revolutionary takeover in Russia had attracted the attention of similar revolutionary organizations across the world. Somehow they all must come to him for directions and advice. At the same time, he planned to seize control of all such organizations and to direct the world revolution from his Moscow headquarters.[10]

The final purpose of the Comintern was to firmly unite the communist movement across the world under Lenin's single leadership. Lenin's Comintern intended to mould world communist movements in the Bolshevik image. In other words, world communism was to become the same thing as Russian communism.[11]

The deceased communist writer, David Shub, rips the mask off his own comrades with these startling words about the Comintern:

> "The First Congress of the Comintern International was opened in the Kremlin on 2 March 1919. Most of the thirty-two delegates and fifteen guests had been hand-picked by the Bolshevik Central Committee from the so-called communist parties in the small nations which had belonged to the Russian Empire, such as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland. Others were war prisoners or foreign radicals who happened to be in Russia at that time. Holland, the Socialist Propaganda League of America (made up mainly of Slavic immigrants) and the Japanese communists were all represented by a Dutch-American engineer named Rutgers, who had once spent a few months in Japan; England by a Russian émigré named Feinberg, who had served in the Soviet foreign office; Hungary by a war prisoner who later

escaped with a large sum of money. When word was received that Guilbeaux, the anti-war French editor, was on his way to Russia, a special train was sent to the border to pick him up and rush him to Moscow in time to vote for France. As the so-called French representative of the French left-wing, he was given five votes."[12]

The founding of the Comintern was a bizarre affair cunningly planned from the very beginning by Lenin himself.

"The 'delegates' were chiefly make-believe, picked from prisoners-of-war, visitors in Moscow, or 'rubber-stamped' friends. The main problem was to find as many nationalities as possible. This was an international organization."[13]

Thus, amid this typical hypocritical communist charade, the Comintern was born. Andrews' group published the entire manifesto of Lenin's Comintern in several issues of The International during 1919.

With the founding of this pseudo-body by the Bolsheviks, Andrews' ISL[14] of South Africa followed the activities of the Comintern with sympathetic interest. The principles of the ISL and those of the liars in the Comintern were so close that not even an expert could easily tell the difference.

S.A. Pictorial

Workers wishing to return to work were (if caught) beaten senseless or locked in this "scab cage" and mocked by the crazed mobs. This scene occurred during a strike in 1919

THE ISL AND LENIN'S COMINTERN

The second congress of Lenin's Comintern occurred a year later, during July-August 1920, at Petrograd, but soon moved to Moscow. Several months before this meeting,

"The first clear indication that foreign communist parties were expected to conform to instructions issued by their Russian brothers was the publication in June 1920 of Lenin's book (already mentioned), 'The Children's Disease of Leftism in Communism'."[15]

In the Western world, it was better known as, Left Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder. This publication laid down the law for world communist parties and presented Lenin's Bolsheviks as the only model for others to follow.

South Africa's ISL was represented at this second congress in the persons of David I. Jones from Johannesburg and Sam Barlin from the Orange Free State. The ISL's application for affiliation with the Comintern had arrived well ahead of them. Along with the delegates from South Africa, persons from thirty-seven countries were present, most of whom were hand-picked by Lenin to make his show look good. The suckers took the baited hook.

Lenin, with demonic genius, laid down 21 points that had to be strictly adhered to by all world movements seeking to unite with his Comintern. In South Africa, Andrews was busy having meetings with various socialist and revolutionary bodies, discussing these 21 points required for membership of the "great Bolshevik movement". Andrews was determined that his ISL must become part of the Comintern.

Meanwhile, at the 1920 Comintern meeting in Moscow, a few dissident voices were heard regarding the 21 points and their total demands. Regardless, the great majority accepted the leadership of the Soviets without argument. The prestige of the first country in which a communist party had won power was at its highest.[16] An American writer gives a summary of the 21 points. All joining parties assume the title of the communist party of their respective countries.

> "They must split with all wavering and reformists groups and denounce all reformist leaders as enemies of the revolution and, finally, they must build effective underground organizations equipped for the illegal struggle for power. Each joining communist party was to create machinery which will come to the help... of the revolution".[17]

The 21 points also required the carrying out of definite propaganda, by both legal and illegal means, a strongly disciplined organization controlled from the top... and finally warned that "any members who reject these conditions are liable to be excluded from the party".[18] The points were officially adopted at this second Comintern congress in 1920.

It must be remembered that these 21 points are just as binding today as they were when Lenin drew them up. It is an indisputable fact of history that the Soviet Communist Party is the lord of all affiliated bodies across the world and that Moscow has the final say in all issues of any importance. This is true of the CPSA in exile, operating from its base in London. The 21 points require complete subordination to the voice of Moscow. Member groups are slaves to the Kremlin. This is a bitter pill for most present-day communists to swallow. (A copy of the entire 21 points is added as an annexure at the end of this chapter.)

THE ISL OF SOUTH AFRICA ACCEPTS THE 21 POINTS

Andrews, as chairman of the ISL, was rushing back and forth across South Africa preparing his comrades for the big move. At its fifth annual conference held on 4 January 1920, the ISL adopted a resolution to join the Comintern and sent a message to apply for affiliation with the group. Then Andrews quickly did the necessary groundwork for this application. He knew that among the rules for membership there was a directive that precluded the affiliation of more than one party from the same country. Hence, he busied himself trying to persuade the various interested groups in South Africa to join the ISL. This way, all interested bodies could unite with the Comintern through the ISL.

Accordingly, the ISL, led by Andrews, took the initiative to bring all such interested organizations together. The purpose was to establish a single, disciplined and controlled communist party movement in South Africa. "At a meeting in Johannesburg dated January 1920, 100 delegates representing these various groups all agreed to support such a formation."[19] Then, on 27 March of the same year, a unity conference was held in

Johannesburg during which the Cape Town SDF, the Jewish Socialist Society, also of Cape Town, the Durban Marxist Club, the Jewish organization called Poalei (Workers of) Zion, of Johannesburg, the de facto Cape Town Communist Party and others voted to unite with the ISL. They were ready to form Africa's first official communist party and it would be on the basis of Lenin's 21 points.[20] Andrews posted the letter of application in early June. Then comrades David I. Jones and Sam Barlin departed for Moscow. The letter would arrive before they did. (Jones remained in Russia and Barlin returned to South Africa.)

After his letter on behalf of the ISL had been read before the Comintern in Moscow on 24 July 1920, there followed "thunderous applause". Here is the full text of Andrews' letter:

> "Dear Comrades,
>
> At the annual delegate meeting of the International Socialist League of South Africa held in Johannesburg, June 4, 1920, it was unanimously decided to affiliate to the Third International. We enclose constitution and rules, which will, I think, convince you that our policy is on all fours with that of the Communist Party of Europe and elsewhere.
>
> For the Social Revolution
> Yours faithfully,
> (Signed) W.H. Andrews"[21]

As a result of this letter, Andrews was accepted by Lenin and the Comintern as the chief representative of Bolshevism in South Africa and he was the only person authorised to sign immigration passports for Bolshevists going to Russia.

AFRICA'S FIRST COMMUNIST PARTY IS BORN — JULY 1921

The inaugural congress of the Communist Party of South Africa was held in the City Hall, 20 Plein Street, Cape Town, from 21 July to 1 August 1921. "About 2000 people packed the hall out."[22] One author remarked that "the place was swarming with detectives and police".[23] Communist D. L. Dryburgh was in the chair, while Bunting and Harrison both spoke. Andrews was the last speaker. He urged that all workers should join their unions and said the communist party only wanted those "that were willing to fight ... no matter what the odds or difficulties may be".[24]

The group officially adopted the constitution and manifesto of the Comintern and elected its executive, with headquarters in Johannesburg.

> "The officers were as follows:
>
Chairman		C.B. Tyler
Secretary	—	William Andrews
Treasurer	—	S.P. Bunting
Committee Members:	—	G. Arnold, Mrs. Rebecca Bunting, T. Chapman, J. Den Bakker, R. Geldblum, A. Goldman, H. Lee, E.M. Pincus and R. Rabb as well as one delegate from the Cape Province, Natal and the Orange Free State."[25]

The publication, The International, which up to that time had served as the mouthpiece of the ISL, became, as from 12 August 1921, the official mouthpiece of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). The meeting closed as the cheering crowd rose to their feet and sang The Red Flag. Communist C.F. Glass told a reporter present that: "the moves in South Africa to stop the communist organization are doomed to failure and the door of the capitalist class is sealed".[26]

Numerous documents list the founding of the CPSA on 29 July 1921. Other documents give it as 30 July. The entire Cape Town meeting lasted from 21 July to 1 August 1921.

The South African Communist Party on the day of its creation. Not all members were present when this photo was taken

Stewart - Cape Town

Top row, left to right: Max Barlin, unknown, F. Radowsky, Mr Shuman, E. Fisher, S. Jacobson, B. Turok. Second row: W. Green, Mrs Green, I. Fischer, W. Dryburgh, Mrs Pick, S. Buirski, Mr Davidson, H. Leemans. Third row: unknown, J. Pick, S. P. Bunting, W. H. Harrison, D. L. Dryburgh, W. H. Andrews, C. F. Glass, R. Rabb, A. Goldman. Sitting: I. Kirsch, F. Robertson, Mr Judelman, unknown, M. Walt, I. Vermont

Announcement was made to form the CPSA on 29 July, during the evening meeting in the Cape Town City Hall. But it was not until the following day that the conference delegates adopted the report of the unity committee and formally passed a resolution constituting the party as the South African section of the Third International (Comintern). Basically, the date of 29 July has been used in this writing, though some documents list it as 30 July. A period of twenty-four hours makes little difference. Africa's first communist party, the CPSA was born during the timespan of these two days.

With the birth of the CPSA, Andrews drafted the official letter to the executive committee of the Third International and applied for affiliation. The complete text of the letter is as follows:

"4 Trades Hall,
Rissik Street,
P O Box 4179
JOHANNESBURG. S.A.
August 10th 1921.

The Secretary,
Executive Committee of the Third International,

Dear Comrade,

I am instructed by the CPSA, which was formed on the 30th July by the amalgamation of the International Socialist League, S.A. Social Democratic Federation Cape Town, Communist Party Cape Town, Jewish Socialist Society (Poalei Zion) Johannesburg, Marxian Club Durban, and which has

accepted the 'twenty-one points' conditions of affiliation to the Third International and adopted the constitution and rules, to apply for affiliation to the Third Communist International.

W.H.Andrews (signed)
Secretary, CPSA."[27]

Thus, the seeds of infant Marxism, brought into South Africa over the previous sixty years by traders, foreign unionists, socialists and Marxists etc., had at last struck root. The South African Communist Party had been officially born and, oddly enough, it occurred in the Mother City of Cape Town. With it, dark clouds began gathering regarding the future of South Africa. This small but lively organization, in years to come, would become a ruthless monster, seeking to destroy the system of free enterprise and impose its materialistic, Moscow-directed socialism on the people of the land.

The City Hall of Cape Town as it looked in 1921. It was here that Africa's first communist party was formed

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(South African Section of the Communist International.)

CONSTITUTION AND RULES.

ADOPTED BY THE CAPETOWN CONGRESS, JULY 30-31 & AUGUST 1, 1921.

Official Organ, "The International," Box 4179, Johannesburg.

U.S. Senate Subcommittee

Rules of the Communist Party.

(South African Section of the Communist International.)

As adopted at the Congress held in Capetown on July 30th, 31st, and August 1st, 1921.

1. The Party accepts the "21 Points" of the Communist International.

2. Any person may be a member of the Party who–

(a) Signs a pledge to abide by these rules.

(b) Is proposed, seconded and duly elected by a branch of the Party or, where no Branch exists, by the Central Executive.

(c) Pays the subscription levied by his Branch or, in the case of members not attached to a Branch, by the Central Executive. The minimum subscription to be one shilling per month.

(d) Subscribes to the official organ of the Party. Provided that when two or more members belong to one family one annual subscription to the official organ shall be deemed sufficient.

(e) Any member may by a vote of his branch be suspended from membership pending the next Party Congress, which shall either expel or reinstate him.

3. (a) New branches shall be formed subject to the approval of the Central Executive.

(b) Branches shall consist of ten or more members.

(c) They shall appoint a Branch Secretary and such other officers as may be necessary.

(d) They shall meet not less than once a month.

(e) They shall pay to the Central Executive not less than one-half of their members' branch subscriptions and one-fourth of their other income.

4. The Central Executive or the Party Congress may–

(a) Permit any branch to levy a subscription of less than one shilling per month.

(b) Partially or wholly exempt the members of any branch or any of them from subscribing to the official organ of the Party; Provided that such branch as a whole subscribes for one or more copies in any event.

5. (a) The Central Executive shall be located in Johannesburg until otherwise decided by the Party Congress.

U.S. Senate Subcommittee

(b) It shall consist of a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and nine other members, all appointed by the Congress and three other members respectively appointed by the Cape, Natal, and Free State branches.

(c) It shall fill vacancies in its number arising between Congresses provided that vacancies among the nominees of the Cape, Natal or Free State shall be filled by the branches appointing them.

(d) Any member of the Central Executive absent for three consecutive meetings without leave shall cease to be a member thereof.

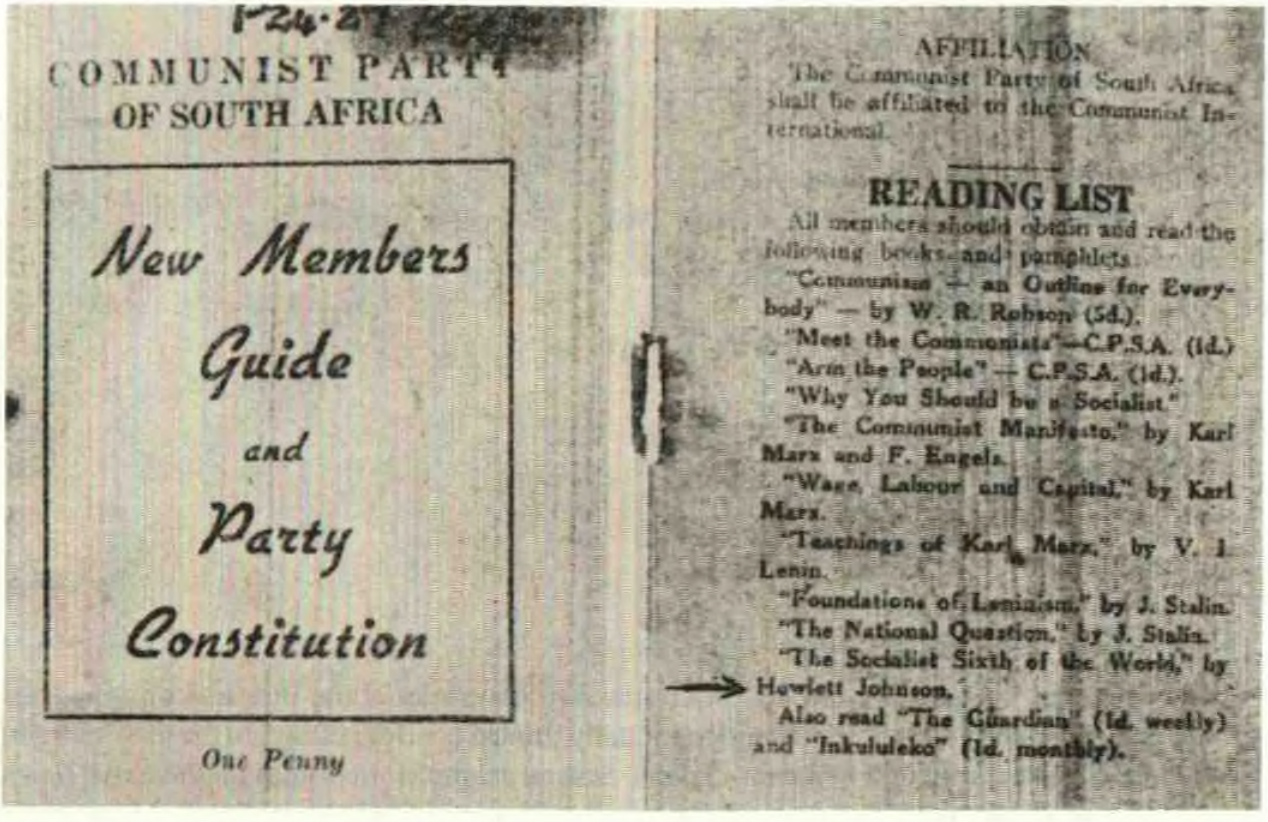
(e) Subject to these rules, the Central Executive shall control all the work of the Party between Congresses.

6. (a) The Party Congress shall consist of (1) delegates of the branches, appointed by them in the proportion of two for every 25 members or part thereof, such part not being less than 10; (2) representatives of the members not attached to a branch, such representation to be arranged in the like proportion by the Central Executive.

(b) The Congress shall meet at least once a year at such place and time as may be decided upon by the previous Congress, and may also be specially convened by the Central Executive or on the requisition of at least three branches.

(c) The Congress shall be the supreme organ of the Party.

U.S. Senate Subcommittee


COMMUNIST PARTY
OF SOUTH AFRICA
New Members
Guide
and
Party
Constitution
One Penny
AFFILIATION
The Communist Party of South Africa shall be affiliated to the Communist International.
READING LIST
All members should obtain and read the following books and pamphlets.
"Communism — an Outline for Everybody" — by W. R. Robson (5d.).
"Meet the Communists"—C.P.S.A. (1d.)
"Arm the People" — C.P.S.A. (1d.).
"Why You Should be a Socialist."
"The Communist Manifesto," by Karl Marx and F. Engels.
"Wage, Labour and Capital," by Karl Marx.
"Teachings of Karl Marx," by V. I. Lenin.
"Foundations of Leninism," by J. Stalin.
"The National Question," by J. Stalin.
"The Socialist Sixth of the World," by Hewlett Johnson.
Also read "The Guardian" (1d. weekly) and "Inkululeko" (1d. monthly).

U.S. Senate Subcommittee

The front and back of the CPSA's first publication for new members, produced in 1921. Note book by the Rev. Dr. Hewlett Johnson on the back-page reading list

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER SEVEN

1. *History of South Africa*
   Heer Printing Company, Pretoria 1971
   By W.J. de Kock p. 26
2. Edited from, *The Johannesburg Saga*
   Published by John R. Shorten (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg 1970
   By John R. Shorten, p. 265
3. *City Government: The Johannesburg Experiment*
   Oxford Clarendon Press, London 1938
   By Sir J.P.R. Maud, pp. 81-82
   Also mentioned in *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 April 1919; *The Star*, 1 April 1919; and *The Sunday Times*, 1 April 1919.
4. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1960, pp. 6-7. *The Star*, 2 April 1919, reads: "The Soviets marched out fifty strong singing the Red Flag." The article describing Bain in such lucid terms was in *The Transvaal Critic*, 4 April 1919.
5. *The Natal Mercury*, 13 January 1920. "Harold Wodson, editor of *The Natal Advertiser*, was threatened with death by a wild gang of strikers who invaded his newspaper office in Saville Street, Durban. They were led by the radical Archie Crawford." (From a copy of the private memoirs of Wodson sent to the author by his daughter, Mrs Hilda Morris of Honeydew, Johannesburg)
6. *A Dictionary of Politics*
   Pan Books Ltd., London 1971
   Edited by W. Laqueur, p. 448
7. First document of number 4, p. 6.
   Also mentioned in the *Report of the Martial Law Inquiry Judical Commission*, Pretoria, 1922 p. 30
8. *Memoirs of a Socialist*
   Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
   By W.H. Harrison, p. 68
9. First document of number 4, p. 8
10. Edited from, *A Study of Communism*
    Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York 1962
    By J. Edgar Hoover, p. 113
11. *The Masks of Communism*
    Harper and Row Publishers, New York 1963
    By Dan N. Jacobs, p. 58
12. *Lenin*
    Penguin Books Limited, London 1969
    By David Shub, pp. 390-391
13. *Masters of Deceit*
    Pocket Books, New York 1961
    By J. Edgar Hoover, pp. 51-52
14. The blindness of Andrews and his kind to the horrible crimes of the Bolsheviks during these years is astounding. *The Cape Times* continually printed articles relating to the mass murders and bloodshed committed by Lenin's killers. Several examples are found in *The Cape Times*, 12, 15 and 18 April 1919. Scores of similar reports were published in South Africa of the Bolsheviks' mass genocide campaign across Russia. This was all "propaganda" in the eyes of South Africa's Bolsheviks and their friends.

15. *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union*
University Paperbacks, London 1963
By L. Schapiro, p. 196

16. Number 15, p. 197

17. *Traitor's End*
Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
By Nathaniel Weyl, p. 51

18. Number 10, p. 114

19. *Comrade Bill*
Steward Printing Company, Cape Town, n.d.
By R.K. Cope, p. 209

20. Number 19, p. 209

21. *The Menace of Red Misrule*
No publisher listed, Johannesburg 1922
By Hedley A. Chilvers, pp 10-11

22. Number 8, p. 71
See article in *The Cape Times*, 30 July 1921, "Communists at the City Hall."
Also *The Cape Argus*, 30 July 1921, carried the story.

23. Number 19, p. 209

24. Number 19, p. 211

25. First document of number 4, p. 8

26. *The Cape Times*, 30 July 1921; *The Cape Argus*, 30 July 1921

27. This letter was hand-copied from a British Communist Party duplicated paper, issued in London in 1971.
Because the ISL (now the CPSA) had totally identified itself with the mass murderer Lenin and his Bolshevik organization, many of the old Labour Party members returned to the fold. They felt that the Labour Party offered a more "bloodless" type of socialism than did Bolshevism. Every member of the newly founded CPSA was bound to Lenin's 21 points as they were officially adopted at the founding congress and actually written into the original constitution of the CPSA. This copy of the first constitution, rules and the 21 points (reproduced below) was taken from the *Hearings before the Sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate*, March 1982, vol. 1 pp. 593-600.

ANNEXURE OF LENIN'S 21 POINTS

'The Twenty-one Points — Conditions of Admission to the Communist International' as adopted at the second Comintern congress in 1920 and appended to the constitution of the Communist Party of South Africa by its founding conference in 1921.

1. The general propaganda and agitation should bear a really Communist character, and should correspond to the programme and decisions of the Third International. The entire party press should be edited by reliable Communists who have proven their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be spoken of as simply a current hackneyed formula, it should be advocated in such a way that its necessity should be apparent to every rank and file working man and woman, to each soldier and peasant, and should emanate from everyday facts systematically recorded by our press day by day.

All periodical and other publications, as well as all party publications and editions, must be subject to the control of the presidium of the party, independent of whether the party is legal or illegal. It should in no way be permitted that the editors abuse their autonomy and carry on a policy not fully corresponding to the policy of the party.

Wherever the followers of the Third International have access, and whatever means of propaganda are at their disposal, whether the columns of newspapers, popular meetings, labour unions or co-operatives, it is indispensable for them not only to denounce the bourgeoisie, but also its assistants and agents, reformists of every colour and shade.

2. Every organisation desiring to join the Communist International shall be bound systematically and regularly to remove from all the responsible posts in the labour movement (party organisation, editors, labour unions, parliamentary faction, co-operatives, municipalities, etc.) all reformists and followers of the 'centre,' and to have them replaced by Communists even at the cost of replacing at the beginning 'experienced' men by rank and file working men.

3. The class struggle in almost every country of Europe and America is entering upon the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in the bourgeoisie laws. They should create everywhere a parallel illegal apparatus which at the decisive moment should do its duty by the party, and in every way possible assist the revolution. In every country where in consequence of martial law or of other exceptional laws the Communists are unable to carry on their work lawfully, a combination of lawful and illegal work is absolutely necessary.

4. A persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation is necessary in the army, where Communist groups should be formed in every military organisation. Wherever owing to repressive legislation this becomes impossible it is necessary to carry on such agitation illegally. But refusal to carry on or participate in such work should be considered equal to treason to the revolutionary cause and incompatible with affiliation to the Third International.

5. A systematic and regular propaganda is necessary in the rural districts. The workers can gain no victory unless they possess the sympathy and support of at least part of the rural workers and of the poor peasants, and unless other sections of the population are neutralised. Communist work in the rural districts is acquiring a predominant importance during the present period. It should be carried on through Communist workmen of both city and country who have connections with the rural districts. To refuse to do such work or to transfer such work to untrustworthy half reformists, is equal to rejection of the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party desirous of affiliating to the Third International should renounce not only avowed social patriotism but also the falsehood and the hypocrisy of social pacifism; it should systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of capitalism no international arbitration, no talk of disarmament, no democratic reorganisation of the League of Nations will be capable of saving mankind from new Imperialist wars.

7. Parties desirous of joining the Communist International must recognise the necessity of a complete and absolute rupture with reformism and the policy of the 'centrists,' and must advocate this rupture amongst the widest circles of the party membership, without which condition a consistent Communist policy is impossible. The Communist International demands unconditionally and peremptorily that such rupture be brought about with the least possible delay. The Communist International cannot reconcile itself to the fact that such avowed reformists as, for instance, Turatti, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hillquit, Longuet, Macdonald, and others, should be entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. This would make the Third International resemble the Second International.

8. In the Colonial question and that of the oppressed nationalities there is necessary an especially distinct and clear line of conduct of the parties of countries where the bourgeoisie possesses such colonies or oppresses other nationalities. Every party desirous of belonging to the Third International should be bound to denounce without any reserve all the methods of 'its own' imperialists in the colonies, supporting, not only in words but practically, all movements of liberation in the colonies. It should demand the expulsion of its own imperialists from such colonies and cultivate among the workers of its own country a truly fraternal attitude towards the working

population of the colonies and oppressed nationalities, and carry on a systematic agitation in its own army against every kind of oppression of the colonial population.

9. Every party desirous of belonging to the Communist International should be bound to carry on systematic and persistent Communist work in the labour unions, co-operatives and other labour organisations of the masses. It is necessary to form Communist groups within these organisations which by persistent and lasting work should win over the labour unions to Communism. These groups should constantly denounce the treachery of the social patriots and of the fluctuations of the 'centre'. These Communist groups should be completely subordinated to the party in general.

10. Any party belonging to the Communist International is bound to carry on a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam 'International' of the yellow labour unions. It should propagate insistently amongst the organised workers the necessity of rupture with the yellow Amsterdam International. It should support by all means in its power the International union of Red Labour Unions adhering to the Communist International.

11. Parties desirous of joining the Third International shall be bound to inspect the personnel of their parliamentary factions, to remove all unreliable elements therefrom, to control such factions not only verbally but in reality, to subordinate them to the Central Committee of the party, and to demand from each proletarian Communist that he devote his entire activity to the interests of real revolutionary propaganda.

12. All the parties belonging to the Communist International should be formed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralisation. At the present time of acute civil war the Communist Party will only be able fully to do its duty when it is organised in a sufficiently thorough way, when it possesses an iron discipline and when its party centre enjoys the confidence of the members of the party, who are to endow this centre with complete power, authority, and ample rights.

13. The Communist Parties of those countries where Communist activity is legal should make a clearance of their members from time to time, as well as those of the party organisations, in order systematically to disembarrass the party from the petty-bourgeois elements which penetrate into it.

14. Each party desirous of affiliating to the Communist International should be obliged to render every possible assistance to the Soviet Republics in their struggle against all counter-revolutionary forces. The Communist Parties should carry on a precise and a definite propaganda to induce the workers to refuse to transport any kind of military equipment intended for fighting against Soviet Republics, and should also by legal or illegal means carry on propaganda among troops sent against workers' republics, etc.

15. All those parties which up to the present moment have stood upon the old social-democratic programmes should within the shortest time possible draw up a new Communist programme in conformity with the special conditions of their country, and in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International. As a rule the programme of each party belonging to the Communist International should be confirmed by the next Congress of the Communist International or its Executive Committee. In the event of the failure of the programme of any party being confirmed by the Executive Committee of the Communist International, the said party shall be entitled to appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All the resolutions of the Congresses of the Communist International as well as the resolutions of the Executive Committee, are binding for all parties joining the Communist International. The Communist International, operating under the conditions of most acute civil warfare, should be centralised in a better manner than was the Second International. At the same time the Communist International and the Executive Committee are, naturally, bound in every form of their activity to consider the variety of conditions under which the different parties have to work and struggle, and generally binding resolutions should be passed upon which such resolutions are possible.

17. In connection with the above, all parties desiring to join the Communist International should change their names. Each party desirous of joining the Communist International should bear the following name: Communist Party of such and such a country (Branch of the Third Communist International). The question of the naming of a party is not only a formal one, but one of great

importance. The Communist International has declared a decisive war against the entire bourgeois world and all the yellow Social Democratic parties. It is indispensable that every rank and file worker should be able clearly to distinguish between the Communist Parties and the old official 'Social Democratic' or 'Socialist' parties, which have betrayed the cause of the working class.

18. All the leading organs of the press of the parties of every party are bound to publish all the most important documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All those parties which have joined the Communist International as well as those which have expressed a desire to do so are obliged in as short a space of time as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, to convene an Extraordinary Congress in order to discuss these conditions. In addition to this the Central Committees of these parties should take care to acquaint all the local organisations with the regulations of the Second Congress of the Communist International.

20. All those parties which at the present time are willing to join the Third International, but have so far not changed their tactics in any radical manner, should, prior to their joining the Third International, take care that not less than two-thirds of their Committee members and all their Central Institutions should be composed of comrades who have made an open and definite declaration prior to the convening of the Second Congress as to their desire that the party should affiliate to the Third International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has the right to make an exception also for the representatives of the 'centre' as mentioned in Paragraph 7.

21. Those members of the party who reject on principle the conditions and the theses of the Third International are to be excluded from the party.

This applies also to the delegates at Extraordinary Conventions of the Party.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE MINERS' STRIKE AND MARXIST TOM MANN

THE WITS MINERS' STRIKE OF 1922

Only six months after the founding of the CPSA and its subscription to Lenin's 21 points, serious trouble exploded on the Reef. It soon spread across the entire nation, until Martial Law was imposed by the government. The critical situation was seized upon by the communists. They sought to overthrow the government, the system of capitalism and to establish Marxist-socialism in South Africa. The original causes were not created by the communists themselves. Due to the lack of experience and training, the early Marxists let slip through their fingers the most ideal situation in all South African history for a revolutionary takeover.

As a result of a long series of strikes occurring on the Rand, characterized by serious friction between the mineworkers and the owners, the dawn of 1922 ushered into South Africa an ugly historical event. It was popularly described as "The Witwatersrand Miners' Strike" or "The Red Revolt". It can hardly be doubted that the basic cause of the strike was the series of so-called "economy measures" introduced by the Chamber of Mines near the end of 1921.

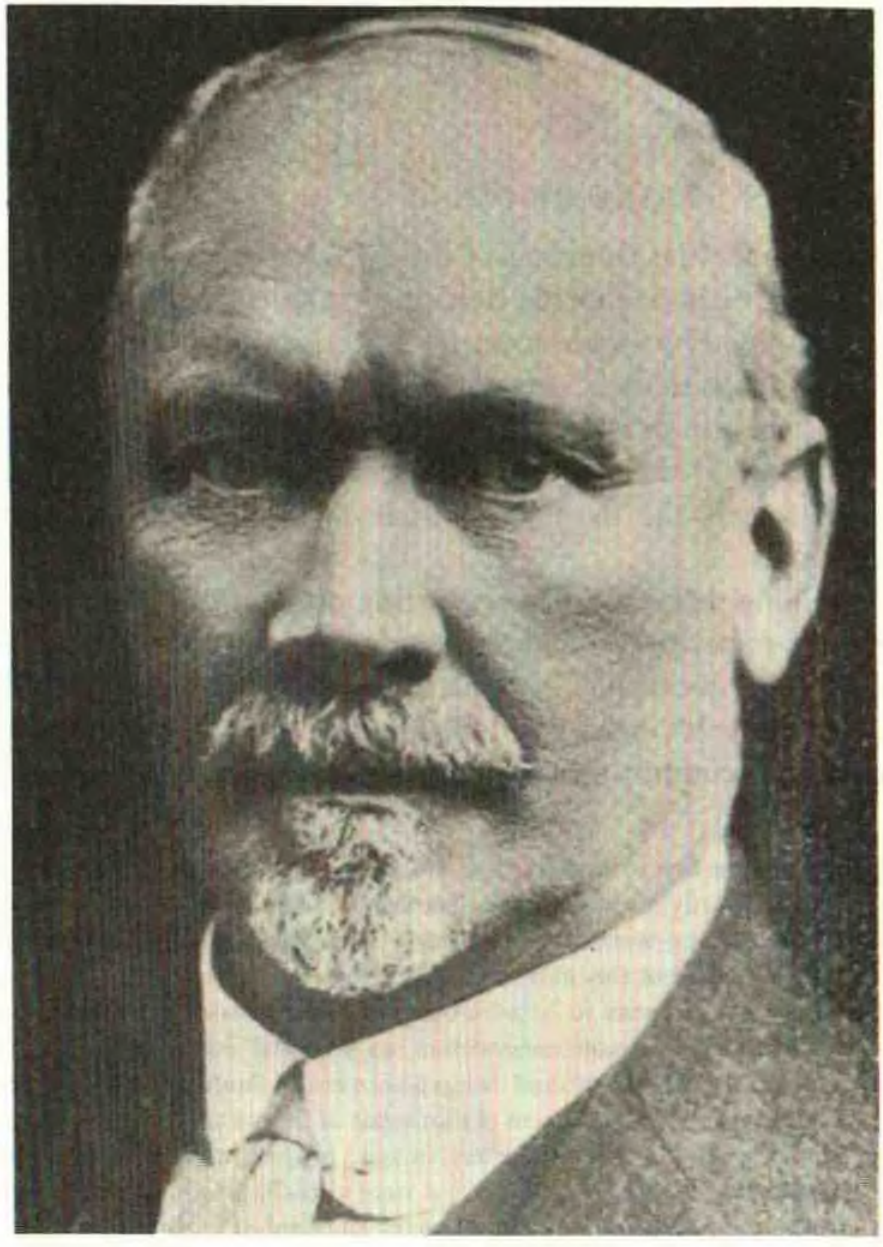
> "The coal-mines were the first to be affected, and the wages of all European mineworkers were lowered by 5 shillings per shift. Shortly afterwards, the Chamber of Mines announced that the existing agreement with European gold-mining workers would also be reviewed. Not only did the mineowners insist on drastic reduction in wages, but they also wanted a change in the so-called Status Quo-agreement, which laid down the ratio of European to Non-European (or black) workers. The last-mentioned threat in particular oppressed the European mineworkers, as it would mean the discharge of about 2000 European mineworkers as redundant, and their replacement by Bantu at much lower wages. It would also pave the way for the eventual replacement of thousands of European workers with cheap Bantu-labour. This fact explains why the Bantu-mineworkers, in spite of communist efforts were not accepted as co-fighters in the struggle against the capitalists, but were virtually always regarded as rivals in the labour market and a menace to the European mineworkers' standard of living."[1]

The white workers were infuriated at the thought of wage reductions and their replacement by black workers. There can be no doubt that this was the impetus that loosed the strike of 1922. However, the leadership of the newly-founded communist party were present, watching and ready to seize on any grievance and to exploit it fully to reach their desired aims. Now they found a fertile field in which to sow the seeds of dissension and hate towards the ownership classes and the government.

The strike commenced in January 1922 and about 22 000 white mineworkers across the entire Rand took part. Despite drawn-out negotiations, no agreement was reached and, in February, things began to look grim.

"Serious trouble flared up when strikers attempted to interfere with men who had agreed to return to their work, and the police were forced to step in."[2] At the beginning of the trouble, communists across South Africa received the news and sought to turn the

strike into a national uprising. In early January 1922, Reds A.Z. Berman, M. Lopaz and J.L. Barnes of Cape Town, along with comrade S.M. Peterson of Durban and an unnamed Greek communist from Balfour, contacted Bill Andrews and sent messages of encouragement to their comrades on the Reef, who were at this early stage getting involved in the turmoil.



Department of Information

General Jan Smuts

THE COMMUNISTS MOVE INTO ACTION

> "Before the strike was three weeks old, the call for the preservation of a white South Africa had overshadowed such questions as pay and cost-of-living. Instead, speeches were confined to the colour bar and the status of the white workers."[3]

Andrews got busy. He urged the men "to regard the strike as a phase of the global class struggle and to accept the natives as potential allies".[4] The communists distributed thousands of leaflets urging the strikers to leave the natives alone. This had no effect, as the whites viewed the blacks as a threat to their job security. Thousands of blacks fled the Reef during this period.

The Star

A handful of communists incite the miners from the balcony of the Trades Hall. Note Red flag hanging from mast (arrow)

The Star

Mounted police were called in to keep the peace

Meanwhile, Percy Fisher, a member of the six-month-old communist party, was moving across the Reef attempting professionally to whip up the crowds. From 24 January 1922, until he committed suicide on 14 March, he made regular speeches aimed at creating situations of violence and conflict. In his first public address he urged: "Whoever heard of a fight without violence?" The rostrum in front of the Johannesburg City Hall featured as the main platform for inflammatory speeches by Red agitators.

On 28 January he preached: "The issue has got to be won by force and violence." Then on the dates of 4, 6 and 7 February he continued his call for "violence and the forming of fighting units of commandos to destroy the system of capitalism". He impressed upon the strikers to "trust the Council of Action", the small core of communists who finally succeeded in turning the grievances into a vast revolution.[5]

Taking his cue from Fisher, R.B. Waterson, an Australian, was responsible for forming commando groups. He was a ring-leader in the strike.[6] Waterson was another noted proponent of socialism and the sweeping away of the capitalist system. Later, during the official inquiry, a socialist named Joseph Thompson stated that the commandos had been formed with the approval of the police to assist them in case of a "Native uprising", and to keep the "strikers out of trouble by having drills, exercises and parades".

Time proved this a lie. Thompson was a main supporter of Fisher.

What is clear, however, is that by forming commandos, a potent weapon was created which was later to pass into the hands of the Council of Action. Ivan Walker and Bennie Weinbren, in their book, try to absolve the commandos of any guilt.[7] They go so far as to assert that the proportion of strikers possessing firearms was not more than one in ten! These two authors pass over the established principle of communist strategy, in which Lenin called for a few to manipulate and use the masses to do the desired work. They write:

> "It is significant, too, that in the list of strikers convicted there will not be found the name of a single person who belonged to any Bolshevik Party."

One wonders how Walker and Weinbren knew who did or did not belong to the party? Continuing their big cover-up, they state:

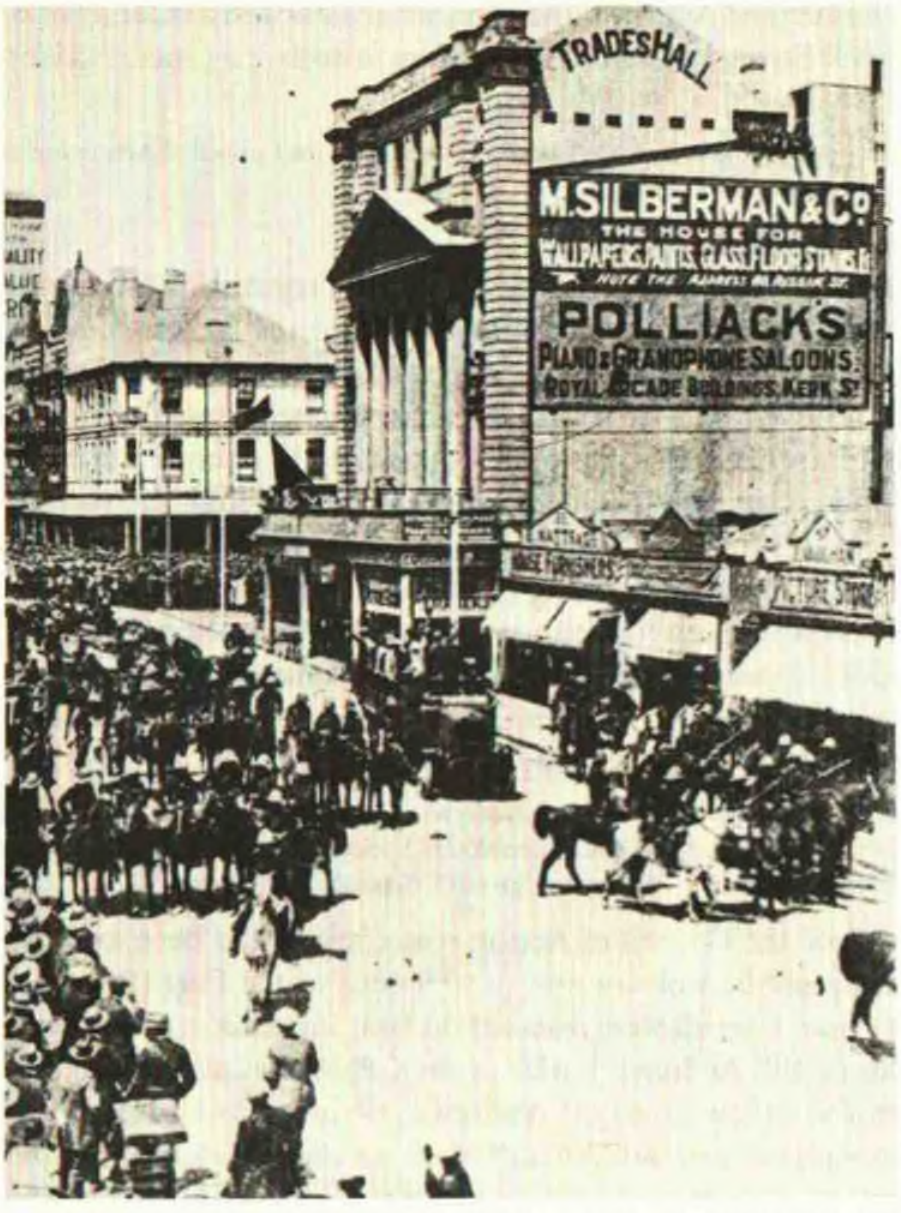
> "It has become customary to introduce the Bolshevik or communist bogey into all modern disputes. The truth is that Bolshevism had as little to do with the 1922 tragedy in South Africa as the Transvaal Miners' Association had to do with the Russian Revolution in 1917."

Even the mention of "Red activities" was described by these two men as "the Bolshevik lie".[18]

What is not explained by a former communist like Weinbren is why the commandos were drilled in how to unhorse a mounted rider and why the strikers were taught to manufacture home-made bombs that consisted of syrup tins packed with gelignite and containing pieces of jagged iron and sharp stones; also the pressure used to force men to join the commandos and why those who refused to do so were hunted down, beaten unmercifully and often had their property destroyed.

One writer speaks of the commando organization in these words: "Another somewhat alarming feature of the commando movement was that it fitted neatly into a general plan of organization for battle."[9] Major A. E. Trigger, the police commander, said in court that the strike movement was far from peaceful; in about the middle of February he found (it) was definitely revolutionary.

It must be remembered that "rank and file of the commando was certainly not communist and could hardly have suspected that the Council of Action was really a Soviet body".[10] Most of the men undoubtedly firmly believed that they were fighting for wage



Mounted police attempting to keep order in front of the Trades Hall. Note Red flag flying in front of the building (arrow)

maintenance and the rights of the white miners. In modern-day terminology, the Council of Action would be described as a communist cell or front. The leader of the council was Percy Fisher, who had emigrated from England during the war in 1914 to escape conscription. He was a leading communist. He was ably assisted by comrades Henry Spendiff, A. McDermid, F.W. Pate, E. Shaw and J. Wordingham along with the omnipresent Bill Andrews, head of the CPSA at the time. Another central figure rarely mentioned was David Nortje, who lived in Westdene and operated a produce shop. He was "the Dutch Afrikaner member of the communist party" at that time, and took part in the attack upon the police group stationed at Newlands, where he was seriously wounded. Upon returning home he was assaulted and killed by a gang of blacks. Nortje seems to have been one of the first Afrikaners involved in the activities of the early CPSA.

GENERAL ANARCHY AND COMMUNISTS RELEASED ON BAIL

Fisher had been involved in the strike at City Deep Mine in 1919 and was under disciplinary action by his own union organization. Known for his violent speeches and untiring zeal, he and the Council of Action lit the fuse that exploded the strike. Inflamed by

the speeches of Fisher and Andrews, the commandos stormed a meeting on 6 March at the Trades Hall, Rissik Street, and forced the strikers to declare a general strike to commence the next day.

> "Violent speeches were made from the balcony of the hall by the Council of Action, and the revolutionary spirit was passionately invoked."[11]

Violence erupted across the Reef.

Mobs and organized gangs roamed the streets. All regular traffic stopped and electric power was cut off when municipal employees joined the ranks of the strikers. Gangs threatened and intimidated scabs; some police and Bantu alike sang The Red Flag. Soon looting, arson and even murder began to occur. Anarchy ruled! On 11 March Smuts declared Martial Law and thousands of troops assisted by aircraft and cannons rushed to the aid of the police. He had "let things develop" long enough.

Following the order for Martial Law, Major Trigger and his men moved in to seize the Trades Union Hall, a known gathering place for communists and union rabble-rousers. Ivan Walker, a unionist, received advance word of the proposed police raid on the Trades Hall. He proceeded to warn comrade Andrews. For some unknown reason, Andrews did not believe the warning given by Walker. To his dismay, a few moments later he and all his men were arrested in the police swoop.

> "Among those taken into custody were Andrews, Mason, and Shaw and a handful of other trade unionists, including Ben Caddy of the Boilermakers' Society. One or two officials of the communist party were also arrested. However, Fisher and Spendiff escaped the police net."[12]

Weeks before, all of the Council of Action masterminds had been arrested and charged with incitement to public violence and incarcerated at the Fort (the old Johannesburg prison). A short time later all were released on bail. Immediately they again commenced inciting the masses. Bill Andrews, leader of the CPSA, was also arrested but he too was allowed bail on the following day.[13] Andrews continued to address the strike groups, inciting them to violence and bloodshed.[14] Here is a classical example of the need for and clear justification of preventive detention in time of a national emergency.

In any other African state, they would have been executed on the spot. In Russia it would have been worse!

SMUTS CRUSHES THE REBELLION

The government forces moved in, determined to clean up the strife. Leaflets dropped from circling planes warned civilians to evacuate the danger spots where armed clashes were expected to occur. Many ignored the warnings and were killed. Fierce battles raged in the streets where there were commando strongholds. Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Brixton and Langlaagte all saw much bloodshed. When the smoke of war cleared there was vast property damage and no fewer than 230 dead, including 50 policemen. Many were the innocent victims of communist dirty work. Some were wounded and later died from their wounds. During the battles some of the commandos dressed as women, carrying weapons under the long skirts of those days. Finally, almost 5 000 were arrested and about 1 400 were prosecuted. A total of 864 were convicted on charges of high treason. Eighteen strikers were sentenced to death and hundreds to long terms of imprisonment.[15] "Four strikers were hanged in November 1922 — Carel C. Stassen, S.A. (Taffy) Long, H.K. Hull and David Lewis."[16] The last three marched to the gallows singing The Red Flag. Communist Percy Fisher and comrade Spendiff, who had been so outspoken and prominent in creating clash situations, shot themselves on 14 March in a house in

Fordsburg. With this the revolution ended. Bill Andrews managed to escape prosecution!

On 12 April 1922, the Martial Law Inquiry Commission was set up to investigate the strike. Eight months and 308 witnesses later, it issued its findings. It vindicated the government's actions during the strike. Parts of the report read as follows:

> "It is established upon the clearest evidence that upon the morning of 10th March the industrial dispute upon the Rand had developed into a Revolution." "Also, it is clear to the Commission ... that the Council of Action was closely connected with the Communist Party of South Africa. Indeed it is highly probable that the name assumed was merely a blind, in order to attract recruits who might not wish to belong to a body of avowed communists." And finally, "If the European workers on the Rand had realised that the real object of the communists was to bring about an armed uprising to establish a system which would lead to a complete abolition of the Colour Bar, and was merely a step in the direction of a Workers' Revolution to establish a Soviet Republic, it is probable that Andrews and his satellites, Fisher and Spendiff, would have had little or no support."[17]

Sunday Times

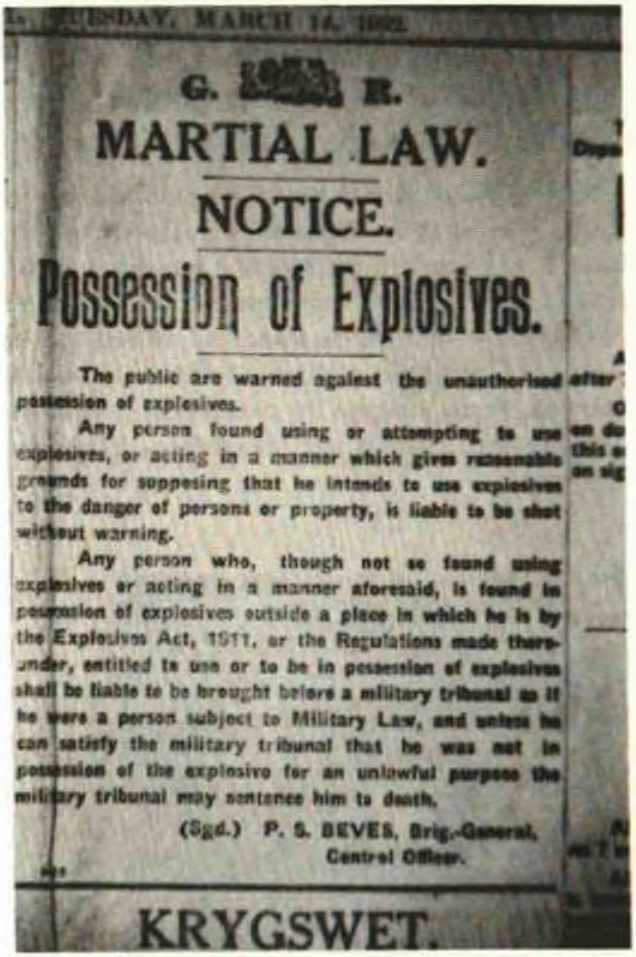
An old newspaper depicts General Smuts facing the communists who were behind the 1922 rebellion

Even though the original strike purposes were captured and used by the communists to seek the overthrow of the government and to establish socialism, it cannot be denied that the original reason for the strike was because the workers' wages were being reduced. The greatest weakness of the Commission was that it did not investigate whether or not the workers had genuine grievances. In faraway Moscow the Comintern's leading newspaper reported:

> "The British Labour Party did not spend a tithe... on telegrams of protest against the execution of strikers in South Africa brutally murdered by... General Smuts."[18]

Clearly Moscow felt the impact of the Smuts Government destroying their beloved revolution.[19]

CPSA members confessed their participation in the strike. "In fact the majority of the communist party flung themselves wholeheartedly into the struggle" from underground locations. This was written by communist Edward Roux. The CPSA actually issued a



G. R.

MARTIAL LAW.

NOTICE.

Possession of Explosives.

The public are warned against the unauthorised possession of explosives.

Any person found using or attempting to use explosives, or acting in a manner which gives reasonable grounds for supposing that he intends to use explosives to the danger of persons or property, is liable to be shot without warning.

Any person who, though not so found using explosives or acting in a manner aforesaid, is found in possession of explosives outside a place in which he is by the Explosives Act, 1911, or the Regulations made thereunder, entitled to use or to be in possession of explosives shall be liable to be brought before a military tribunal as if he were a person subject to Military Law, and unless he can satisfy the military tribunal that he was not in possession of the explosive for an unlawful purpose the military tribunal may sentence him to death.

(Sgd.) P. S. BEVES, Brig.-General,
Control Officer.

KRYGSWET.

The Star

MARTIAL LAW

NOTICE

SURRENDER OF FIREARMS.

All persons, other than members of the Forces, are hereby ordered to surrender all Arms (or Parts), Ammunition and Explosives, of whatever nature, in their possession, to the Authorities, as follows:—

CAPTAIN LLOYD, District Commandant, South African Police, Marshall Square.

CAPTAIN BRADSHAW, Inspector of Police, Central Barracks, Marshall St.

SUB-INSPECTOR LORD, South African Police, Hospital Hill Police Station.

CAPTAIN CASH, South African Police, Jeppe Police Station.

SUB-INSPECTOR MORRAN, South African Police, Booysens Police Station.

CAPTAIN KUNHARDT, South African Police, Fordsburg Police Station.

By 7 p.m. on MONDAY, 20th MARCH, 1922.

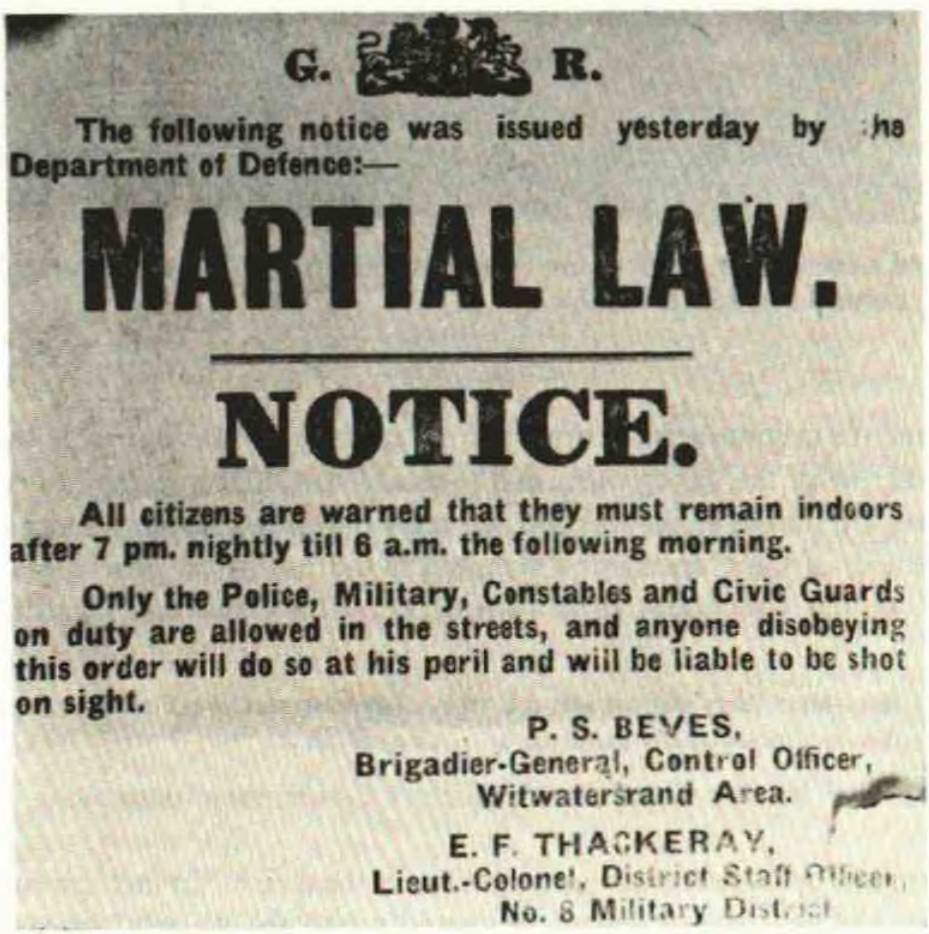
Any person found in possession of any Arms (or Parts), Ammunition or Explosives in contravention of this Notice, after the time aforementioned, will be liable to the penalties described in the Martial Law Regulations, and may, in certain circumstances, be sentenced to Death by a Military Tribunal.

The permits or authority, if any, by which such Arms, Ammunition or Explosives are held, must be presented at the same time.

(Sgd.) P. S. BEVES,
Brig.-General,
Control Officer, Witwatersrand Area.

Johannesburg,
March 17th, 1922.

The Star



G. R.

The following notice was issued yesterday by the Department of Defence:—

MARTIAL LAW.

NOTICE.

All citizens are warned that they must remain indoors after 7 pm. nightly till 6 a.m. the following morning.

Only the Police, Military, Constables and Civic Guards on duty are allowed in the streets, and anyone disobeying this order will do so at his peril and will be liable to be shot on sight.

P. S. BEVES,
Brigadier-General, Control Officer,
Witwatersrand Area.

E. F. THACKERAY,
Lieut.-Colonel, District Staff Officer,
No. 8 Military District.

Rand Daily Mail

These three Martial Law notices appeared on the Reef

"Manifesto" to the strikers under the heading, The Fight to the Finish. It was issued on 30 January 1922, before the full violence erupted. The Manifesto called for the "downfall of capitalism" and "offered its assistance to the Strike Committee".[20]

The swift and positive action of the authorities crushed the Red Revolution. It had been designed to turn South Africa into a "Soviet State".[21] Again the classical tactic of using the innocents to do the work was employed. Thousands suffered because of the blind failure of the mineowners to negotiate fairly with their workers and the subtle, deceiving actions of a few communist masterminds. It has left a lasting scar on South African history.

The Star

A group of prisoners taken at Fordsburg

The Star

Africans carry off a wagonload of dead, killed in the battles

The Star

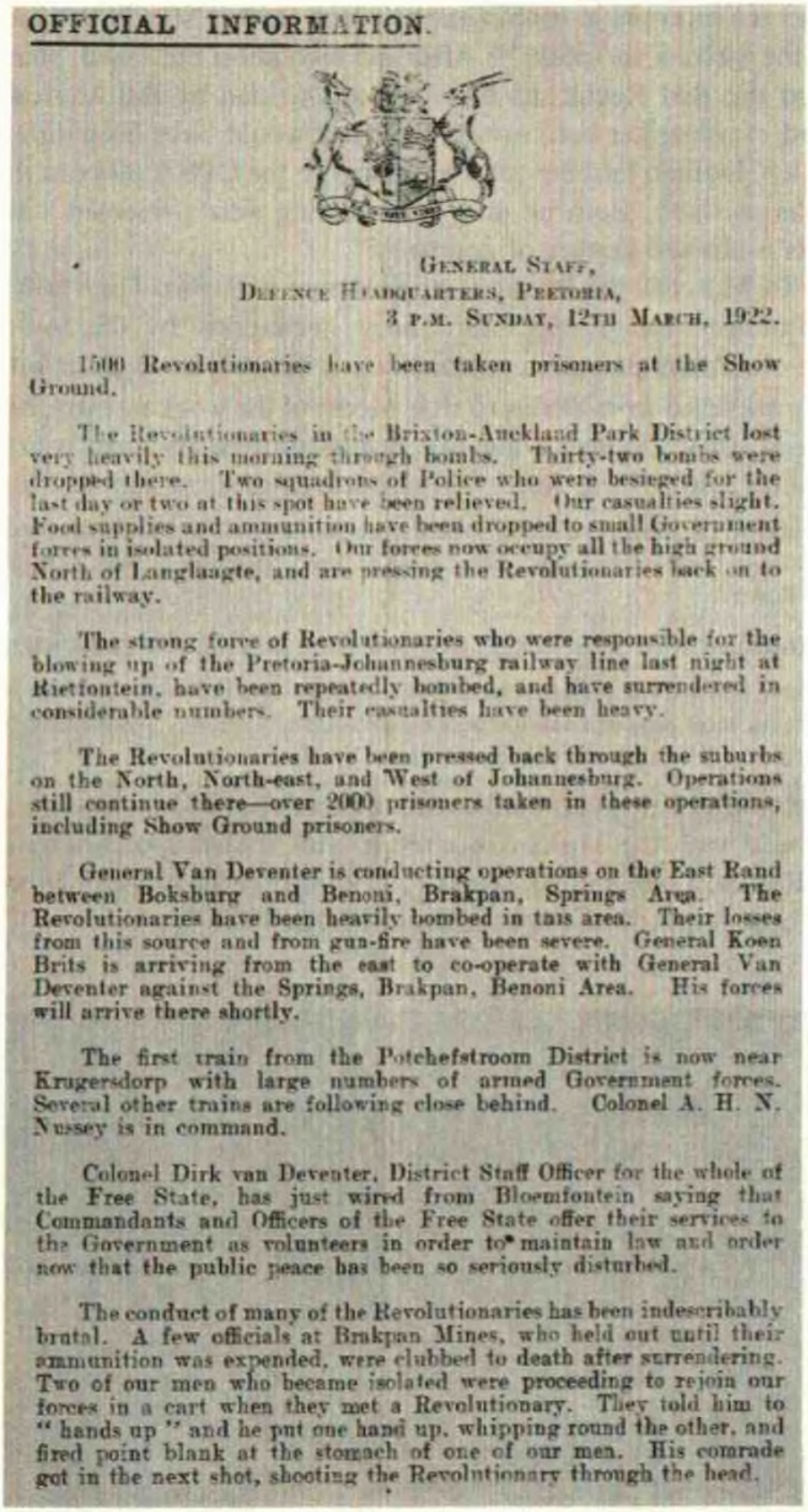
Some of the deadly equipment taken from the "peaceful" strikers. The jelly tins were loaded with pieces of iron, stones and gelignite

The Star

Captured strikers being hauled off to jail. Note the clenched fist salute by the man in white

The Star

Short-lived joy. Early in the uprisings the Reds paraded down the main streets, carried on the shoulders of their comrades. Taffy Long (left, holding hat) was hanged. Left to right: Jefferies, Fisher (arrow), Shaw, and Spendiff (arrow) celebrate a victory that never was. A few weeks later Fisher and Spendiff committed suicide



OFFICIAL INFORMATION.

GENERAL STAFF,
DEFENCE HEADQUARTERS, PRETORIA,
3 P.M. SUNDAY, 12TH MARCH, 1922.

1500 Revolutionaries have been taken prisoners at the Show Ground.

The Revolutionaries in the Brixton-Auckland Park District lost very heavily this morning through bombs. Thirty-two bombs were dropped there. Two squadrons of Police who were besieged for the last day or two at this spot have been relieved. Our casualties slight. Food supplies and ammunition have been dropped to small Government forces in isolated positions. Our forces now occupy all the high ground North of Langlaagte, and are pressing the Revolutionaries back on to the railway.

The strong force of Revolutionaries who were responsible for the blowing up of the Pretoria-Johannesburg railway line last night at Rietfontein, have been repeatedly bombed, and have surrendered in considerable numbers. Their casualties have been heavy.

The Revolutionaries have been pressed back through the suburbs on the North, North-east, and West of Johannesburg. Operations still continue there—over 2000 prisoners taken in these operations, including Show Ground prisoners.

General Van Deventer is conducting operations on the East Rand between Boksburg and Benoni, Brakpan, Springs Area. The Revolutionaries have been heavily bombed in this area. Their losses from this source and from gun-fire have been severe. General Koen Brits is arriving from the east to co-operate with General Van Deventer against the Springs, Brakpan, Benoni Area. His forces will arrive there shortly.

The first train from the Potchefstroom District is now near Krugersdorp with large numbers of armed Government forces. Several other trains are following close behind. Colonel A. H. N. Nussey is in command.

Colonel Dirk van Deventer, District Staff Officer for the whole of the Free State, has just wired from Bloemfontein saying that Commandants and Officers of the Free State offer their services to the Government as volunteers in order to maintain law and order now that the public peace has been so seriously disturbed.

The conduct of many of the Revolutionaries has been indescribably brutal. A few officials at Brakpan Mines, who held out until their ammunition was expended, were clubbed to death after surrendering. Two of our men who became isolated were proceeding to rejoin our forces in a cart when they met a Revolutionary. They told him to "hands up" and he put one hand up, whipping round the other, and fired point blank at the stomach of one of our men. His comrade got in the next shot, shooting the Revolutionary through the head.

Africana Museum

A government notice issued during the attempted communist takeover of 1922

BUNTING AND WIFE OFF TO MOSCOW

Shortly following the end of the strike, on 2 June 1922, Bunting, the treasurer of the CPSA and editor of The International (which had suspended publication during the conflict), set sail for Russia. Bunting for some unknown reason played little part in the

strike. There is a footnote in his biography which reads: "Mrs Bunting says he was never invited by the strikers to speak."[22] After the revolution collapsed, Bunting did issue a report called the Red Revolt. Its foreword was written by Bill Andrews. In it Bunting stated: "Had every striker been armed the effect would have been different."[23]

Bunting left Durban harbour after a farewell in the CPSA office at the Trades Union Hall in Johannesburg. Both he and Mrs Bunting were presented with gifts from the comrades as a farewell gesture of goodwill.[24]

En route to Moscow, the Buntings stopped over in Berlin. They "went to a social and heard communist violinist Soermur and... recitations by the communists... who declared revolutionary poems, in unison, forty or fifty voices together with great effect".[25]

Then they travelled from Berlin to that Mecca of the working class, Moscow. On their day of arrival, they attended a gigantic demonstration. Bunting, overwhelmed by the Bolshevik show, wrote these words about history's greatest liars and murderers:

> "One hundred thousand were there in serried ranks with scores of bands and countless banners expressing confidence in the revolution and vowing death to world capitalism... here, after all, is the secret of the Soviet Power."

Then he continues with these staggering words regarding the participants:

> "And what humane and intelligent faces! Yes; the soldiers and police too: not those brutalised enemies of the workers, those dogs we know too well, but decent kindly fellows... appealed in friendly tones to their comrades, the young people, to keep the line..."[26]

Bunting underwent the regular brainwashing experience laid on by his Soviet masters. He was "impressed with the Moscow orchestra" and "heard speeches by Lenin, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rakov, Losofsky and Trotsky..." and, after the glorious experience of "seeing for himself", he returned to Cape Town in March 1923.[27]

Africana Museum

A mass memorial and prayer meeting held at the Johannesburg Town Hall, giving thanks to God that the Red Revolution was over and a failure

Stewart - Cape Town

Hundreds of socialists welcome Tom Mann (standing between the two women) to Cape Town. Directly behind Mann is the famous communist A. Z. Berman. Marxist R. Stuart stands to the left of the second woman, with right hand raised to face. Labour leader Col. Creswell stands to left of photo with left hand raised

Stewart - Cape Town

Mrs W. H. Harrison, wife of secretary, Communist Party, Cape Town; Tom Mann, British socialist; Mrs Robert Stuart, wife of secretary, Federation of Trades, Cape Town

MARXIST TOM MANN'S ABORTIVE TRIP TO SOUTH AFRICA

Some four months after the departure of Bunting to Russia, South Africa received another well-known Marxist trouble-maker. No sooner had the rumbles of the 1922 strike died down the socialists within the trade unions again stirred the waters. The famous British communist Tom Mann arrived in Cape Town in early October 1922. He was welcomed by a mass demonstration of trade unions, socialists, radicals, revolutionaries and Labour Party members. With banners waving and singing The Red Flag, thousands greeted the British loudmouth. The Cape Times of 2 October 1922 carried the whole story. It was a high day for the CPSA and its friends. Meetings were organized for Mann in the Cape Peninsula and in most important industrial towns in South Africa. One of the secret purposes in bringing Mann to the country was so that he could "campaign for the release of the strike prisoners".[28] In correspondence intercepted by the police, Andrews had spoken of Mann as the "trump card" of Moscow in their battle to install a Marxist system in South Africa. However, to the dismay of the comrades, Mann's visit, other than the normal noise-making, singing of The Red Flag and standard proclamations of the joys and blessings of socialism, accomplished nothing. This was another attempt by the communists to reopen the fresh wounds of the 1922 strike. It failed miserably.

In a newspaper article entitled "The Law of the Boat" printed in Cape Town, we read the following statements regarding some of Mann's associates during his South African tour:

> "The Bolsheviks of Moscow (are) working through their South African comrades Mr. Bill Andrews and Mr. Morris Kentridge (a lawyer in Johannesburg), Mr. W.H. Harrison of Cape Town, Mr. Sam Barlin of the Free State and others of their kidney."[29]

They all shared in Mann's three-month visit.

THE SECOND CPSA CONGRESS

Due to the war and bloodshed of the 1922 miners' strike, there was no congress of the CPSA held during this year. As previously mentioned, the infant party did much of its work from underground in these days of turmoil.

The official second congress of the CPSA was opened on 28 April 1923 by Bill Andrews. This two-day occasion was held at the Trades Hall in Johannesburg. The chairman was D.L. Dryburgh of Cape Town. Delegates and representatives were present from various parts of South Africa. Such subjects as the Russian Famine Relief, congresses of the Communist International, Tom Mann's visit, prosecutions of party speakers and United Front Movements were discussed.

Party officials elected for the year were: chairman — Julius First (father of Ruth First); vice-chairman — Sam Barlin; treasurer — Sydney Ward; organiser — C.F. Glass; and members of the central executive — A. Goldman, R. Geldblum, H. Lee, S. Rubin, E. Roux, R. Rabb and W. Ward.

"With a hearty vote of thanks to the chair and the singing of the 'International' and 'The Red Flag', the meeting was completed."[30]

COMRADE ANDREWS GOES TO MOSCOW

Bill Andrews, a leading figure in the 1922 strike, was next in line for the Moscow experience. During the congress of the Comintern in Moscow, in November 1922, Andrews was elected to serve as a member of the executive committee of the Comintern for the coming year. Hence, upon the return of comrade Bunting in March 1923, Andrews departed from South Africa in May for Moscow to take up duties as a full-time officer on

the Comintern committee. As a reciprocal favour, during his absence, his place was filled by Bunting, who "acted as Secretary of the CPSA".[31] With Andrews absent, Bunting again received the editorship of The International.

Andrews, like Bunting, was overwhelmed in Moscow. His biographer quotes his own words:

> "While in Moscow, everyone looks happy and well-fed; everyone is hopeful and confident. There is an air of buoyance not to be felt anywhere else in my experience, and this is the feeling everyone has."[32]

In Moscow, Andrews was delighted to meet his old comrade, David I. Jones, who had left South Africa in 1920. Jones insisted on personally escorting Andrews over the great Red Square.

> "In the twilight of the evening the two South African class fighters walked over the cobblestones of the great Square. They saw the tablet marking the resting place of the American author and communist John Reed, and many other revolutionaries." Andrews expressed "slight disapproval of the things he saw in Moscow".[33]

He never again saw Jones alive. What a pathetic way to end life and say goodbye — viewing the graves of dead communists and the Kremlin wall!

Andrews presided over a final meeting of the Comintern executive along with the British commission. Numerous leading British communists were present, including W. Gallagher, Robert Stewart, and T.A. Jackson. All were friends of Andrews. The chairman of this Comintern gathering was comrade Zinoviev, who was afterwards executed by Stalin. Andrews also made "friends" with the American communist, Bill Haywood, wanted by the authorities in the USA. After leaving Russia, Andrews visited the normal line-up of communists and revolutionaries in his native Britain. He returned to South Africa in February 1924 to face a fierce storm which was brewing in the ranks of the CPSA. It broke during the annual conference at the end of that year.

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, p. 11
2. *A History of the Union of South Africa, 1910-1961*
   MacMillan, Johannesburg 1969
   By D.W. Kruger, p. 124
3. *The Johannesburg Saga*
   Published by John R. Shorten (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg 1970
   By John R. Shorten, p. 314. See also first documentation of number 5 below, p. 28
4. Number 3, p. 314
5. Report of the *Martial Law Inquiry, Judicial Commission*, Pretoria 1922, p. 5 *The International*, 9 March 1922, carried a frontpage photo of Fisher and Spendiff with this caption, "Class War Heroes."
6. *A First Account of Labour Organization in South Africa*
   Durban 1926
   By Gitsham and Trembath, p. 178
7. *2000 Casualties*
   South Africa Trade Union Council, Johannesburg 1961
   By I.L. Walker and B. Weinbren, p. 132
8. Ivan L. Walker (known as Ivan the Terrible) was born in Uitenhage in 1882. He was arrested in 1914 for printing a "Strike Herald" during the riots of that period and served a short sentence in prison. Under the Pact Government, he served as Chief Inspector of Labour. Following the miners' strike of 1922, he served on the Committee to Defend the Strikers and assisted in writing the 54-page booklet called "*The Story of a Crime*". It is filled with information about the government's crimes, killings, murders, bombings and shooting of the innocents — but was coldly silent about the proven handful of ruthless communists who had turned the strike into a violent revolution.
9. *The Revolt on the Rand*
   Blue Crane Books, Johannesburg 1966
   By Norman Herd, p. 28
10. Number 9, p. 28
11. *Out of the Crucible*
    Juta and Company Ltd., Johannesburg 1948
    By Hedley A. Chilvers, pp. 216-217
12. *The Afrikaners*
    Cassell and Company, London 1969
    By John Fisher, p. 250
13. Number 3, pp. 317-318
    This same author remarks that Fisher "expressed hope that a provisional government would be formed", p. 317
14. Mail that Andrews was sending to fellow communist leaders in Australia during the strike period was intercepted by the police. It contained positive proof that the communists were the chief agitators and instigators during the strike period. From mid-March until the end of May 1922, the CPSA did not print its propaganda paper *The International*. It did, however, print and distribute hundreds of pamphlets amongst the workers. The CPSA held no congress during 1922. The second annual congress was held in Johannesburg, 28 April 1923.
15. "Fourteen (of the 18) sentenced to death were later reprieved. In 1924 they were actually released from prison as an act of clemency." (*Sunday Times*, 19 March 1972)

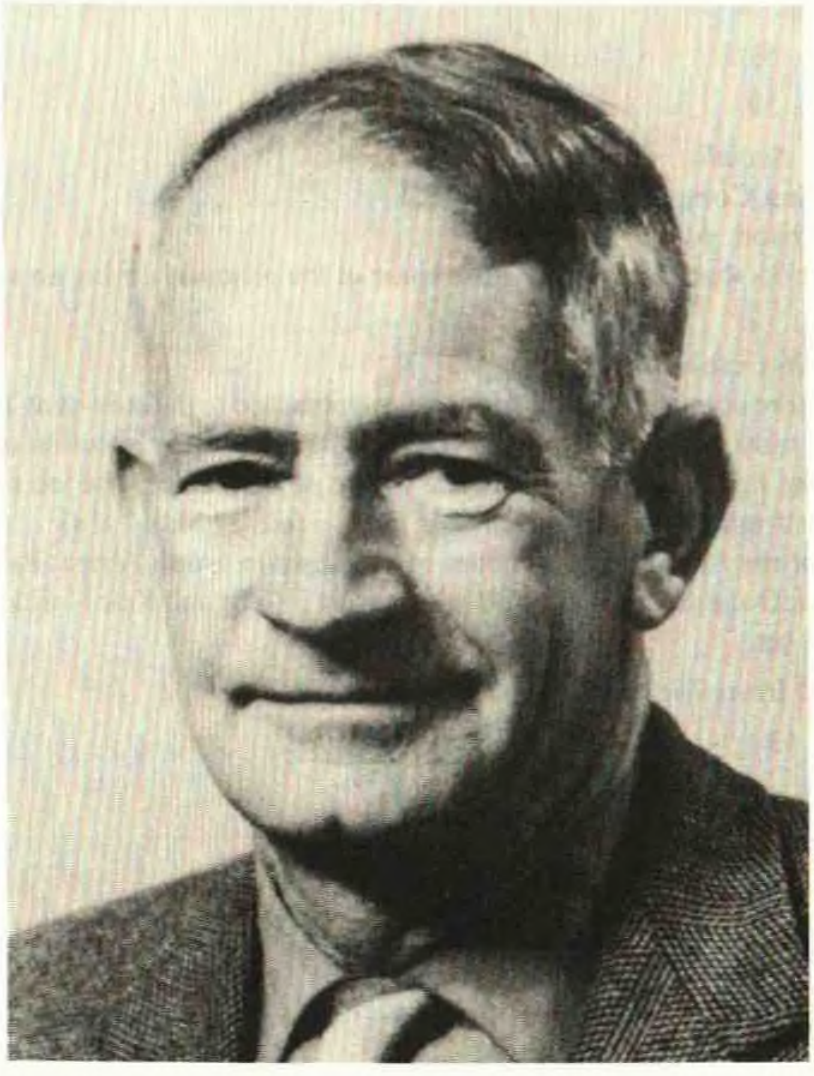
16. The CPSA called for a "one day general strike to save Long, Hull and Lewis from the gallows". Number 32 below, p. 285.
The Comintern in Moscow sent an official protest about the execution of the culprits which was published in the pages of *The International*, of 5 January 1923.
17. First document of Number 5, pp. 23-25. During the strikes most blacks fled the Reef, finding themselves the object of the white workers' hatred, and tools in the hands of the cunning communist agitators and their dupes.
18. *Pravda*, 30 March, 1923. This and similar articles prove Moscow's interest in the strike.
19. The Magistrate of Benoni gave his view of the strike: "As to the character of the revolution, it was fast approaching that of the French Revolution. Its aim was undoubtedly to overthrow the government and in part of a certain section, to establish Soviet rule." (*Sunday Times*, 19 March 1972)
20. *S.P. Bunting*
The African Bookman, Cape Town 1943
By Edward Roux, p. 51
21. *The International*, 3 February 1922
22. Number 20, p. 55
23. First document of Number 5, p. 31
24. Number 20, p. 55
25. Number 20, pp. 56-57
26. Number 20, p. 58
27. Number 20, p. 59
28. *Memoirs of a Socialist*
Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
By W.H. Harrison, p. 88
Harrison remarks that "Smuts did release some of the prisoners during an amnesty in the 1924 election."
29. *Cape Times*, 26 October 1922
Four years before coming to South Africa Mann preached to the crowds at Trafalgar Square in London: "We must take affairs into our own hands. I advocate revolution openly. Prepare for action when the signal is given. I hope there will be physical force. The job must be done; there must be no half-marks about it." (*London Daily Mail*, 27 May 1918)
Mann was not the first overseas prophet of socialism in South Africa. Richard Seddon and J. Ramsay MacDonald came in 1902, Thomas Burt in 1904 and Keir Hardie in 1908. The stage had been well set.
30. Details copied from *The International*, 4 May 1923
31. Number 1, p. 13
32. *Comrade Bill*
Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
By R.K. Cope, pp. 287-288
33. Number 32, p. 289

CHAPTER NINE

FROM THE YCL TO KADALIE'S ICU

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Just before the Wits Miners' Strike certain events were occurring which would cause serious faction and breach within the ranks of the newly-born CPSA (established July 1921). That same year, a group of young hotheads in Johannesburg established a Young Communist League (YCL). Their most prominent figure was Edward Roux. Its official publication was named The Young Communist and later The Young Worker. The first issue is dated April 1923. During the 1922 strike the YCL and the CPSA went mostly underground.



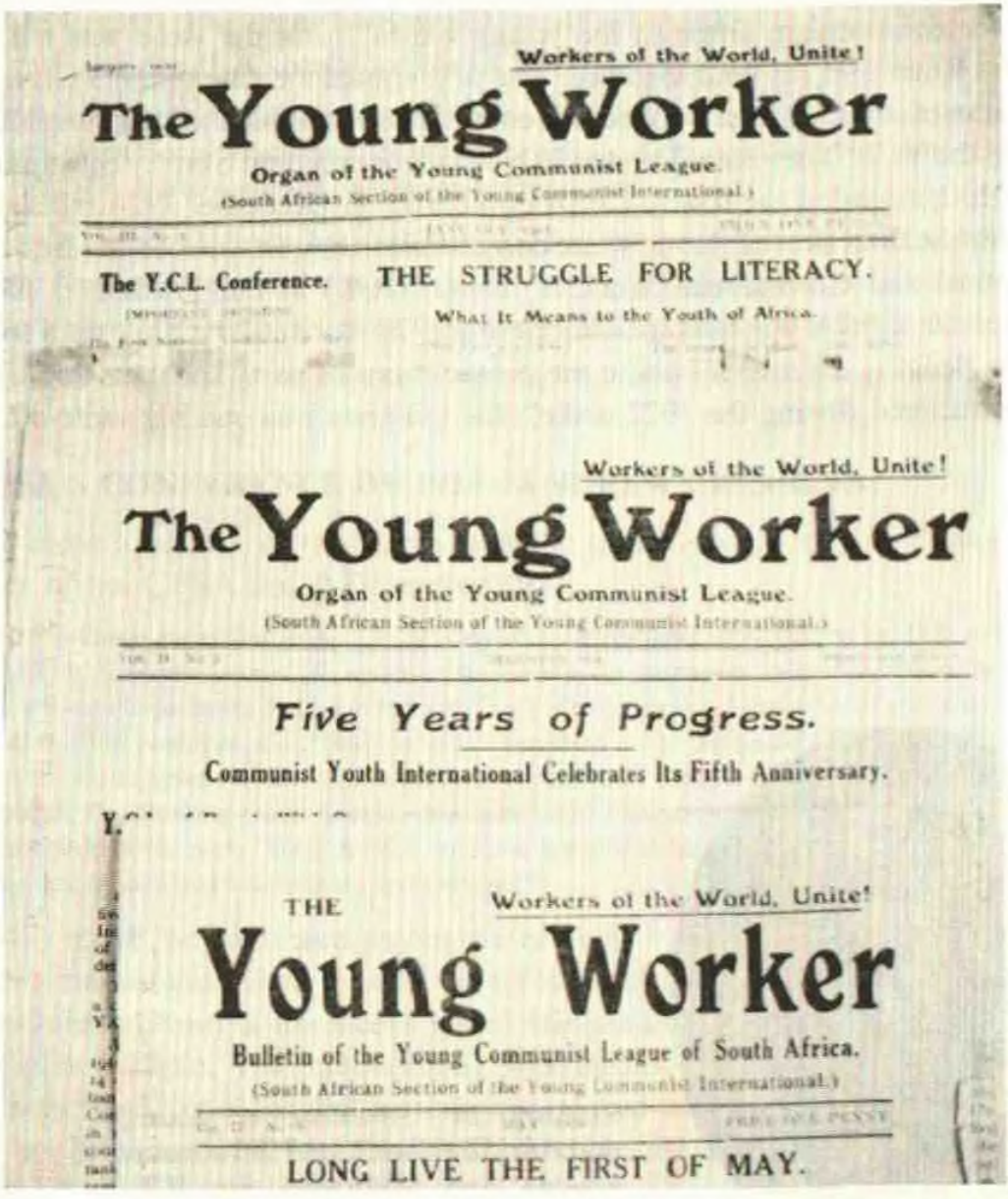
Wits University Archives

Dr. Edward Roux, long-time South African communist. Roux renounced the whole communist system before his death in 1966

Edward Roux was born in the Transvaal in 1903. He was the son of a Johannesburg chemist and became a primary figure in the CPSA. His father was converted to Marxist socialism (of the deLeon school) by some Australian immigrants who opened a cobbler shop next to his chemist in Johannesburg. Sadly, the disease spread to his son, who soon became known as a "free thinker". (This is the same E. Roux who wrote the biography of fellow-communist S.P. Bunting. See documentation 23 at end of this chapter.)

Roux was recruited into the party in 1923 as a member of the executive committee in order to represent his Young Communist League. Under the powerful influence of S.P. Bunting, he soon became "Bantu-conscious". In 1924 while a student at Witwatersrand University he became the party's honorary secretary (one document says "vice-chairman"). Later during an interim period, 1926-29, while Roux was studying at Cambridge, he served on various committees of the British Communist Party and also attended the sixth Congress of the Comintern in Moscow. On his return to South Africa in 1929, he immediately resumed work in the CPSA. (Discussed in chapter 11.)

Within the ranks of the YCL a factious element was emerging that would assist in


Workers of the World, Unite!

The Young Worker

Organ of the Young Communist League.

(South African Section of the Young Communist International.)

The Y.C.L. Conference. THE STRUGGLE FOR LITERACY.

What It Means to the Youth of Africa.

Workers of the World, Unite!

The Young Worker

Organ of the Young Communist League.

(South African Section of the Young Communist International.)

Five Years of Progress.

Communist Youth International Celebrates Its Fifth Anniversary.

THE Workers of the World, Unite!

Young Worker

Bulletin of the Young Communist League of South Africa.

(South African Section of the Young Communist International.)

LONG LIVE THE FIRST OF MAY.

Strange Memorial Library

Copies of old publications issued by Roux's Young Communist League of Johannesburg

splitting the CPSA. Bunting regarded the blacks (or Bantu) as "equals" and "part of the workers of the world", while the regular communists seemingly never considered the question. Roux was soon converted to the beliefs of Bunting on this issue. In a short time Roux found an affinity of belief with a young cabinet-maker of German origin, named Willie Kalk. "His father had been a social democrat in Germany."[1] Both Roux and Kalk worked hard to recruit blacks into the YCL and the CPSA. However, a fiery female communist named Sarah Sable, secretary of the YCL, openly opposed their work among the blacks. The Lithuanian-born Solly Sachs[2] shared her convictions. Sachs, a member of the YCL, "admitted that the native youth should be organized, but... in a separate direction".

A sample of the rabid early form of Marxism-Leninism[3] within the YCL is illustrated in their official publication, The Young Worker. It reads:

> "The Hertzog-Creswell Government will fail to solve the unemployment problem UNLESS IT IS PREPARED TO ADOPT BOLSHEVIST METHODS (emphasis in the original). We know that it is not prepared to do any such thing. That is why we have a Communist Party and a Young Communist League..."[4]

Inflamed by the teachings of Marxism, brainwashed by Bunting and supported by Kalk, Roux "tried to convince... the YCL that their most important task concerned the clamour for communism amongst the young Bantu".[5] But the issue was not so easily resolved as Roux and his kind assumed. The first annual meeting of the YCL was a solid confirmation of this fact. Just prior to this conference, two outstanding young blacks were roped into the YCL. They were Thomas Mbeki (a labourer) and Stanley Silwana (a school teacher). Both attended the rowdy CPSA conference in December 1924 and a short time later, under the direction of young white communists, they established the first branch of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) in the Transvaal. The second congress of the CPSA was held in Johannesburg, 28 April 1923. Other than the normal formalities, lengthy discussions about the prosecutions of party speakers and the "police brutalities suffered during the 1922 strike", the congress was one big write-off.

Stanley M. Silwana, a young teacher, was recruited into party service and infiltrated the ICU. Later he renounced his Marxist views

YCL MEETING AND THE "BANTU PROPOSALS"

In January 1924, the first annual meeting of the YCL occurred in the Trades Union Hall in Johannesburg. At this congress both Roux and Kalk experienced strong opposition to their "Bantu-conscious" proposals. They were flatly defeated. Smarting from such an overwhelming defeat, Roux and his followers thereupon appealed to the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International with headquarters in Berlin at the time, and this body accepted their standpoint in toto. Faced with such an ultimatum coming from the highest ruling body of the communist youth movement, the remainder of the YCL in South Africa bowed under the pressure and officially accepted the pro-black policy. The orders from Berlin were too much for Sarah Sable and she forthwith resigned her post with the YCL. Shortly afterwards, Sachs left for a visit to England and Russia. With the major opposition removed, Roux and Kalk had things their own way. The YCL became officially pro-Native. But the issue was not that easily resolved. The next major body to persuade was the CPSA, whose third annual conference was now scheduled for 30 December, just eleven months away. The first split was pending for Africa's first communist party.

On top of all this, the CPSA had received the shocking news from Moscow of the "death of comrade Lenin". The entire communist world was shaken.

Their god was dead! A special article in The International, 25 January 1924, stated:

> "The doctors say he died of paralysis of the respiratory organs. Not true! Lenin died by the hand of the assassin of the 'Social Revolutionaries' behind the assassin of the capitalist robber class (which is) behind the SR's. The world is infested with the murderers of Lenin."

True to style, in days gone by and still today, the communists blame capitalism for everything. Now the "capitalist swine" had murdered their "great revolutionary leader". Deeply lamenting the death of Lenin, the young CPSA was heading for more sorrow at the year's end.

THE CPSA'S CONFERENCE OF 1924 : ANDREWS RESIGNS

The sensitive question of the blacks was the most important issue during the third conference of the CPSA on 30 December 1924.

> "The Pro-Bantu group was led by S.P. Bunting who was zealously supported by the YCL and by the Cape delegation. S. Buirski, one of the leaders of the Cape group, enthusiastically related how the communists were drawing large Bantu audiences in Cape Town. The opposition 'conservative' group however was led by W.H. (Bill) Andrews, C.F. Glass and other members of the 'old guard'. They felt that the European workers still represented the most important revolutionary force and as such should receive the most attention. The Bunting group however triumphed and a few days later Glass 'temporarily' resigned his membership of the party. Early in 1925, Andrews resigned in his capacity as secretary of the communist party, but he retained his ordinary membership."[6]

Despite this move, he continued paying party dues.

Andrews, undaunted, went to work as a fitter and turner at the Central Engineering Works in Johannesburg a few weeks later.[7] His position as secretary of the CPSA and editor of its newspaper, The International, was filled by Roux. (One document states his position was filled by a Scottish communist named Jimmy Shields until he (Shields) returned to Britain in 1927. Actually Shields became assistant editor of the CPSA newspaper.

During the same year, a group of unionists and government workers came together and established the South African Association of Employees' Organizations. Andrews was

elected chairman and communist C.F. Glass as the new treasurer. "At the first annual conference the name of the organization was changed to the (South African) Trades' Union Congress — TUC."[8] Roux says this group was "originally called the Trade Union Co-ordination Committee".[9] The TUC was simply another communist-controlled arm to reach the workers for Marxist-socialism. Due to this fact, only a few smaller unions affiliated.[10]

Andrews continued in the TUC for years. He attended the Geneva conference in 1929 as "the South African Workers' delegate and went on to represent the TUC officially at the Anti-imperialist Conference at Frankfurt".[11] During these meetings he made contact with top communists from across the world.

The youthful CPSA drew the attention of another socialist organization during its 1924 conference. An interesting historical note relates how comrade W.H. Harrison of the Cape delegation attending the 1924 near-Christmas meeting of the CPSA was invited to address a Jewish socialist group in Johannesburg. It was the Poalei Zion movement. It wanted "'representation on the CPSA executive' but this movement was rejected outright, being considered as a 'sectional attempt to get into the communist movement'."[12] Hardly three years old, the CPSA was feeling something of its exclusive importance. Others were wanting their organizations to be represented on the CPSA executive!

The record is clear that during the December 1924 conference, despite the resignations and factions, the YCL bulldozed its "pro-Bantu" policy into the programme of the CPSA. In conjunction with these events during the same meetings, there was serious discussion of the CPSA's "re-affiliation with the Labour Party". From these issues came the split and resignations.

The decisions taken during this conference were a decisive turning point in the history of the CPSA:

> "Up to that time the party had concerned itself chiefly with the European workers; in the future the 'liberation' of the black man in South Africa would be regarded throughout as the most important task of the CPSA."[13]

Meanwhile, another labour organization had been formed in Cape Town. Before it finally collapsed, it was destined to have a tremendous setback influence on the CPSA. The party saw this labour movement as a prime target, but this backfired in the CPSA's face.

This group, known as the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), is discussed in detail in the following pages. Also during this period came the removal of General Smuts from power. However, this victory did not prove as beneficial and helpful as the Marxist-Leninists and their various counterparts had originally hoped.

GENERAL SMUTS LOSES IN 1924

The Smuts Government ran into serious difficulties not long after assuming power in 1919. The first major crisis was the Bulhoek massacre in May 1921 near Queenstown. In the battle that ensued "163 Bantu were killed and many wounded by machine-gun fire when a mob of Bantu who belonged to a fanatical religious sect attacked the police".[14] Even though a subsequent judicial inquiry exonerated the Smuts Government, the opposition raised a violent outcry and created an image of Smuts as a cold-blooded, ruthless man.

Smuts' declaration of Martial Law during the miners' strike and the mass destruction of life, limb and property that followed, caused members of the Labour Party to label Smuts as a "bloodhound". Soon "the dead strikers were idolised like the rebels of 1914".[15] Mud-

slinging and smears were the order of the day, following the 1922 strike. Smuts was a condemned man. Every fault, failure and weakness was resurrected and waved publicly for all to see before the general election of June 1924. The opposition were determined to remove Smuts from power and they did.

The opposition, in the form of the Labour Party and the Nationalists, formed a Pact Government. Their united goal was to remove Smuts. "The communist party threw its weight behind the 1924 election of the Pact Government."[16] Theoretically the CPSA viewed the Pact Government as the enemy of super British capitalism, which it hated with deep passion. On orders of the Comintern the CPSA threw in its lot with the Pact, hoping to somehow cause deep injury to the system of capitalism. The Labour Party led by Creswell and the Nationalists led by Hertzog collaborated and, with the aid of the communists, leftists and socialists, swept Smuts from office.[17] Basically, they all well remembered how Smuts had ruthlessly crushed their "workers' revolution" during the 1922 strike and saw in the Pact Government (they thought) the opportunity for revenge. The end of the Smuts regime came suddenly and ingloriously.[18] In a desperate attempt to save himself, Smuts released the remaining prisoners of the 1922 strike. This did not gain any favour with the electorate. However, it did illustrate how low dirty politics will stoop. Some of those released were killers, actually deserving of capital punishment. Yet, in a desperate bid to keep power, Smuts turned them back into the stream of public life from which they were originally removed.

THE CPSA'S DREAM IS EXPLODED

But the revenge of the communists in helping to remove Smuts was a short-lived dream.

> "Once in office, however, the Pact Government concentrated on its 'civilized labour policy' to defend white workers from the competition of the non-Europeans (blacks)."[19]

To the utter dismay of the communists, those whom they had supported reverted to the Smuts policy of entrenching the white workers.

The Pact Government also legislated a series of segregation measures aimed at the Indians of South Africa, and the vote was jeopardized for the Africans in the Cape Province. The communists were infuriated. Hertzog and Creswell set to work to build a "White man's South Africa".[20]

The segregation policies of the Pact Government did evoke a greater measure of unity (for a short time) among some of the various ethnic groups of South Africa. The ANC hurriedly summoned a national convention at Bloemfontein in February 1926. The ICU along with the CPSA rejected the new government policies. In June 1926 the first Non-European Convention took place at Kimberley. Present were representatives of the ANC and the Africa Peoples' Organization (APO), including various welfare bodies, liberal religious organizations, as well as, for the first time in such a gathering, the South African Indian Congress (SAIC). However, all the big noises made and mustered by these gatherings soon died a natural death. They accomplished mostly nothing. Dissension, debate, argument and factions brought an early death for this united effort to oppose the racial policies of the Pact Government.

It was from this disappointment that the CPSA went forth among the blacks, determined to recruit masses into their organization. Their promises, in words and on paper, seemed as if heaven had arrived on earth. Several hundred blacks were swept into the CPSA during this time. However, the mass of white workers swung their support towards the Pact Government and away from communism. Further, to the utter dismay of

the Reds, the violent eruptions and split that had occurred at their December 1924 conference only deepened their problems.

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The popular Clements Kadalie (centre) and his ICU officers. Official letterhead at top

THE INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS' UNION

This first black labour movement in South Africa was founded in Cape Town early in 1919. The ICU began from a meeting between a black youth named Clements Kadalie and a British socialist named Albert Batty. At that time Batty was operating a cutlery shop in Cape Town. Assisted by two other Englishmen, R. Rayner and J.H. Dean, Batty and Kadalie formed their ICU. Kadalie was elected as the first (unpaid) secretary of the infant movement. Being from Nyasaland (now Malawi) and unfamiliar with the black languages of South Africa, proved a great problem for youthful Kadalie. Nevertheless, he was energetic, high-spirited, and exerted a powerful influence among his own race. His outstanding talent, despite language difficulties, was demonstrated as a public speaker.

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A rare photograph of the colourful Clements Kadalie and his wife Eva, outside their home in East London a few years before his death

Stewart - Cape Town

Communist S. P. Bunting addresses an ICU meeting. E. J. Kadalie stands on a chair and Thomas Mbeki, in front, interprets. Photo taken a few months before the communist ICU split in 1926

From the beginning the communists attempted to infiltrate the ICU. They were rather successful. "The constitution of the ICU was even drafted by a communist."[21] The communists who had gathered within the ISL actually sent blacks to join the ICU in order to disseminate Marxist ideology. These would-be agents of communism a few years later were forced into a showdown by Kadalie himself. One writer comments that the original constitution of the ICU contained "Marxist direction".[22] Former communist Edward Roux states that "the Marxist thoughts injected into the ICU constitution were supplied by fellow-communist S. Buirski".[23]

Before the communists had officially organized themselves in July 1921, they were busy within this first black labour movement. Kadalie's organization was seriously hurt when it joined hands with the fully communist-controlled Industrial Workers' of Africa (IWA) and co-operated with them in a very unsuccessful dock strike in Cape Town.[24] By the middle of the 1920s Kadalie had attracted the attention of the police as "a dangerous agitator". Communists within the ICU almost took over the movement and their presence swept Kadalie under the old stigma of condemnation by association. A Cape newspaper once described him as "a pawn in the pay of Moscow".[25]

In 1923, James La Guma, a noted communist, was elected assistant general secretary of the ICU. By 1925 various officials of the communist party had joined the ICU and members of the ICU had, in turn, united with the CPSA.[26] At this period members of the ICU addressed each other as "comrade" and the main topics of group discussions were "capitalism, imperialism" and the "class struggle". Soon the ICU boasted of a membership of over 50 000. Its monthly publication was the Worker's Herald. It often carried the doctrines of Marxism.[27]

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ICU

But Kadalie's fame became too much. In a speech in January 1925 at Bloemfontein, he threatened such "agitation that the Parliament House would tremble".[28]

To hasten the decline of the ICU, South Africa's most famous communist Bill Andrews was continually in and out of their meetings. Often he was accompanied by fellow-comrades F.W.A. Lucas, W.H. Hood and others. C.F. Glass, a "hot speech-maker for communism", along with communist R.deNorman shared in ICU meetings and the oratorical demonstrations.

Periodic meetings were held between the ICU and the communist TUC. This only threw further suspicion on the movement. Numerous other unions refused to associate with the ICU because of associations and actions of this nature.

Finally, due to Kadalie's and Andrews' inflammatory speeches, the government was prompted to pass the Prevention of Disorder Bill, better known as the Sedition Bill. It was aimed at curbing such speeches and the violence they produced among the ignorant crowds.[29] This Bill was later replaced by a Native Administration Bill.

At the sixth annual conference of the ICU (combined with the fourth African Labour Congress) held in the Workers' Hall in Johannesburg in 1925, bedlam erupted. Amid a fight over the government Colour Bar Bill the communist loudmouths were busy shouting down almost every speaker. The regular ICU audience sat stunned. Communists such as T.W. Thibedi, James Dippa (formerly of the ISL), Thomas Mbeki, John Gomas, James La Guma and E.J. Khaile all joined in the professional agitation. To the surprise and shock of the moderates present one propagandist jumped to his feet and stated that they "regarded Christ as the archetypical radical and agitator".[30] (Later in 1927, James La Guma went to Moscow with J.T. Gumede where they received a heroes' welcome. They returned to South Africa in 1928.)

Strange Memorial Library

The fearless George Champion, who demanded all Reds be expelled from the ICU

SAAN

Communist James La Guma (arrow) was a general secretary of the ICU. Here he is seen during an ANC meeting giving the "Afrika salute". Others in this photo are Annie Silinga, Oscar Mpetha (at the microphone), Albert Luthuli and L. Malindi

The African Marxists sent into the ICU by the CPSA were nothing less than "Black Pawns" in the game. They knew little of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and later many of them abandoned communism altogether. However, the communist influence during this time within the ICU ranks became so obvious that the more sensible members pressed Kadalie to have a showdown. It came to the fore on 16 December 1926, at the ICU National Council meeting at Port Elizabeth. During the row that exploded, a motion was put forward by the fearless George Champion which required all communist party members to relinquish party membership or resign from the ICU.[31] Four of the five members of the national committee at that time were communists! They all refused to resign. They were summarily kicked out. Kadalie leaped on the stage and unleashed one of his "fierce verbal attacks on the communists".[32]

This act on the part of Kadalie terminated his previously very close relations with communist lawyer S.P. Bunting and other CPSA comrades. It also produced a tremendous setback effect on the CPSA. They lost a gigantic potential tool in the ICU. However, a short time later, Kadalie, swollen with pride, was to fall. His flamboyant statements brought his downfall. He wrote in the Worker's Herald in 1927: "There will be no peace till the black man triumphs over the white man."[33] Due to a bitter experience with the Pass Law, he named "Russia as the only government which was kindly disposed towards the workers".[34] After a tour of Europe he returned to South Africa and began to fall from his position of fame. By the close of that decade the ICU was dying. Rising to stand in its place was the black and politically powerful ANC.

Many of the communists in the ICU

> "turned towards the ANC and began to infiltrate it with their best cadres. By the 1960s the ANC would constitute a mass movement holding sway over hundreds of thousands of blacks and serving as the communist party's main instrument among the Bantu".[35]

THE CPSA'S NON-EVENT CONFERENCE OF 1926

This annual conference was held at Cape Town during the Christmas period of 1926. It took place in a spacious hall in Long Street and was poorly attended. During this conference a row broke out between comrades Harrison and Bunting, resulting in Harrison's expulsion from the CPSA for six months. Harrison's crime was neglecting to adhere to the 21 points previously laid down by the Third International.

Comrades S. Buirski and Henry Pereira both gave evidence against Harrison. In the course of the proceedings Buirski proposed a resolution that Pereira replace Harrison as secretary! It was noteworthy that a short time later the "zealous" comrades Buirski and Pereira both disappeared from the party. However, before the six months had expired, Harrison was reinstated into the CPSA caring for the books until 1929, when he went to Europe and England.

Other than the normal outbursts from Solly Sachs and the expulsion of socialist Harrison, the annual CPSA conference of 1926 was another complete write-off. To the further despair of the party, the expulsion of all known Reds from the ICU at the rowdy ICU meeting in Port Elizabeth had a killing effect on their morale. This was a serious blow to the CPSA and cast a cloud of despair over the Cape Town Conference.

Argus

The indefatigable Solly Sachs, a self-styled communist, harangues the crowds at a mass union meeting. Sachs was a unique figure in South African communist history. (See documentation number 2)

Kaynor - Johannesburg

Bernard Sachs, brother of Solly, was active in early communism, but renounced it in latter days. He described his brother's wild behaviour as "demonic"

THE SECRET AGENTS OF 1927

During this period, Moscow had kept an eye on the situation as it developed in far-away South Africa. The scramble and clamour to form all sorts of trade unions and the many socialists leading in the activities of this time attracted the Comintern's attention. They prepared to send professional agitators into the country.

During the latter portion of 1927 South African security authorities received intelligence of Soviet agents slipping into the country illegally. In a confidential letter from the British Consular General stationed at Lourenco Marques, we read the following warning sent to the South African police about

> "two well-known communists Dmitri Rodaien and Senes-Chapiro, possibly on Checko-Slovak passports who were sent into Southern Africa on a mission of communist propaganda, specially charged with stirring up local elements..."[36]

Hundreds of such persons have been sent into South Africa over the decades for the purposes of communism. Several communist agents sent into the country and captured by the police are discussed in chapters 27 through 29.

State Library - Pretoria

John Gomas infiltrated the ICU for the CPSA

State Library - Pretoria

E. J. Khaile, a member of the CPSA, also worked within the ICU. His photo here appeared on the front page of The South African Worker

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER NINE

1. *S.P. Bunting*
   The African Bookman, Cape Town 1943
   By Edward Roux, p. 63

2. Solly Sachs was born in the Kamaai village of Lithuania, probably in the very early 1900s. The family left for South Africa in 1912. As a youth Solly greatly admired Stalin and was a firm student of the "Marxist struggle within the British trade union movement".

   Being members of the ISL, Solly and his brother Bernard both joined the CPSA. Solly did not come to the fore until he had acquired the position as secretary of the Garment Workers' Union in 1928. He worked for communist aims through the union and was a fierce enemy of all who dared oppose him. Solly could best be described as a "self-styled communist" as he battled with comrades within the party and those without. Noted for his wild outbursts and ruthless attacks, his brother described him as having a driving force which was "demonic".

   Though expelled from the CPSA in 1931 he was readmitted a few years later. He was successful in numerous court cases in which his accusers were ordered to pay very large sums of money in settlements. Sachs was banished from the Rand for his part in the strikes of 1931-32, but the order was never physically enforced.

   Several writers seeking to defend or cover up Sachs' communist activities have pointed to the fact of his expulsion from the party as proof he was no longer involved in communist activities. Somehow these same writers fail to mention his readmittance to the CPSA and his own words nine years after his expulsion, uttered in 1940, at the tenth annual conference of the Trades and Labour Council, held in Cape Town. Sachs declared: "Other delegates have accused me of following the voice of Moscow. This is quite correct and I do because the Red flag flies over the Kremlin." In view of these things, such a strange statement by Eric A. Walker that "Sachs was not a communist" is hardly acceptable. (Number 24, p. 679.) Even 17 years after Sachs was expelled from the CPSA he still admitted being a communist. In the *Report on the Garment Workers' Union Commission of Enquiry 1948-1949*, Pretoria, 1950, p. 15 we read these words regarding Sachs: "According to the evidence he adopted the ideologies and doctrines of communism. He is admittedly a communist."

   Banned under the Suppression of Communism Act 1950, he left South Africa on 30 January 1953 for England. His brother wrote of him these revealing words: "He was too large for the school room" (referring to his constant arguments with the teachers). "He was too large for the Communist Party" (referring to his fights with fellow comrades). "He was too large for the country" (referring to his battles with the South African Government).

   Regarding Solly's contesting a political seat in England, his brother wrote: "The Lord help the British House of Commons if he should win." With the death of Solly Sachs the Marxist-Leninists lost a very difficult and strange comrade and the South African Government lost a most bitter enemy.

   These quotes edited from *Multitude of Dreams*, Kaynor Publishing House, Johannesburg 1949, by Bernard Sachs. Strange Memorial Library documents, file no. 33 (68)—331.9. *The Johannesburg Saga* published and written by J.R. Shorten, Johannesburg 1970. *South African Personalities and Places*, Kaynor Publishing House, Johannesburg 1959, by Bernard Sachs.

3. In these early days, the ideology of communism was becoming known as Marxism-Leninism. The YCL paper, *The Young Worker*, May 1924 stated that "Marxism (is called) Leninism nowadays".

4. *The Young Worker*, 19 September 1924
5. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, pp.11-12
6. Number 5, p. 14
7. Several writers have attempted to gloss over Andrews' communist dirty work and present him as a hero of the unions and the working class. Andrews moved out from the party or as the document says "resigned". Regarding Andrews "never returning to communism again" we read: "Thus, on May Day 1938 Andrews was re-instated with full honours as a member of the CPSA and he was soon afterwards elected as Chairman of the Central Committee." (Number 5, p. 29)

   Just prior to this "honourable re-instatement" Andrews had returned from Moscow where he was helping to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet Union. Almost every purge within the CPSA occurred over tactics and not over basic communist doctrine. In an article in *The Star*, 27 February 1925, Andrews said his resignation was due to "a difference over tactic, not principles".
8. *Comrade Bill*
   Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
   By R.K. Cope, p. 299
9. Number 1, p. 69
10. This was the natural fate of the TUC and many of the earlier movements of this nature. The conservative groups refused to co-operate.
11. Number 8, p. 300
12. *Memoirs of a Socialist*
    Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
    By W.H. Harrison, p. 97
13. Number 5, p. 14
14. *History of South Africa*
    Heer Printing Company, Pretoria 1971
    By W.J. de Kock, pp. 29-30. (See also chapter 6, documentation note 28)
15. *A History of the Union of South Africa, 1910-1961*
    Macmillan, Johannesburg 1969
    By D.W. Krüger, p. 126
16. *The Politics of Inequality*
    Thames & Hudson, London 1958
    By G.M. Carter, p. 61
17. The Nationalists were ready (until the election was over!) to drop their "anti-black sentiments" for the sake of getting Native votes in the Cape. Also Creswell's Labour Party was still a powerful advocate of the "white man's socialism only" policy.
18. The removal of Smuts caused great rejoicing, but it was short-lived. The Pact Government was double-minded.
19. Number 16, p. 61
20. The comrades within the CPSA were horrified at this expression and felt betrayed by this move.
21. *Africa and Communism*
    Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1967
    By F.R. Metrowich, p. 193
22. *The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa*
    Oxford University Press, Cape Town 1978
    By P.L. Wickins, p. 84

23. *Time Longer Than Rope*
The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin USA, 1964
By Edward Roux, p. 400

24. *History of South Africa*
Longmans, London 1959 (3rd edition)
By E.A. Walker, p. 586

25. *Cape Times*, 17 May 1924

26. Number 22, p. 83-4

27. One writer states that the *Worker's Herald* carried "violent attacks on the Soviet Union and communism . . . side-by-side with other articles expressing the opposite opinion". (Number 8, p. 295)

28. *Worker's Herald*, 20 February, 15 May and 15 June 1925

29. *Union of S.A. Debates, House of Assembly*, 1926, cols. 1900, 2056

30. This unholy misrepresentation of the Lord Jesus Christ is still popular today. The liberal ecumenicals who have departed from preaching God's word are the chief purveyors of this blasphemy. South Africa has been cursed with them for years. In 1930 a politicking preacher, Dr. Steenkamp, went about South Africa lecturing on "The Socialism of Christ." (*Forward*, 27 February 1931)

31. George Champion, born in 1893 in Natal, was basically a conservative trade unionist and political leader. He was banned in Durban following riots in his area. He joined the ANC executive in 1937 and held this position for about fourteen years. He firmly opposed the radical and wild Youth League of the ANC and all politics of conflict. Finally, his more revolutionary foes plotted his defeat and removed him from the ANC in 1951. He was replaced by a more "liberal" Albert Luthuli. Champion died in 1975.

32. Number 22, pp. 107-108
Among the communists in the ICU were J. A. La Guma, the ICU general secretary, E. J Khaile, the ICU financial secretary, and John Gomas, the Cape provincial secretary.

33. *South African Trades Unions History, Legislation, Policy*
McGraw Hill Book Company of South Africa, 1976
By M.A. du Toit p. 36

34. Number 33, p. 36

After purging the Reds from his ICU, Kadalie, despite his favourable statements about Russia, wrote of an experience his family had with a group of South African communists. When he arrived back in Johannesburg on Dingaan's Day 1926, following the ICU purge, he found "the communist hooligans (had) threatened his wife with violence when they found he was not home".
(My Life and the ICU
Clements Kadalie, Frank Cass and Co. Limited, London 1970
Copyright by Mrs. Eva Kadalie, p. 202)

35. *Traitor's End*
Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
By Nathaniel Weyl pp. 65-66

36. National Archives, Pretoria No. 68-124

CHAPTER TEN

RED UNIONS, NIGHT-SCHOOL AND A BARBER SHOP

THE NON-EUROPEAN TRADE UNION FEDERATION OF 1928

Some of the communists who found themselves expelled from the ICU hurried back to the Transvaal "to organize opposing black unions in the furniture, baking, clothing and mattress industries".[1] The first of these was the Native Laundry Workers' Union. As other fronts were created they grouped together under a common umbrella known as the Non-European Trade Union Federation. It was officially established in 1928.[2] (Some documents have it listed as the Federation of Non-European Trade Unions. Both titles were used.)

This group organization was directed by a "European communist named Bennie Weinbren", who acted as chairman, with Bill Andrews as a speaker at various meetings.[3] Weinbren had numerous black communists in the Federation. He was a Latvian, born 20 September 1897. He came to South Africa and, at the early age of 16, was employed by the South African Railways. During the 1914 strike he was "discharged for being an agitator". He was also a member of the Labour Party of those days. This is the same Bennie Weinbren who co-authored the book, 2000 Casualties, in which a classic job was done covering up and glossing over certain evil deeds of early South African communists and their friends.

State Library - Pretoria

T. W. Thibedi, the brilliant African school-teacher and first principal of the Red night-school in Ferreirastown in 1925

Assisting Weinbren in his front organization was a brilliant and able African named T.W. Thibedi. Due to his tremendous influence it is necessary to give some details of his work and converts to the cause of communism. Probably born in the late 1800s, Thibedi became a member of the ISL split-off from the Labour Party. This was while he was residing in the Cape. Moving to Johannesburg, he assisted in establishing the communist party night-school in Ferreirastown in 1925.[4] He became its supervisor and spent most of his time teaching the Africans how to read and write, and the principles of Marxism. Thibedi collaborated closely with Weinbren, and together they attempted to establish branches of their organization across the Reef. In its early days the Federation experienced a tremendous growth.

During the same period he also served as general secretary of the Non-European Trade Union Federation. Later, in 1929, Thibedi was a member of the executive committee of the short-lived Marxist group, the League of African Rights (LAR).[5] Being an expert in the field of organization and speechmaking, his influence was widely felt. When the second split came in the CPSA, as a result of Moscow's orders for the "Black Republic", he actually opposed the directive! He was expelled from the party in 1930. In 1932 Thibedi (with Bunting who had been purged from the party) attempted to launch a newspaper named Maraphanga (probably meaning Receive With Haste). Details are in chapter eleven.

Who's Who

The Latvian-born communist Bennie Weinbren

PRODUCTS OF THIBEDI'S NIGHT-SCHOOL

Several outstanding communists were produced in Thibedi's night-school. Thomas Mbeki, born about 1900, was a Xhosa. He had joined the YCL in 1923 as one of its first African recruits and was conditioned to communist doctrines. When Kadalie began to expand his ICU into the Reef areas in late 1924, Mbeki became one of his principal lieutenants, serving as secretary. Though a dedicated communist, when the purge came in the ICU (removing communists), he chose to remain loyal to Kadalie, somehow suppressing his communist convictions. In following years he became a notorious drunkard and died in the early 1940s. Mbeki was noted for his ability as a public speaker and organizer.[6]

A second convert of the night-school was Stanley Silwana (previously mentioned). He united with the YCL in 1923 and assisted Mbeki in establishing ICU branches on the Reef. Later, moving to the Cape, he became a dedicated worker for the ANC. Closely associated with Silwana in the school was a friend, Eddie J. Khaile, who was a bookkeeper. He was recruited to the CPSA while residing in Cape Town in the early 1920s. He was also one of the communists expelled from the ICU over the issue of Marxism. In 1927, he became one of the first Africans elected to the central committee of the CPSA. In June 1927 when J. T. Gumede[7] became president-general of the ANC, Khaile, still a communist, was elected as the ANC general secretary. Both Silwana and Khaile were noted for their work among the youth and as party organizers.

Other noted black communists and converts of Thibedi were E.T. Mofutsanyana and his wife Josie. Born in the Orange Free State, he worked as a teacher, miner and political activist. Joining the CPSA in 1926, he became one of its most loyal adherents, along with his wife. He organized the party's branch in Potchefstroom in the late 1920s. Later, he moved to Durban, was arrested and deported back to the Transvaal. He served as general secretary of the CPSA until 1939, when Moses Kotane took his place. Along with many

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Communist E. T. Mofutsanyana, editor of the Red newspaper, Inkululeko

others, in 1946, he was involved in the African mineworkers' strike directed by J.B. Marks. Banned in the 1950s, Mofutsanyana left South Africa for Basutoland (now Lesotho). From exile he continued to serve the party.

His wife was the only black woman of note in the early days of the CPSA. She often took part in demonstrations, marches and attempted to recruit other African women to the cause of communism. While serving as the Transvaal president of the Federation of South African Women (a communist front), she was placed under ban and was later detained by the police. She was better known in communist circles as Josie Palmer.[8] She joined her husband in exile.

Johannes Nkosi was one of the first black leaders in the CPSA, and the first to become a "political martyr". Born in Natal in 1905, he worked as a farm labourer and domestic servant. While still a teenager, he shared in the ANC-directed anti-pass demonstration of 1919. Nkosi faithfully attended the night-school and joined the party in 1926. Later, he was sent to Durban to organize party meetings. During a communist-organized and directed anti-pass campaign in 1930 he was killed in violent clashes with the police in Durban.[9] This protest was directed by the League of African Rights on Dingaan's Day (see documentation note 5). Fellow-communists Bunting, Roux, Thibedi and Gumede all shared in this demonstration. Comrade Bunting spoke at Nkosi's graveside.[10]

State Library - Pretoria

Comrade J. W. Nkosi. He was killed in a clash with the police during a communist-inspired riot in Durban on Dingaan's Day 1930

Moses Mauane Kotane was born in Rustenburg, Transvaal, in 1905. As a young worker he enrolled in the Ferreirastown night-school. He gained some fame for his ability to master the most difficult political writings and the basics of Marxism-Leninism. In 1928 he joined the African Bakers' Union, an affiliate of Weinbren's Non-European Trade Union Federation.

In 1929 Kotane joined the CPSA and soon became a member of the political bureau. He assisted Edward Roux in the publication of Umsebenzi. During the party's big campaign for the "Black Republic", he was offered the opportunity to go to Moscow and study at the Lenin School. He was only 26 years old at this stage. Returning to South Africa in the early 1930s he clashed with the policies of comrades Wolton and Bach and was expelled for a short time from the CPSA. After being restored to the party, he attained the high office of general secretary. Kotane held this position until 1950, when the CPSA was banned.

Collaborating with J. B Marks in the mineworkers' strike of 1946, he was among those charged with sedition in 1947. In 1946, he was elected to the national executive committee of the ANC. He held this position until the movement was banned in 1960. When the CPSA was banned in 1950 he moved from Cape Town to Johannesburg and opened a furniture business in Alexandra Township. He was one of the first persons banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. Ignoring the ban, he supported the Defiance Campaign in June 1952 and was arrested. He was given a nine months' suspended sentence. After numerous skirmishes with the law and courts, he fled South Africa in 1963 for Tanzania and became the treasurer-general of the ANC in exile. Suffering a stroke, he went to Moscow for treatment.[11] The name of Moses Kotane has almost become a legend in the history of South African communism.

DIAMOND'S BARBER SHOP

One ardent supporter of the YCL, the night-school and the CPSA was a Russian Jewish barber named Issy Diamond. His Johannesburg shop became a mecca for ex-convicts, socialists, communists, radicals, revolutionaries and anyone in general who wanted a good argument or fight. It was something of an indoor Hyde Park forum for any and all. Such communists as Abraham Levy, a tailor-politician who preached in the Johannesburg streets that "Trotsky (was) the real Messiah"; Bernard Sachs along with his notorious brother Solly; Hymie Levin, the "one-legged socialist", and a person called Marcus, the son of a Rabbi, who supported the communist party from his "illicit liquor sales", were among the comrades who converged on Issy's shop.[12]

Gentiles added their weight to the foul political atmosphere of Diamond's place. Within the comradeship of the party there was "neither Jew nor Gentile, but all one in Marx". The regular gathering of Gentile radicals such as S.P. Bunting, Bill Andrews, Edward Roux, Harry Haynes, Jimmy Larkin, Raymond Lake and others found their way to this political battleground. The blind fanaticism commanded by Diamond is reflected in a document revealing his influence while serving a sentence at Pretoria Central jail. As the prisoners gathered for their midday meal, Diamond walked in. Suddenly all the prisoners stood and "there rang through the corridors of the prison once again, 'the people's flag is deepest red'... which cost Diamond, and his comrades six days of solitary confinement".[13] Diamond along with Johanna Cornelius and comrade Issy Wolfson, would stand in front of the shop and blast the unfortunate people passing by with their political nonsense. Diamond was assisted by his brother Michael, who was also a barber and served the party mostly in the Durban area.

Johanna Cornelius, friend of Issy Diamond and popular street agitator

A rare photograph of Albert Nzula, the first black general secretary of the CPSA. He was probably murdered in Russia by Stalin's NKVD. (See documentation note 19)

THE CPSA'S FIRST BLACK GENERAL SECRETARY

One of the most outstanding black students of the night-school was Albert Nzula. Born in Rouxville, Orange Free State, on 16 November 1905, he qualified as a teacher. After moving to Evaton, Transvaal, to fill a teaching post, he came into contact with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. This was in August 1928.[14] A group of blacks had gathered in the pouring rain to hear an explanation of the "Native Republic" directives that the CPSA had recently received from Moscow. The speaker was communist Douglas Wolton, who, undaunted by the cold rain, greatly impressed the young Nzula. Roux said that "a month after the Evaton meeting Nzula wrote to The South African Worker" (the CPSA newspaper that had been distributed at the meeting by Wolton).[15] In this letter Nzula explained that he had been reading the book, Communism and Christianity, written by a religious infidel, Bishop Brown of America.[16] It was an early attempt to reconcile the views of Marx, Jesus and Darwin.

Nzula's letter reveals the destructive power of poisonous literature and how an (otherwise) innocent person's life may be wrecked by filling his mind with lies, perversions and half truths. During Wolton's lecture tour of Evaton, he sold Nzula a copy of Brown's blasphemous book. The following is the full text of Nzula's letter:

"Wilberforce College,
Evaton
24th September 1928.

Editor of 'South African Worker'

Dear Comrade,

Thank you for 'Communism and Christianity' and also twelve copies of the S.A. Worker.

After reading through 'Communism and Christianity' I have come to the conclusion that every right-minded person ought to be a communist. I have hesitated all the time because communism has been misrepresented. I have been brought up on capitalistic literature which is never satisfactory when it tries to explain working class misery.

You may be assured that I have my mind full of nothing but communism and the future of the Bantu

people and the working class of the world. I wonder what part will be played by the Bantu in realising for the world a communistic order.

A. Nzula (Signed)"[17]

Inspired by this literary rubbish, Nzula moved to Johannesburg and was a regular visitor to the CPSA library. He enrolled in the party night-school.

His patrons and teachers were Douglas Wolton and a violent British communist named Charles Baker.[18] Nzula was deluged with Marxist doctrine and thought. After joining the party in late 1928 and due to the powerful influence of Wolton, he was elected as general secretary in 1929. Later, following the departure of Wolton for Moscow, Nzula in July 1929 became acting editor of the party publication, The South African Worker. This was intended to give it a black appeal. He also held membership of the ANC during the same period. In 1930 he moved from his position as general secretary of the CPSA to run the now-dying Federation of Non-European Trade Unions. This occurred as Weinbren was leaving the organization.

Comrade Nzula had serious problems with drink and lacked the discipline to handle money.[19]

Following a skirmish with the police, he quickly boarded a ship in Cape Town under another name (which was actually his correct African name). He arrived in Moscow on 25 August 1931 to study at the Lenin School. His remaining few years were occupied as a writer for the Communist International until his "death from pneumonia" on 14 January 1934. The big question is whether, in fact, he died from pneumonia or whether he was murdered by Stalin's secret police. Nzula was one of the few blacks to hold such a commanding position in the ranks of the early CPSA.

Swanson

Early black personalities, both communist and non-communist. Left to right: A. W. Champion, Gana Makabeni, J. B. Marks, Moses Kotane and R. G. Baloyi.

Due to Thibedi's untiring work, many blacks were swept into the arms of communism. He did not confine his labours to South Africa.

> "Early in 1928, the communist party got in touch with an organization in Basutoland, the Lekhotla la Bafo, or League of the Poor. It was Thibedi who first established contact with Basutoland organizations. Lekhotla la Bafo carried on its work with great difficulties... meeting with opposition not only from British authorities (but also) chiefs..."[20]

At this time the communist party made great progress in South Africa and hundreds of new members were enlisted at places like Vereeniging and Potchefstroom. Thibedi was the most important organizer.[21] When Thibedi left his night-school at Ferreirastown and went on the road, recruiting members for the party, his place was taken by the British Marxist, Charles Baker. Both Wolton and Baker were notorious militant atheists.

Meanwhile, Weinbren's Non-European Trade Union Federation was totally controlled by the CPSA (see documentation note 3). Previously located at the Trades Union Hall, the party moved to 41A Fox Street in July 1927. At that time it was located in a black area. By the end of 1928 Weinbren claimed over 10 000 members for his organization on the Witwatersrand. It glided along smoothly until 1930. At this time numerous strikes were organized by the CPSA. Weinbren's group was included in these. Suddenly chairman Weinbren of the Federation left Johannesburg in January 1930, while T.W. Thibedi was expelled for mismanaging trade union funds. Albert Nzula filled the vacancy for a short time. With these and other events, the decline and fall of Weinbren's Federation was imminent. Nzula then split off a group from the Federation and started his own radical movement and named it the African Federation of Trade Unions which enjoyed only a short lifespan. Later, with the expulsion of Weinbren and other communists from the CPSA (in September 1931), the Federation he and Andrews had nursed, died along the political roadside.

Charles Baker, the rabid militant atheist and teacher. He was a director of the CPSA school in Johannesburg. (See documentation note 18)

TWO IMPORTANT SURVIVORS CONTINUE COMMUNISM

Max Gordon was a dedicated and confirmed communist but of the Trotskyite breed. One of the survivors of Weinbren's now defunct organization was the Laundry Workers' Union and Gordon was its organizer and director. Gordon had actually forced a withdrawal of his union from the CPSA and directed it along the lines of "Trotskyite communism". In Russia, Stalin had forced Trotsky to flee into exile in 1929. Numerous communist groups across the world had sided with Trotsky in the skirmish. Gordon was of this persuasion.

> "Between 1931 and 1939, Gordon formed twenty-two other black trade unions and established the Joint Committee of African Trade Unions, as their co-ordinating and controlling body. This group had a membership of between 25 000 and 30 000 at the outbreak of the Second World War."[22]

Gordon sought to direct all the workers into the Trotskyite channel of communist ideology. However, with the internment of Gordon in 1939 during the Second World War, "a number of these unions ceased to exist and some broke away from his Joint Committee..."[23] Several others simply disbanded. The Joint Committee consisted of various radical shades of Marxist adherents.

A second group to escape the fall of Weinbren's Federation was the Native (or African) Clothing Workers' Union. A black named Gana Makabeni was its mastermind. Makabeni was also a product of Thibedi's night-school. He joined the CPSA as a youth worker and, in 1926, was elected to the central committee. Later, he was strongly influenced by Trotskyite communism and he withdrew his union from the CPSA on the same basis as did Gordon and at about the same time. In the early 1940s his group merged with the survivors of Gordon's Joint Committee and together they formed a body named the Council of Non-European Trade Unions or (Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee). It basically consisted of several smaller organizations and was riddled with communist thought, mostly of the Trotsky brand. From this group came the renowned South African communist J.B. Marks. He was the chairman of the organization.

Soon, internal strife was tearing the movement to pieces and in 1945 Makabeni was replaced by J.B. Marks as the new leader. Marks already had a long police record for communist activities.[24]

When the CPSA was outlawed in 1950, Makabeni sought to recapture control of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions in the Transvaal, but due to internal problems it collapsed in 1953. Makabeni was also a member of the ANC national executive committee in the 1940s and served as acting ANC treasurer-general in 1948-1949. He died in 1955.

CPSA'S INTEREST IN TRADE UNIONS

Documentation proving the proposed communist use of trade and labour unions has been given in chapter 2 under the heading, Communist Statement Regarding Trade Unions. From the very beginning to the present moment, this "field of agitation" has never been forsaken. World Marxist-Leninists and socialistic-inclined trade unions admit this fact.

In the original 21 points as laid down by Lenin, he ordered that

> "communists work in labour unions, co-operatives etc... to form communist groups therein and work to win them over to communism".[25]

A New Members' Guide to the CPSA dated in the mid-1940s admonished new members to build a system of society known as socialism which is identical with that in Soviet

Russia.[26] It calls on all members to unite with trade unions to realise this end etc. In the CPSA publication called Democracy in Action (which was taken from the proceedings of the Johannesburg District Annual Conference of the CPSA dated 17, 18 and 25 March 1946), fellow communists are instructed to set up cells in different factories, and to educate all party members of the trade union movements.[27]

Scores of such documentations could be listed, covering the history of the CPSA and proving their attempted and often very successful use of the workers' organizations for their own aims and purposes.

State Library - Pretoria

The CPSA hailed the return of J. T. Gumede from Russia as the bringing of the "key to freedom" for South Africa. (See documentation note 7)

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TEN

1. *Industrial Relations in South Africa*
   Juta and Company, Cape Town 1976
   By J.A. Grey Coetzee, p. 27

2. Despite a tremendous upsurge in party activities during 1928, things began to grow dark for the comrades. In late 1927 their mouthpiece, *The International* flopped and the presses were sold to clear debts. The paper was revived in 1928 under the title *The South African Worker* and edited for a time by Douglas Wolton. Then Nzula took over its editorship in 1929. But this did not really help. Serious party shake-ups were coming.

3. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi 1969, pp. 15-16 states, "The headquarters of Weinbren's organization was that of the CPSA at 41A Fox Street, Johannesburg."

4. Edited from *From Protest to Challenge Document Vol. 4*
   Hoover Institution Press, California 1977
   By Gail M. Gerhart and G.M. Carter, p. 157

5. For a review of the LAR see chapter 11, under the heading, New Directives From Moscow: The League Of African Rights.

   Their first attempt to create violence was the Dingaan's Day celebration of 16 December 1929, during which they were demonstrating in obedience to the Moscow directive for a "Black Republic". They were met by 700 policemen armed with machine-guns, rifles, fixed bayonets and teargas. The demonstration was suddenly called off. Nkosi was killed the following year in 1930. (Number 3 pp. 21-22)

6. Edited from number 4, p. 84

7. Gumede was a typical product of Moscow brainwashing. Born in the 1870s he was educated at the Native College in Grahamstown and was a teacher and talented musician. In 1892 he toured Europe with a Zulu choir. He was instrumental in founding the ANC in 1912. In early 1927 he was invited with James La Guma of the CPSA to the first international of the so-called League Against Imperialism, held in Brussels. During this trip, he went to Moscow to attend the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

   Upon his return to Johannesburg he told his audience that in Russia he had "seen the New World. I have been to the New Jerusalem." He praised Russia as the place where there was "no racial discrimination". The CPSA's official newspaper carried a long article praising his trip to Russia as "a turning point in African history". (*The South African Worker*, 2 March 1928; see also note number 23, under documentation for chapter 12.)

   It cannot be denied that Gumede praised the hellish system in Moscow, spoke on their behalf, served in their fronts, whether he carried a party card or not. Such "non-communists" are very useful servants of the communist cause. (See chapter 17 under heading, What Communists Say Of The "Non-Communist" Sympathisers)

8. Edited from number 4, pp. 92-93 and 102

9. Nkosi was turned into a martyr for the party. A late documentation shows that he was assisted by a Bloemfontein man named Samuel Malkinson who was the leading figure in communism in the Orange Free State at this time. Malkinson was involved in the training of blacks as revolutionaries, of whom the most outstanding was Isaiah Ntela. He was later expelled from the CPSA.

10. *S.P. Bunting*
    The African Bookman, Cape Town 1943
    By Edward Roux, p. 120

11. Edited from number 4, pp. 50-55

12. *Multitude of Dreams*
Kaynor Publishing House, Johannesburg 1949
By Bernard Sachs pp. 144-145

13. Number 12, p. 146

14. Edited from number 4, pp. 123-124 and from an article by F.A. Johnstone in
Labour, Townships and Protest
Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1979
Compiled and introduced by Belinda Bozzoli, pp. 325-326

15. *Time Longer Than Rope*
The University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin USA, 1964
By Edward Roux, pp. 216-217

16. Brown was defrocked by the American Episcopal Church for his blasphemous book.

17. Copied from a (probably) British Communist Party duplicated paper, issued in London in 1981 to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the CPSA.

18. Douglas Wolton was born in Yorkshire, England, in the early 1900s. He emigrated to South Africa in 1921 and joined the communist party in Cape Town in 1925. His wife Molly Selikowitz was born in Lithuania in 1906 and with many other Jewish people arrived in Cape Town in 1919. She joined the party in 1924. Both were powerful voices for early communism in South Africa.

    A schoolmaster from England, Baker lived in South Africa for many years and had taught in various government schools over the country. He was an ex-Roman Catholic and a militant atheist, a supporter of the Rationalist Press Association, a radical, anti-God movement. His chief business was to denounce religion as the "opium of the people and to trounce on all missionaries as agents of imperialism". (Number 10, p. 78)

    Baker was banned in 1930 by Minister of Justice Oswald Pirow. (*Forward*, 12 September 1930)

19. F.A. Johnstone's article, number 14 p. 334 (edited). Typical of the morals of numerous comrades of those days we read that Nzula was a hopeless drunkard. "He would often attend party meetings in a drunken stupor, shouting and screaming at fellow-comrades. On one occasion, he was so drunk that he rolled under the table and lay there while the meeting went on." (Number 10, p. 118)

20. Number 15, p. 212
For a review of the troublesome Lekhotla la Bafo, see
South Africa's Hostages
Penguin Books, London, 1965
By Jack Halpren

21. Number 3, p. 16

22. Number 1, p. 27

23. Edited from *South African Trade Unions*
McGraw Hill Book Company of South Africa, 1970
By M.A. du Toit, p. 37

24. Number 3, pp. 33-34

25. *Hearings before the Sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate*, March 22, 24, 25, 29 and 31 1982, vol. 1 p. 597

26. See *New Members Guide to the CPSA*, date blurred, but in the mid 1940s, p. 5

27. See *Democracy in Action*, CPSA 1945, p. 11
(Both of the above listed CPSA documents are located at the Institute for the Study of Marxism, Stellenbosch University)

CHAPTER ELEVEN

FROM THE COMINTERN'S INTERFERENCE TO WOLTON'S PURGE

MOSCOW'S NEW DIRECTIVES

Prior to the year 1927 the Comintern had only slightly meddled in the affairs of the CPSA. The one notable exception was when the Comintern indirectly ordered the YCL of South Africa to stop holding racially segregated meetings. This order was issued through their Young Communist International based in Berlin. Only letters and circulars of a general sort were received by the party headquarters in Johannesburg. From 1927, however, Moscow's attitude underwent a rapid change and the circulars were replaced by categorical commands.

At this period in history the Bolsheviks considered British capitalism as the main enemy and they accordingly were trying to cripple the British Empire by organising "liberation movements" in the various British colonies, of which South Africa was one. They viewed the CPSA as the main channel through which this was to be accomplished within South Africa.

The Comintern was also growing into a ruthless monster, well-organized and determined to control all world communist bodies. This of course included the CPSA. The principles of "democratic centralism" were to be enforced regardless of the cost.[1] Before the Moscow interference, any moves to the right or left within the CPSA were determined by local conditions, but from now on the CPSA was expected to fall into line with the "world revolutionary movement", which called for a complete restructuring of party practice. Now, Moscow would give all the orders and the CPSA had only one choice — to obey. A flood of directives began to pour into communist party headquarters in Fox Street. Secretary Bunting was thrown into a state of shock by the theoretical hair-splitting orders being fired at him from the Comintern.[2] His aim was to draw together the blacks of South Africa under a communist flag and into a workers' state, but orders were to purge the party and to remove all "opportunists and non-proletarian elements". Then the big bombshell hit and exploded with awesome impact — orders for a "Black Republic".[3]

THE COMINTERN'S BLACK REPUBLIC

This explosive order to the CPSA was also directly related to the visit of James La Guma to Moscow in 1927.[4] La Guma was a coloured trade unionist who played a prominent role in early South African communist history. He was involved in the strikes in South West Africa in 1910. Born in 1894 in Bloemfontein he became an apprentice leather worker in Cape Town. Later he became closely associated with the ICU. In 1925 he joined the CPSA and was elected to the central committee in 1926. When La Guma was expelled from the ICU during the Port Elizabeth purge, he sought work elsewhere. In early 1927, as the official delegate of the party, he travelled to Brussels for the first international

conference of the League Against Imperialism. During this trip, he visited Russia, along with comrade J.T. Gumede of the ANC. They were accompanied by Dan Colraine, the TUC delegate who had distinguished himself as a "leftist" during the 1922 miners' strike.

While in Russia, La Guma had serious talks with Bukharin about the situation in South Africa. At that time Bukharin was the leading person in the Comintern. Bunting was convinced that La Guma and Bukharin had conspired to create the destructive Black Republic order. Moscow's basic plan was to overthrow the British and Boer and form an "independent, democratic Bantu-Republic". At a meeting of the Comintern, a committee drew up slogans for South Africa and a draft resolution and sent it to the CPSA for discussion in early 1928.[5] It was timed to arrive in South Africa simultaneously with the return of La Guma in February 1928. This resolution (actually a direct order) "suggested" the party in South Africa adopt a new slogan: "An independent Native republic as a step towards a workers' and peasants' government." This so-called "draft resolution" was to be discussed and accepted during the sixth congress of the Comintern which was to take place in Moscow about the middle of 1928.[6]

State Library - Pretoria

James A. La Guma, the Red who visited Russia and plotted against Bunting

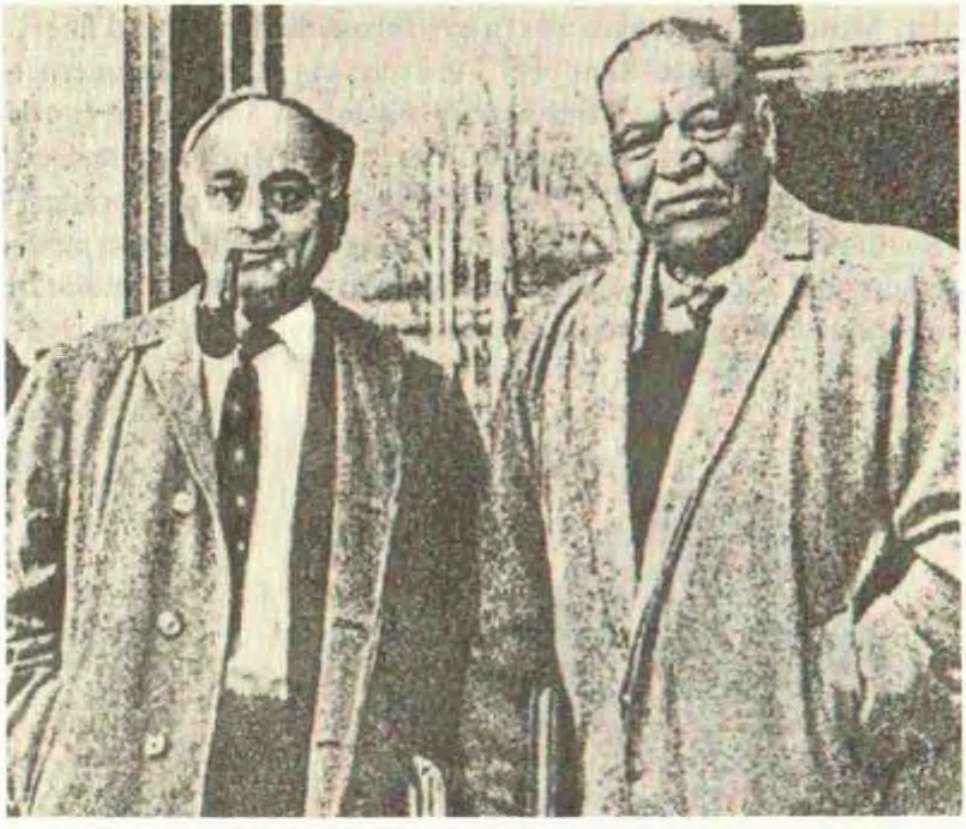
REACTIONS WITHIN THE CPSA

The communists of South Africa, led by Bunting, held that the doctrines of Marx and Lenin called for power to the proletariat (the working classes) irrespective of race and colour. Now, they were being told (ordered) that a Black Republic must be established in South Africa — a racial Republic!

As word spread of this new order, more blacks rushed to join the party. The whites feared the entire organization would be usurped by the blacks who, with few exceptions, had no real understanding of the intricate doctrines of Marxism-Leninism. The popular slogans sung and shouted by the strikers and communists of the early twenties (for a white South Africa) were no doubt a haunting memory. "Stalin ... ordered all top executive positions in the CPSA in the future to be occupied by blacks."[7] This order sent shockwaves through the white leadership of the CPSA. A split or purge over the black issue was imminent.[8]

Adding fact to fear, the news of the Black Republic spread like fire. The composition of

the CPSA was almost entirely transformed. From a small minority of black communists in 1924, they had become the majority by the end of 1928. Almost 1 600 out of a total of 1 750 were now blacks![9] However, this did not adequately reflect the party's leadership, which was still in the hands of the whites.



U.S. Senate Subcommittee

Communist Y. M. Dadoo (left) and J. B. Marks at their hideout in London

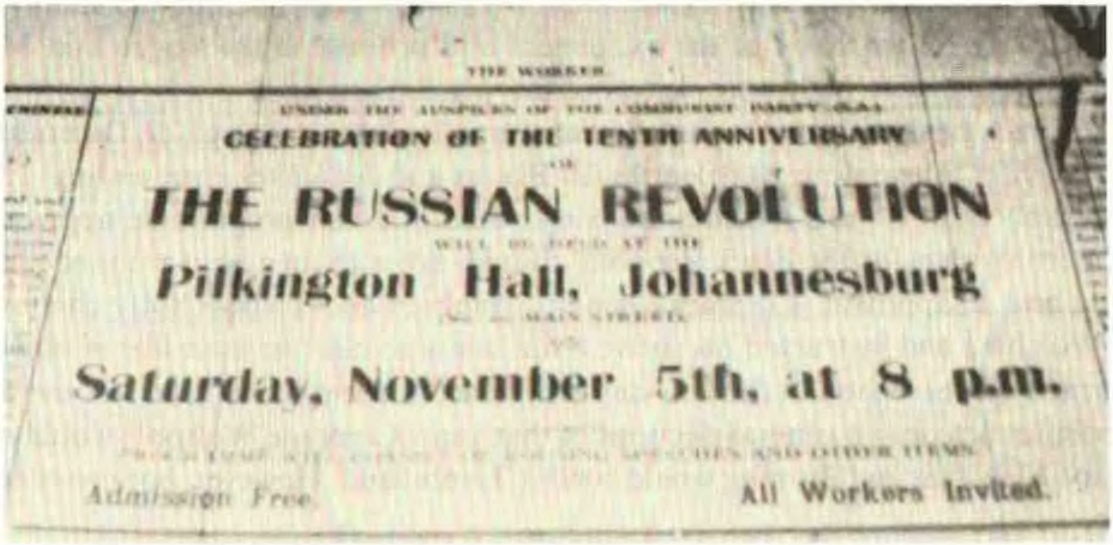
BUNTING OFF TO MOSCOW AND THE COMINTERN

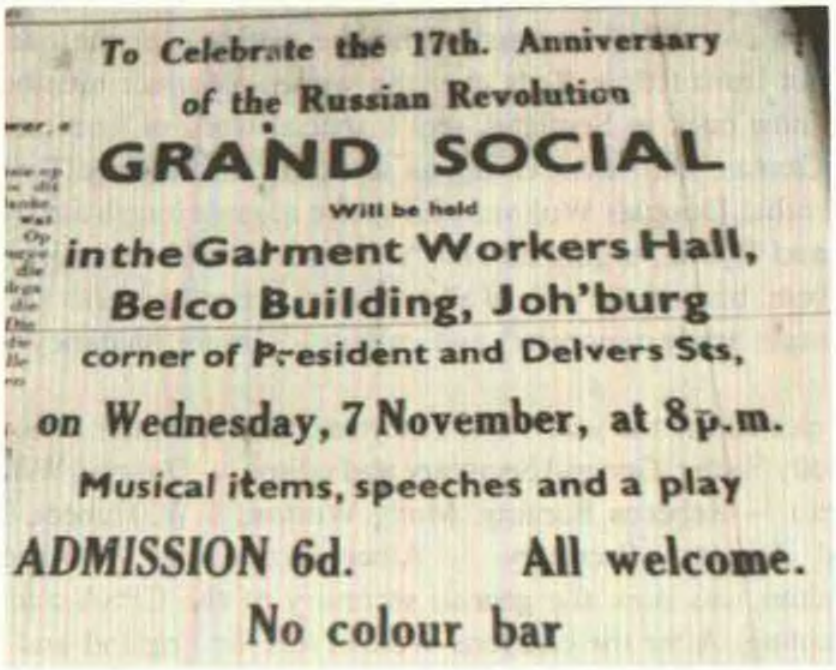
As the "draft resolution" was to be discussed and adopted by the sixth world congress of the Comintern in mid-1928, the CPSA was entitled to three delegates at this congress. This meeting was notable from the South African viewpoint. It was the first time that a full discussion on South Africa had featured on a Comintern congress agenda. The delegates from the CPSA included S.P. Bunting and his wife Rebecca. In July 1928, they met comrade Roux, who was studying at Cambridge, England. He had been delegated by the CPSA to join the Buntings in England and travel with them to Russia.

Arriving in the Soviet Union, Mrs Bunting found the social atmosphere, very different from that of the 1922 trip to Moscow. There were now factions and cliques, each trying to curry favour with the powers at the top, each with its own axe to grind. The story had gone around that the South African delegates were white chauvinists.[10] Bunting was informed that the South African question would be decided by a group called the "Anglo-American Secretariat". This body consisted of an American negro, a "slimy fellow with many aliases", a Russian named Petrovsky and two American communists named Lovestone and Pepper.

When the smoke of the battle had cleared, the Comintern directive stood as originally given.[11] There would be a Black Republic in South Africa. Despite all the passionate pleas

and long speeches by Bunting and Roux, and even the writing of articles (translated by Mrs Bunting into Russian) for Pravda, their efforts failed.[12] Democratic Centralism prevailed. The South African team returned to England where Roux remained, having another year of studies to complete at Cambridge. The Buntings set sail for South Africa where they were destined to meet further and deeper disappointment.


CELEBRATION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY
THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION
Pilkington Hall, Johannesburg
Saturday, November 5th, at 8 p.m.
Admission Free
All Workers Invited.


To Celebrate the 17th. Anniversary
of the Russian Revolution
GRAND SOCIAL
Will be held
in the Garment Workers Hall,
Belco Building, Joh'burg
corner of President and Delvers Sts,
on Wednesday, 7 November, at 8 p.m.
Musical items, speeches and a play
ADMISSION 6d. All welcome.
No colour bar

State Library - Pretoria

Adverts of this nature continually appeared in early South African newspapers

BUNTING'S RETURN: THE CPSA'S ANNUAL CONFERENCE

On his return to South Africa in late 1928 and to his utter dismay, Bunting found that a violent quarrel had erupted within the ranks of his beloved party.

> "The differences over the slogan (for a Black Republic) had led to general bad blood, with the Woltons and La Guma versus all the rest but some of the rest also versus Thibedi." Bunting later reported that "everybody was to blame".[13]

On the boat, while returning to South Africa, Bunting had written a booklet of 60 pages

called, Imperialism and South Africa. He hoped it would help to heal the CPSA wounds. It was a complete failure. To add to the troubles, when Bunting attempted to make several speeches at the Trades Union Hall in Johannesburg, he was "outblasted" by dozens of Chinese firecrackers tossed onto the stage by his anti-communist opponents.

Then the wrath of the whites rose against Bunting, who started working to produce the Black Republic. Things were also not going well for other Black Republic elements within the CPSA. Most black members knew little of what was going on, but had simply united with the party on the basis of the excitement and promise of the slogan and Moscow directive. Others were highly suspicious of the whole thing.

The CPSA held its seventh annual conference in Johannesburg, 29 December to 2 January 1929. "There were 30 delegates, 20 Blacks and 10 Whites representing ... nearly 3000 members."[14] At this meeting the party voted in a new programme approving the Comintern's orders for the Black Republic, though not without a great amount of faction, fighting and disapproval. Comrades Bennie Weinbren and Thibedi hotly contested the vote. Weinbren had instructed his native trade union to take the same line of opposition.

During a cooler session of the four-day conference, a decision was taken for the party to take part in the coming general elections of that year. Comrade Wolton[15] would contest the Cape Flats seat and Bunting would contest Tembuland. However, both were soundly beaten.

This seventh annual conference of the CPSA was held at the Inchcape Hall. Among morning processions a hired band was playing and banners were streaming from the walls. A female Marxist, comrade Mrs Jacobs, did the catering for the occasion. Amid the greetings read out from fellow Reds over the world, a former member of the CPSA, Jimmy Shields, now back in Scotland, sent a special word of "comradeship". Speakers included John Gomas, who was serving as secretary of the Cape Town branch of the CPSA, and the rabid Douglas Wolton, who spoke at great length and requested leave to go to England and Russia, urging that his "successor should be a non-European". Solly Sachs, true to form, blasted the ears of all comrades present with his normal outbursts in "denouncing certain trade unionists" and calling for more militancy within the union movements.

New officers elected for the year were: Chairman and Treasurer — S.P. Bunting; Vice-Chairman — Solly Sachs; General Secretary and editor — Douglas Wolton; members of Executive Bureau — Rebecca Bunting, Molly Wolton, T.W. Thibedi, Johannes Nkosi; Organising and Assistant Secretary — Albert Nzula and bookkeeper — Samuel Malkinson. Walton was now the general secretary of the CPSA and he was a bitter opponent of Bunting. After the elections Wolton left for England and Moscow in July 1929. His position was filled by Nzula. As previously mentioned, during this time he became the first black general secretary of the CPSA.

Seemingly, the Comintern feared some sort of split within the South African party. Oddly enough, after the conference concluded, a telegram from "inkpen" (codename for the executive of the Comintern) was received, requesting the postponement of the conference till March.[16] It arrived too late. The meeting was over and the die was cast.

NEW DIRECTIVES FROM MOSCOW: THE LEAGUE OF AFRICAN RIGHTS

Shortly after the above events had occurred, another new order was received from the Comintern. "The party should remain a small and select body of trained revolutionaries working through a larger mass body."[17] The order came because hundreds of ignorant and

ill-taught blacks were rushing into CPSA membership. Moscow feared such a mass would weaken party doctrine and discipline and soften the principles of Marxism-Leninism. This order was simply standard communist doctrine being enforced. Lenin had called for "fewer but better" who would be the elite of the party, controlling and directing the masses to reach the desired goals.

To the delight of a discouraged Bunting, comrade Roux returned from his studies at Cambridge in 1929. Together, they and others founded the League of African Rights (LAR) in an attempt to obey the Comintern's instructions.

It was officially launched as a national organization during a meeting at the Inchcape Hall in mid-1929. J. T. Gumede was elected president, Doyle Modiakgotla (from the ICU) became vice-president, with Bunting as chairman and N.B. Tnatsi, of the ANC, serving as vice-chairman. Nzula and Roux were joint secretaries, with the wild-tempered Charles Baker as treasurer. The LAR was probably an attempt to replace the now popular ANC and was to serve as a front organization, through which the more experienced communists could carry out various objectives.

Though controlled by several leading communists, its policy was deliberately broad enough to attract officials from both the ANC and the ICU and other interested bodies. Such associations gave it the air of broadmindedness so badly needed by the communists to gain public respectability. The League's battle song was "Mayibuye i Afrika" (Come Back Africa). Its official flag was black, red and green.[18] This battle song is still used today by various rebels, radicals, political fighters, ignoramuses, communists and special interest groups both in South Africa and overseas.

At first the LAR was a tremendous success. Riots and demonstrations in large cities lured hundreds of blacks into the membership of the movement. Its major aims were the abolition of the pass-laws, free education for all and the extension of the blacks' right to vote.[19] As mentioned in the previous chapter, during one of their Durban pass-burning demonstrations they were met by the police with machine-guns and teargas, plus bayonet-fixed rifles. This occurred on Dingaan's Day, 16 December 1929. The plan was to turn the day into a national riot situation.[20] The following year and on the same day, communist Johannes Nkosi was killed and others wounded or injured in a pitched battle with the police in Durban. Mr Oswald Pirow, the Minister of Justice under the Hertzog Government, crushed almost every attempt at rioting with swift and terrible action. Pirow was noted for his outspoken and ruthless action against every communist attempt at violence and revolution.[21] On one occasion he led his police through the streets of Durban in an armed show of might. He amended the Riotous Assemblies Act, which gave him power without reference to courts to banish any person from any part of the country, to forbid any individual from attending public meetings and so on.[22] Pirow's name became a synonym for terror to rioters and communists across South Africa.

THE COMINTERN'S DIRECTIVE TO ABOLISH THE LAR

Typical of the dialectical tactics of the Comintern, just as the LAR was becoming an effective organization, it happened again. Right in the middle of their big conference plans for the end of 1929, another telegram arrived from Moscow, "ordering the immediate dissolution of the League"![23] Again, shockwaves slashed through the CPSA. The movement had started on the specific instructions of Moscow and now they were directed to stop! Roux himself wrote these words: "Like good Leninists though with sorrow in our hearts, we carried out the order from headquarters."[24] Hence, what could have proven to

be a useful tool in the hands of the CPSA was destroyed by the Comintern in faraway Moscow. The power of democratic centralism again won the day. The LAR ceased to exist.

"Moscow's objection to the LAR was that it revealed signs of a 'spirit of reform' contrary to the true revolutionary spirit befitting communism."[25] The sudden disbandment of the LAR was a considerable setback to the CPSA. Its numerous Bantu supporters could not comprehend the new turn of events.

At the close of 1929, Eddie Roux moved to Cape Town to take up a post in the Government Department of Agriculture. He held it for three months and was "sacked" for political activities. While there, he contacted Bunting in Johannesburg and requested permission to shift the party newspaper, The South African Worker, to Cape Town and have it printed there. Nzula had resigned as acting editor. The executive granted this request. Roux renamed it Umsebenzi (The Worker) and restarted its publication as a weekly edition in April 1930. Then Wolton suddenly appeared from his trip to Moscow. In a short time he would have Roux repacking his bags to return to Johannesburg! Douglas Wolton had quickly departed for Europe in mid-1929 and reappeared just as quickly in November 1930 with "new orders from Moscow". Another split was pending for the CPSA. Storm clouds were gathering again.

On top of all this, serious domestic trouble had exploded within the ranks of the party in Johannesburg. Thibedi and Nzula were hotly accused of "mismanaging the affairs of the trade unions of which they were organizers".[26] Thibedi was thereupon expelled from the party. Nzula was considered the best successor, yet he was a "hopeless drunkard", and Weinbren's powerful Federation of Black Trade Unions was showing signs of collapse.

State Library - Pretoria

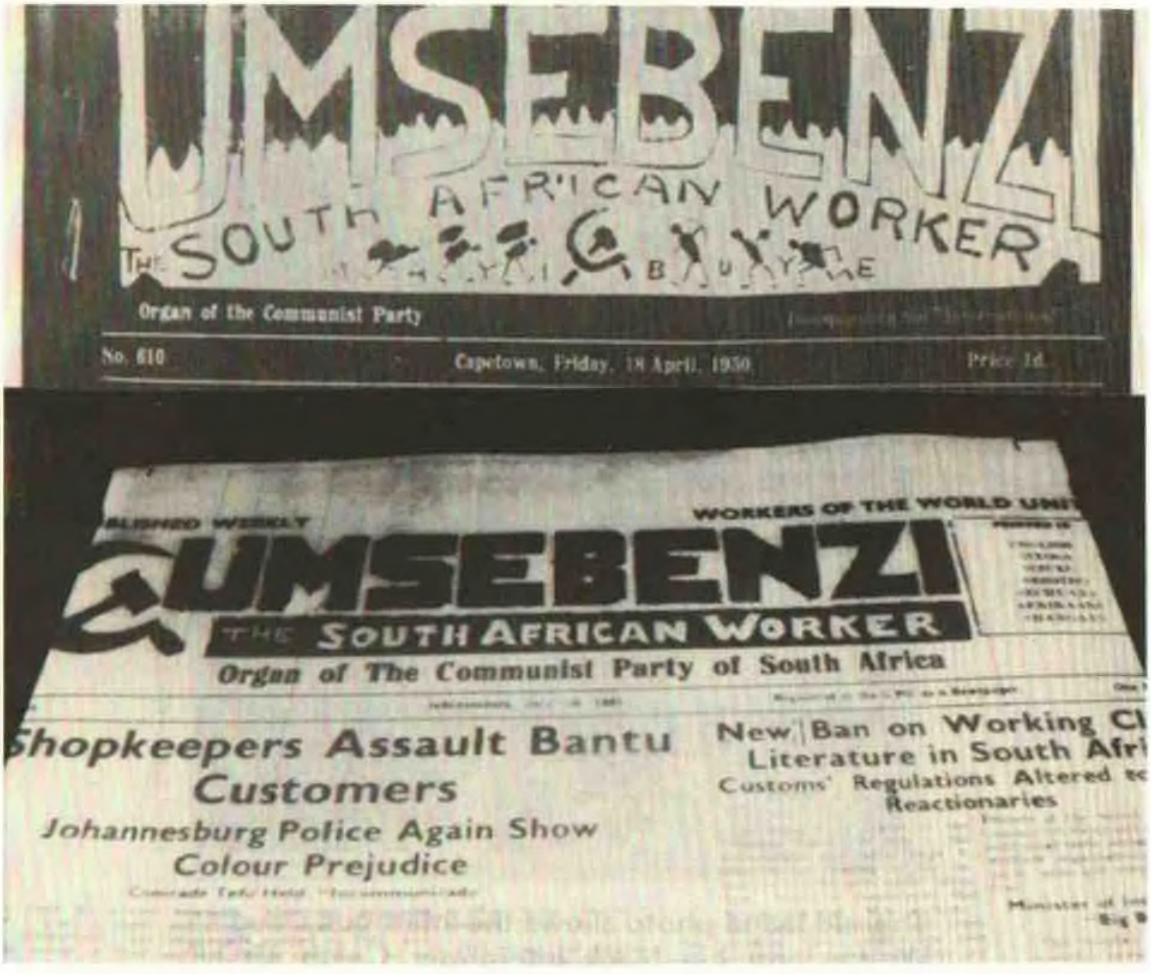
This rare photograph shows S. P. Bunting and his wife Rebecca, along with the popular black unionist Gana Makabeni, after their arrest in a LAR street demonstration in 1929

WOLTON'S NEW ORDERS: THE CPSA'S 1930 CONFERENCE

With Wolton's sudden return from England and Moscow, things started to crumble within the ranks of the CPSA. "Wolton stated that he had been instructed by the executive

committee of the Comintern to engage in a full-time work for the Party in South Africa".[27] He returned with two lengthy resolutions said to have been given him by the executive of the Comintern. In the face of this new onslaught, comrade Bunting was ready to resign. He had suffered enough under the attacks of fellow-comrades in the organization. The executive appointed Wolton to take over Bunting's duties until the next annual conference of the CPSA.

Wolton travelled to Cape Town and informed Roux that the party newspaper was to be transferred back to Johannesburg. He was strongly supported by Solly Sachs in this move. Roux said of his meeting with Wolton in Cape Town: "I was impressed. I was prepared to work with him."[28] So, back to Johannesburg went both Roux and the party newspaper, Umsebenzi.


UMSEBENZI
THE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKER
Organ of the Communist Party
No. 610 Capetown, Friday, 18 April, 1930 Price 1d.
WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNI
UMSEBENZI
THE SOUTH AFRICAN WORKER
Organ of The Communist Party of South Africa
Shopkeepers Assault Bantu Customers
Johannesburg Police Again Show Colour Prejudice
New Ban on Working Cl
Literature in South Afri
Customs' Regulations Altered to
Reactionaries
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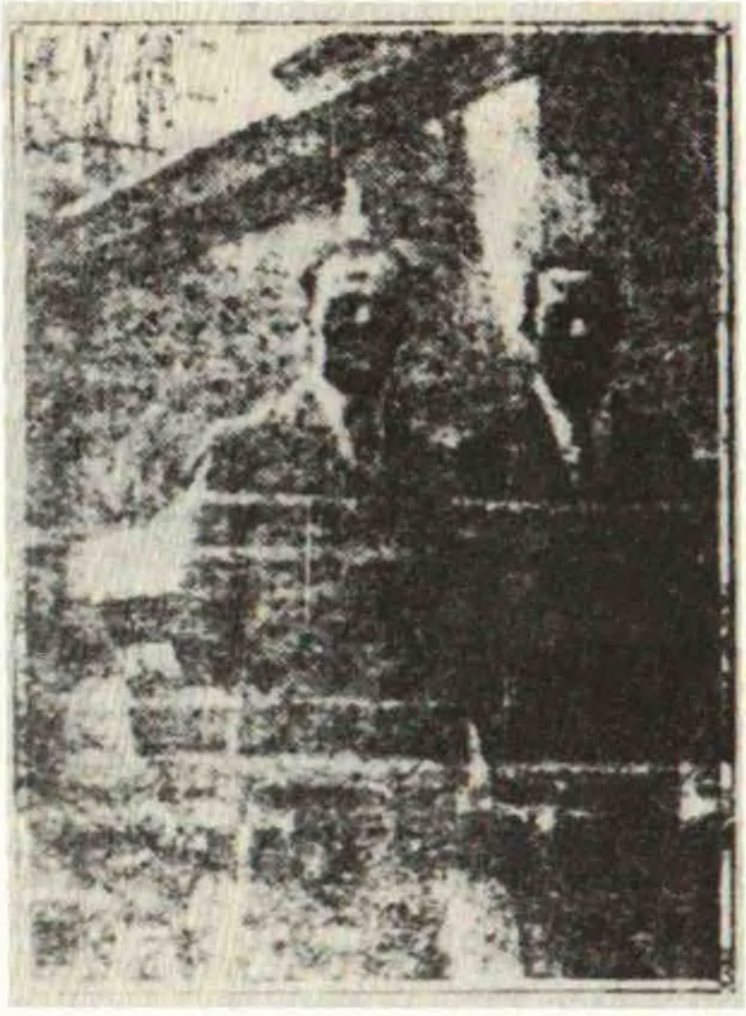
Two copies of the old CPSA mouthpiece, Umsebenzi, edited by Dr. Edward Roux

The ninth conference of the CPSA was held in Johannesburg at the end of December 1930. Wolton was the leading figure with orders from the Comintern. He announced that the Comintern had appointed him to "purge the party of all rightist deviations".[29] Wolton explained the new trend in policy for the CPSA. The party was to be "Bolshevised" and to appear like "one solid block". Wolton whipped from his pocket a list of candidates for confirmation into the leadership of the newly "Bolshevised Party". No majority vote method was used, as in former party meetings. Conspicuously, Bunting's name was missing from the list. His days were numbered.

Wolton was firmly supported by a young Lithuanian communist named Lazar Bach,

recently arrived in South Africa. He possessed a very wide knowledge of the Comintern's ideologies and directives. He was the very shadow of Wolton. These two seized full control of the CPSA and pushed ahead with the purge. In Bloemfontein, the faithful communist Malkinson was removed on the grounds of "unreliability".[30] Wolton and Bach made sure that their list of candidates contained mostly blacks. The "rightist elements" were being purged from the party. Bunting was shocked at his removal and for a time tried to fight back. He was, however, powerless against Wolton and Bach and thereafter withdrew.[31]



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This old faded photo shows the infamous Douglas Wolton and his black interpreter Caleb Mtyali following their arrest in 1929

In the first issue of Umsebenzi to be published in Johannesburg, Wolton printed a long justification of his party purge. It contained a list of the sins of comrade Bunting for which he (Bunting) was ousted. Wolton stressed the point that the whole affair was "in terms of Lenin's theory".[32] The whole article was one big noise about "the revolutionary capacity of the native masses".[33] The Black Republic was the order of the day: the Comintern had decreed and it must be obeyed at any cost — even to the destruction of the party itself. Amid all the clamour and uproar of this ninth conference, they did manage to form a group called Ikaka Labasebelzi (The Worker's Shield), whose aim was to assist political prisoners, organize against repression and fight racial oppression. It only lasted a few months.

For the next few months the shaky and seriously divided CPSA somehow managed to stage one outstanding demonstration and riot. Issy Diamond, the Russian barber, was known as "the most popular agitator" of the party during this period. On May Day 1931, for the first time in the history of the Witwatersrand, there was a joint demonstration of black and white workers on a large scale.[34] After marching to the Carlton Hotel, the mob, led by Albert Nzula and Diamond, shouting at the top of his voice, "We want bread", then turned to the Rand Club. After the dust of the riot had settled, eight Europeans and two Africans were arrested and charged with public violence. Two of the Europeans, De Villiers and Jones, were each sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour, and Diamond received a sentence of twelve months' hard labour. Bunting tried to defend the accused during their trials but with little success. By some miracle Nzula escaped sentence and went scot-free. It was at this point that he caught a ship to Russia.

Newsroom Johannesburg Library

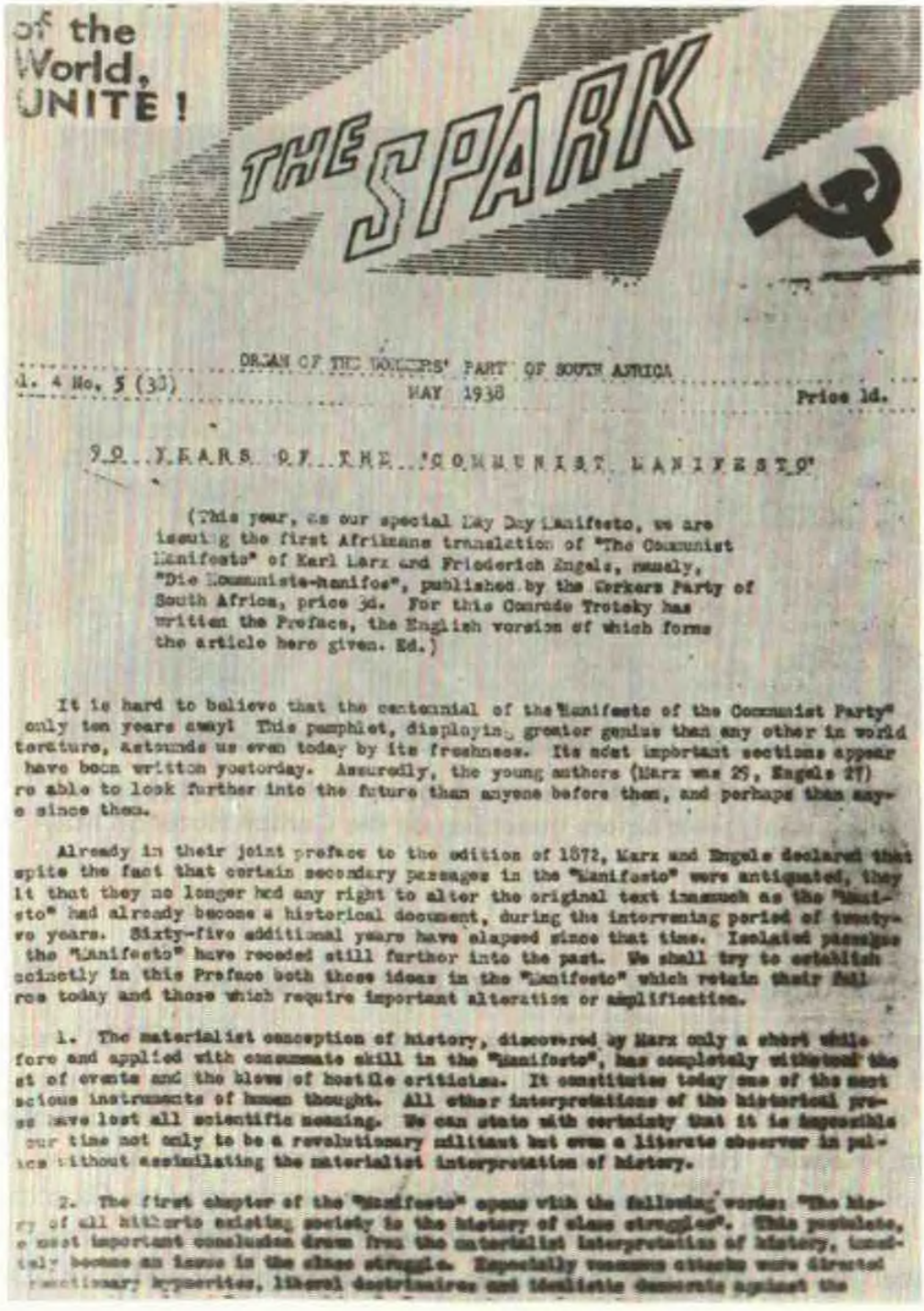
The Red barber Issy Diamond whips up the crowds through his black interpreter before marching on the Carlton Hotel on May Day 1931

THE FINAL REMOVAL OF THE "RIGHTIST DANGER"

Following a secret meeting of the political bureau a copy of the CPSA's resolution was published on 4 September 1931. It was the final sentence for all party members considered guilty of "deviation" to the right. S.P. Bunting was the first to feel the wrath of democratic centralism in action. Several other party stalwarts such as Bill Andrews, C.B. Tyler, secretary of the Building Workers' Union, Solly Sachs, secretary of the Garment Workers' Union, Fanny Klenerman and Bennie Weinbren were also purged. Andrews, though not deeply involved in party affairs since early 1925 (See chapter 9 and note 6), but merely claiming membership, was still considered a danger! He was actually called a "social reactionary" during this big purge. This reveals the extreme fanaticism of Wolton and his kind. The CPSA got rid of most of its best, long-time and well-known members.[35] They

were described under a long listing of titles, "reform capitalists", "opportunists", "right-wing deviationists", "chauvinists" and finally "Buntingites". Bunting was called the "imperialist bloodsucker". Various other charges were laid against these former comrades. Curiously enough the charge against Solly Sachs was that he chose rather "to go on a picnic instead of demonstrating on the streets".[36]

A short time later, other expulsions occurred. J. Pick, an old faithful of the party in Cape Town, was ousted and comrade J. A. La Guma suffered a similar fate. Four weeks later, the Moscow executive committee of the Comintern officially endorsed the purge. Wolton and Bach sent word to Moscow and their Red masters approved of the house-cleaning of the CPSA. Oddly enough, amid all the purges Eddie Roux was still considered good enough to retain membership.



of the
World,
UNITE!

THE SPARK

ORGAN OF THE WORKERS' PART OF SOUTH AFRICA

Vol. 4 No. 5 (33) MAY 1938 Price 1d.

90 YEARS OF THE 'COMMUNIST MANIFESTO'

(This year, as our special May Day Manifesto, we are issuing the first Afrikaans translation of "The Communist Manifesto" of Karl Marx and Friederich Engels, namely, "Die Kommuniste-Manifes", published by the Workers Party of South Africa, price 3d. For this Comrade Trotsky has written the Preface, the English version of which forms the article here given. Ed.)

It is hard to believe that the centennial of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" only ten years away! This pamphlet, displaying greater genius than any other in world literature, astounds us even today by its freshness. Its most important sections appear have been written yesterday. Assuredly, the young authors (Marx was 25, Engels 27) re able to look further into the future than anyone before them, and perhaps than anyo e since them.

Already in their joint preface to the edition of 1872, Marx and Engels declared that spite the fact that certain secondary passages in the "Manifesto" were antiquated, they lt that they no longer had any right to alter the original text inasmuch as the "Manif-sto" had already become a historical document, during the intervening period of twenty-ve years. Sixty-five additional years have elapsed since that time. Isolated passages the "Manifesto" have receded still further into the past. We shall try to establish scinctly in this Preface both those ideas in the "Manifesto" which retain their full rce today and those which require important alteration or amplification.

1. The materialist conception of history, discovered by Marx only a short while fore and applied with consummate skill in the "Manifesto", has completely withstood the st of events and the blows of hostile criticism. It constitutes today one of the most cious instruments of human thought. All other interpretations of the historical pro-ss have lost all scientific meaning. We can state with certainty that it is impossible our time not only to be a revolutionary militant but even a literate observer in pu-ics without assimilating the materialist interpretation of history.

2. The first chapter of the "Manifesto" opens with the following words: "The his-ry of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". This postulate, e most important conclusion drawn from the materialist interpretation of history, immedi-ely became an issue in the class struggle. Especially venomous attacks were directed reactionary hypocrites, liberal doctrinaires and idealistic democrats against the

Strange Memorial Library

State Library - Pretoria

This ad appeared in a Johannesburg newspaper

THE BATTLE AT INCHCAPE HALL

The one most crushed by the whole action was Bunting. He struggled hard to clear his name but to no avail. He printed tracts and leaflets and distributed them far and wide but with little result.[37] Finally, in one last desperate effort, Bunting posted a letter to all comrades he felt were concerned about his plight. They were invited to a meeting at the Inchcape Hall on Sunday morning 27 December 1931. Somehow Wolton and Bach got wind of the plan. As a meeting of the group called Labour Defence (Ikaka) was arranged for that same Sunday morning, Wolton and Bach decided to transfer it to the Inchcape Hall and arrive a few hours before the "Buntingites". Bach recruited into the meeting the members of the newly established Jewish Workers' Club, a gathering of young communists from Poland and Lithuania. All were ardent Marxist-Leninists. Bach had warned them that "Bunting was a traitor and that was enough for them".[38]

When Bunting's crowd arrived, they found the hall occupied by Bach and Wolton's group. Gana Makabeni raced outside and returned swinging a large stick! A fight broke out between the Jewish Workers' Club and the Africans. While the "peace-loving builders of the socialist paradise" were busy cracking one another's skulls with sticks and bricks they had collected from the streets, the caretaker, alarmed by the tumult, summoned aid and managed to drive the cursing, fist-swinging comrades from the hall. Finally, after many knockdowns and knockouts, the building was cleared and the doors locked.

The comradeship and indissoluble unity of communism had been well demonstrated by the Reds in the battle at Inchcape Hall.

Months later, J.B. Marks attacked both Bunting and his loyal friend Thibedi, calling them "wolves in sheep's clothing who deserved their expulsion from the communist party".[39]

Wolton made great use of the occasion and the next issue of Umsebenzi carried a large

headline, "Buntingites smash up Ikaka Conference". Bunting soon gave up the fight. He took work as a member of an orchestra but due to bad health resigned. With his fingers almost paralysed he could no longer play the viola. He and his wife were glad to accept a post as caretakers of a block of flats in Johannesburg. On 24 May 1936, he suffered a stroke. The following day his condition was "serious" and that evening he passed into eternity. Standing before Almighty God, there was something more important than Wolton's purge and the party![40]

After the great purge of the CPSA, many of the dedicated adherents, members, admirers and general friends of the CPSA sought refuge in other organizations of similar belief. One was the Cape Fabian Society, which was formed about 1930 under the direction of a popular attorney, Arthur E. Abrahams, who was an outspoken admirer of Soviet Russia and communism.

Other prominent members of the Cape Fabian Society were A.Z. Berman, Julius Lewin and Walter Bone, all notable Jewish communists. The highlight of the movement's existence was when George Bernard Shaw visited Cape Town and addressed two meetings in the City Hall. After some years, the Fabian group faded into insignificance, trying to revive itself with occasional meetings and on the reputation of popular socialist speakers. These groups were the results of Wolton's purges.[41]

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. Democratic Centralism is "the rigid principle that the decisions of the highest body in the Communist Party (even though it be dominated by one man) are binding upon all lower bodies or organized unities in the Party" anywhere in the world. (*Masters of Deceit*, Pocket Books, New York 1971. By J. Edgar Hoover, p. 319)
2. The Comintern in Moscow demanded regular reports from the CPSA. (*Multitude of Dreams*, Kaynor Publishing House, Johannesburg 1949. By Bernard Sachs, p. 159)
3. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969 p. 18. The exact wording of the Moscow directive was: "A South Africa Native Republic, as a stage towards a Workers' and Peasants' Government, with full protection and equal rights for all national minorities" (*South African Worker*, 30 November 1928)
4. During his career communist La Guma was a powerful figure. He was elected Cape secretary of the ANC in 1928, following his return from Moscow. Due to internal strife he was expelled from the CPSA in 1929 for "indiscipline". He was readmitted in 1931. However, after a fight with comrade Bach he was again expelled but later readmitted. He became a member of the central committee of the CPSA and was active until banned in 1950. From 1957 to 1961, he was president of the radical South African Coloured People's Congress, which was a communist-infiltrated and manipulated body. He was detained during 1960 and died in 1961.
5. The whole issue was cut and dried before it was introduced to the CPSA. La Guma met with the executive committee of the Comintern (ECCI) and, under the firm hand of Bukharin, the issue was resolved. Bolshevik iron discipline would rule again in far-off South Africa. Bukharin was influenced by the Finnish communist, Dr Otto Kuusinen, in issuing the "Black Republic" directive.
6. First document of number 3, p. 18
7. *The Amazing Mr Fischer*
   Nasionale Boekhandel, Johannesburg 1966
   By Gerard Ludi and Blaar Grobbelaar, p. 8
8. In less than six years the Moscow Comintern bureaucrats who had imposed these orders on the CPSA and split the body wide open, dropped all mention of the "Black Republic" brainstorm!
9. *Class and Nationalism in South African Protest: The South African Communist Party and the "Native Republic", 1928-1934*
   Syracuse University, New York 1973
   By M. Legassik, p. 9
10. Chauvinists in this case meant "belief in the superiority of the white race".
    S.P. Bunting
    The African Bookman, Cape Town 1943
    By Edward Roux, pp. 94-98
11. A complete edition of the Comintern's discussion of the South African question was published in *The Communist International*, Vol. VI, 15 December 1928 and in *The South African Worker*, 30 November 1928.
12. Before the arrival of the South African delegation in Moscow, Wolton of the CPSA had compiled his own secret report of the problem and sent it to Moscow on the sly. Beyond doubt, this greatly influenced the already decided Anglo-American Secretariat. Wolton was a bitter enemy of Bunting and his friends.
13. Number 10, p. 101
14. Number 10, p. 104
15. Originally W.H. Harrison was elected to contest the Cape Flats seat but due to his proposed trip to England and Europe, he withdrew and Wolton was nominated in his place.

16. Number 10, p. 105
17. First document of number 3, p. 21
18. First document of number 3, p. 22
19. The openly announced aims and goals of all Red fronts are beautiful and humane. But one good look at every country on earth falling into the hands of the communists proves that their promised heaven becomes a painful hell.
20. Riots were planned for major centres on this date. At Potchefstroom they were led by J. B. Marks and Edwin Mofutsanyana but they were disrupted by angry whites. A battle ensued and comrade Hermanus Lethebe was killed. To the utter dismay of the rioters, seven days before the Dingaan's Day demonstrations, Clements Kadalie appeared, spoke against the riots and called for a "national day of prayer".
21. Pirow later became a strong defender of the lunatic Adolf Hitler.
22. Number 10, p. 115
23. Number 10, p. 144
24. Number 10, p. 114
25. Number 17, p. 22
26. Number 10, p. 118
27. Number 10, p. 122
28. Number 10, p. 123
29. Number 17, p. 23
30. This move finally destroyed the Bloemfontein branch of the CPSA.
31. Meanwhile, in the Soviet Union, one of Bunting's Russian comrades was likewise feeling the sting of expulsion. In July 1929, the tenth plenum of the Comintern purged Bukharin from the party for "rightist deviation". A few years later, he committed suicide.
32. Number 10, p. 124
33. Number 10, p. 125
34. Number 10, p. 130
35. See documentation for chapter 9, note number 7, for comments on long-time members removed from the party. Regarding those who were later reinstated the CPSA rules called for them to accept all of the party programme and policies and to be totally willing to carry out its decisions. (See *Constitution of CPSA*, November 1942, pp. 15-13)
36. Number 10, p. 134
37. Bunting made a feeble attempt to form a counter-group called the Communist League. His faithful friends, Thibedi and Makabeni, published a paper called Maraphanga (probably meaning Receive With Haste). The whole attempt failed after one issue. Immediately Wolton's and Bach's group branded Bunting as a "counter-revolutionary".
38. Number 10, p. 138
39. Umsebenzi, 22 October 1932
40. Bunting's funeral was a grand pageantry of Marxist emptiness. Both friends and foes were present. The four speakers were C.B. Tyler, Gana Makabeni, Willie Kalk and Eddie Roux. Bennie Weinbren organized the affair. Later a Memorial Scholarship Fund was established at Fort Hare College for Africans. The honorary treasurer was Advocate F.A. Lucas. The sad and pitiful epitaph for Bunting was spoken by Edward Roux: "He died believing in the Soviet Union and in the Communist Party." (Number 10, p. 106.) Marxism offered no hope in death.
41. Wolton continued his purge like some unholy inquisitor. Leading Reds such as W.H. Harrison,

D. L. Dryburgh, W. Green and M. Lopaz were removed. These hurried to form various organizations in order to keep the fires of Marxism-Leninism burning. It was one thing to be removed from the CPSA but another thing to have the CPSA removed from them. One such group was the International Socialist Club, formed in Cape Town, with such speakers as the deputy mayor of the city M.L. Gradner and the popular broadcaster Gordon Bagwell. Splits came from this body and others were formed.

The Trotskyites formed the Lenin Club. From this came a split called the Spartasists with their little newspaper, *The Spark*. They drew into their net the Labour MP Mr Duncan Burnside as a speaker in an attempt to gain public respectability. Other groups of these times were the New Socialist Party, the Constitutional Socialist League and the many so-called Left Clubs. Bunting was often invited to speak to some of the newly-founded organizations.

CHAPTER TWELVE

WOLTON'S DEFECTION TO WORLD WAR II

MOLLY AND THE SECRET AGENT FROM MOSCOW

While the CPSA was undergoing a thorough process of "Bolshevisation", Molly Wolton returned to South Africa from Moscow. She had been studying for about a year at the Lenin School. She was appointed to a seat on the editorial board of Umsebenzi along with Roux. This combination was like a mixture of steel and velvet. The "fiery" and "bossy" Molly soon fell into strife with the milder Roux. Conflicts became the order of the day in the production of Umsebenzi. Because Roux dared to defend the now dismissed Bunting on a particular issue and because of his regular fights with the hot-headed Molly, he was removed from the political bureau of the CPSA. He was instructed to continue his "technical work" in connection with the newspaper, which he did.

Along with the return of Molly to South Africa the Comintern actually sent a special agent. He was personally to take care of the business and affairs of the CPSA and "ensure that the new Bolshevik trend would be firmly established".[1] This mystery agent remained in the country until early 1933. Roux commented that he was a "very likeable fellow". He laid out a sophisticated and detailed plan for the CPSA to follow.

> "Under the leadership of Moscow's Comintern agent, extensive projects were drawn up to extend the CPSA's influence and activities now to all spheres of society. The very strictest discipline was enforced in order to compel men to attend all political training classes. These projects also included the creation of new Bantu trade unions, special day-schools for full-time officer-bearers, the organizing of Bantu mineworkers, the development of Umsebenzi, and the organizing of the communist cells in factories, on farms, in trade unions and in all mass organizations."[2]

Everything was worked out in the minutest detail and specific tasks and orders were assigned to every member of the party. The Comintern agent's instructions included a directive "that certain members were busy with a process known as preparation for illegality", meaning that certain members were not to be known as members of the party. They were to remain completely in the background and serve on secret committees which controlled the party's activities. This was carried to such extremes that, at one time Eddie Roux and L. C. Joffe were the only two public office-bearers left to carry out the schemes of the other secret members.[3] This severe training process went on until the end of 1932 One of the orders was to "infiltrate the black centres of education".[4]

COMRADE WOLTON DEFECTS AND THE AGENT GOES HOME

Near the end of 1932, the Comintern agent received orders to return to Moscow. He departed in early January 1933. In December, just before his departure, the Woltons went to Cape Town in an attempt to tidy up party affairs.[5] However, Wolton himself became deeply involved in a tram-and-bus strike and was arrested. In May 1933, he was sentenced

to three months' imprisonment. This was his second term in jail within eighteen months. He had served three months early in 1932 following articles which had appeared in Umsebenzi alleging jail brutalities inflicted on African prisoners in Natal.[6] The continual arrests and hectic life led by Wolton soon had its final effect.

Along with all this, Molly suffered from a "weak heart". The doctor advised her to give up her public speechmaking. Their six-year-old daughter was being hauled about the country with little care from her parents.

When Wolton was released from prison in August 1933, he found a letter from his brother in England, offering him employment on the Yorkshire Times and a home for Molly and the child. The temptation was more than Wolton could resist. "They hurriedly left for England without obtaining permission from the political bureau in Johannesburg."[7] It is interesting to note that Wolton, who had preached so much about "party discipline" and the "rule of democratic centralism", now himself broke the rules he had hammered into his fellow-comrades. Bunting's ousted group took this as proof of Wolton's double standards and lack of sincerity.

With the Woltons gone, the Comintern agent back in Russia, and two other black leaders of the party shortly to leave for Moscow for further studies, there was a search for new leadership. Communist Lazar Bach stepped forward and took up the reins of leadership.[8] He continued the struggle against the "rightist danger" almost single-handed and with the same fanaticism as former comrade Wolton. The CPSA's political bureau was so depleted of manpower that new members had to be found. Seasoned communists such as Josiah Ngedlane and John Gomas, from the Cape, and Moses Kotane were all given seats on the honoured political bureau. In time Kotane proved to be a nightmare for Bach. Eddie Roux, once demoted by the harsh Wolton, now found himself reinstated in the political bureau. Later, Roux totally renounced communism.[9]

FIGHTS, FACTIONS AND ANOTHER PARTY PURGE

During the coming months Bach was busy improving his position as leader of the party. He managed to gain the support of Louis Joffe, also a Lithuanian, who was the CPSA's financial secretary. For some months the purge of the "rightist danger" seemed to ease up. This was only a tactical move on the part of Bach to entrench himself in a power position of complete control. During this time of power shifting, Roux was busy revamping Umsebenzi. "It was enlarged, made more readable, and it soon became ... the most widely circulating Bantu newspaper."[10] It was even issued on a weekly basis. Bach did not like various articles appearing in the paper. He also found the majority of the new political bureau against him. This alarmed the cunning and evil Lithuanian communist.

Then suddenly the pending storm broke over the CPSA. Bach renewed his search for "rightist deviations" within the party leadership. His first attack was directed against the staunch Moses Kotane, whom he accused of "petit bourgeois national reformism".[11] However, Bach met something of his match in Kotane, who could quote chapter and verse from any standard communist textbook as well as, if not better than, Bach himself. Kotane's sin was suggesting "a united front of Non-European organizations in which the communist party would not play any leading role".[12] This battle was under way when the two blacks (their names are unknown) sent to Moscow for special training returned. They immediately sided with Bach in the argument. The axe again fell in September 1935. Six of Kotane's supporters were ousted from the party, including the famous writer Jameson G. Coka, while Kotane, Ngedlane and Roux were removed from the political bureau. Three months later, Issy Diamond was purged from the CPSA.

While this battle was raging within the ranks of the CPSA another thunderbolt rocked headquarters. More orders from the Comintern. Georgi Dimitrov (in Moscow) announced a new policy directive.

The so-called "rightist danger" was now suddenly of no importance. Instead, a new and more deadly danger had appeared: the danger of a "sectarian spirit" had reared its ugly head in certain countries, of which South Africa was one on the list. This directive rocked the CPSA like a bomb blast. They were utterly confounded by this message. The new order called for a National or Workers' Front in South Africa. Bach was looked upon as the very incarnation of a "sectarian spirit", since he had just opposed Kotane's idea for a similar front organization.

BACH GOES TO RUSSIA AND NEVER RETURNS

Roux and those who sided with him in the fight were delighted to hear the new orders from the Comintern. He, Kotane and Gomas sent an urgent telegram to Moscow accusing Bach and his supporters of a "sectarian spirit". As a counter-move, the political bureau (those on Bach's side) went into action and sent a delegate by the name of Richter to Moscow, personally to acquaint the Comintern with their side of the story. Bach wanted to make quite sure the Comintern fully understood his actions. But when a fiery directive came from the Comintern, demanding an explanation from the two contending parties, Bach left for Moscow to speak for himself. This was a fatal step for the clever Mr Bach. He intended to place his argument before the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935.[13] His appeals were totally rejected. During this same period a series of horrible blood purges occurred in Moscow and across much of the Soviet Union. Stalin was proving himself a "man of steel". Neither Bach nor Richter was ever heard of again. Some writers believe they died in the purges. The CPSA received word from Moscow to "forget the past and to continue with the new national front policy". No mention of Bach and Richter was ever made.[14] The monster they had worked so hard to build, now destroyed them.

FORMER EXPELLEES RETURN TO THE RED FOLD

With the curse of Bach now removed, the CPSA hurried to obey the Comintern telegram which closed with this sentence, "Get on with it."[15] In compliance with the Comintern's command, the CPSA immediately commenced propagating the creation of a National and Workers' Front, which was to include all leftist and workers' groups. This new deal permitted expelled persons to return to the party in the capacity of co-operators.[16]

Hence, such well-known communists as C.B. Tyler, Solly Sachs and others returned to the Red fold. It seemed that the Comintern's plan was to unite all sympathetic groups on a broad basis and to obtain as much support as possible for the coming conflict with Italy and Nazi Germany. Moscow foresaw the war looming on the world's horizon.

Meanwhile, the CPSA was busy "getting on with it". One former South African communist writes of those days:

> "We would find ourselves fifty-strong marching down the busiest thoroughfare of the city (Johannesburg), in a procession with banners and all the other paraphernalia — for it was the International Women's Day, or Youth Day, or some other day that the Comintern had instructed us to celebrate."[17]

Typical blind obedience.

GENERAL ELECTION OF 1933: THE DEPRESSION AND COMMUNISM

As the 1920s ended, the world was falling into the grip of a depression. Wall Street had collapsed and world financial stability was threatened. The fall of the American market, the immediate decline in the price of diamonds and a slump in the wool market all hit South Africa. To add to all the trouble, the greatest drought in South African history up to that time had occurred. By the end of 1932, the large rural areas were impoverished and the farmers joined the ranks of the poor whites. They drifted into the big cities, already glutted with job-seekers. In an effort to meet the problems arising from the depression, Hertzog's National Party and Smuts's South African Party merged to form the South African United Party. They won the general election of May 1933. Hertzog was Prime Minister and Smuts was Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice.

This union caused a few former supporters of Hertzog, including Dr D.F. Malan and Advocate J.G. Strijdom, to break away and form a group called the Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party (the Purified National Party),[18] which later, in 1948, won the general election. The South African United Party went to work and established movements designed to promote the interests of various Afrikaner organizations.

One in particular was the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond (White Worker Protection Union).

> "This body aimed at combating activities in the trade unions, of Jews, communists and Kaffirboeties ... at preventing the mixed membership of trade unions; and at securing a clear demarcation of work ... between white and non-white."[19]

In about 1936, Dr. Albert Hertzog, son of Prime Minister Hertzog, launched the Reformed League, which attempted to drive the communists out of such Red strongholds as the Garment Workers' Union and several others. These actions had a powerful set-back influence on the communist-controlled, liberal-minded trade union groups.

The communists blamed the government for practically every problem facing South Africa, except the drought. They attempted to make great propaganda out of the depression, always pointing out the failure of capitalism against socialism. A meeting was called in Bloemfontein from 15-18 December 1935 to demonstrate against the racial policies of Hertzog, and especially his "communist witchhunts". This gathering was called the All-African Convention. It was chaired by the popular and well-known Professor D.D.T. Jabavu. He was ably assisted by Pixley Seme of the ANC. The meeting was filled with communists of every kind. One of the few issues only half agreed upon was to boycott the elections to be held in 1936. The CPSA, however, agreed to enter two candidates, in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State: comrade E.T. Mofutsanyana and a communist lawyer named H.M. Basner. Both were unsuccessful.

TROTSKY ON SOUTH AFRICA : NEW FRONTS : ANDREWS TO MOSCOW

In 1935, Bill Andrews moved to Cape Town and immediately went to work for the cause of communism.[20] The party was madly busy infiltrating various workers' organizations and other movements, seeking to muster sympathy for the Soviet Union against Germany. A slogan of those days created and popularised by the communists was, "War on Fascism". Hitler's Nazi Party in Germany and the fascists of Mussolini in Italy were causing grave concern. The CPSA was busy whipping up support for the "democratic Soviet Union" and pouring condemnation on the fascists. It was also establishing fronts in various sections of society. A popular front that lasted for a while was the All South African Congress Against War and Fascism. It held its first meeting in Johannesburg in

December 1935. Another useful tool in the hands of the CPSA was the League against Fascism and War. This group had non-communists within its ranks, but, nevertheless, became a powerful voice for socialism during the war. One of its leaders was communist Louis Joffe.

In 1937 they created another similar non-white front named the National Liberation League of South Africa (NLLSA). Its aims were "Complete social, political and economic equality for the non-Europeans of South Africa with other races".[21] This movement was filled with both leftists and communists.

During this same period, Leon Trotsky issued a pamphlet which dealt with some of the problems within the South African context. It was entitled, South African Problems, and dated 20 April 1935.[22] Speaking of the ANC he went so far as to say: "The Bolsheviks-Leninists put themselves in defence of the Congress." Finally, he wrote: "A victorious revolution is unthinkable without the awakening of the native masses."

Trotskyite communism was very popular in South Africa during this period, especially in the Cape area. Numerous NLLSA members were Trotskyite communists.

John Gomas from Cape Town toured the country on behalf of the NLLSA, seeking to create other branches. However, this organization petered out due to a lack of interest. Meanwhile in Cape Town, Andrews was being ably assisted by comrades Solly Sachs, Eli Weinberg and others, working to boycott all commercial products leaving South Africa for Germany. A "liberation fever" broke out in the major centres, injected by the communists and their friends, such as Moses Kotane in Cape Town and H.A. Naidoo in Natal. These received the assistance of comrades Mofutsanyana and Maliba in the Transvaal.

Within the ranks of the liberal trade unions, the communists were enjoying a little success due to the dedicated work of Ray Alexander, George Ponen, Willie Kalk and Issy Wolfson. Still, the CPSA failed to have any profound impact as an effective organization. Then its newspaper Umsebenzi ran into financial problems and soon collapsed. In 1937, Andrews was sent to Moscow (his second trip) to represent the South African Friends of the Soviet Union, the Cape District Committee of the Trade and Labour Council, the Amalgamated Engineering Union and several other communist-dominated groups. His mission was to exchange good wishes between the South African Workers and Russia on the occasion of the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Soviet Union. A coloured communist, C.J. Adams, accompanied him as co-delegate.[23] On his return from Moscow, he was approached by the CPSA with an invitation to resume his membership.

> "Thus, on May Day 1938, Andrews was reinstated with full honours as a member of the CPSA, and he was soon afterwards elected as chairman of the Central Committee."[24]

CPSA MOVES TO CAPE TOWN: A NEW PUBLICATION

Further conflict erupted within the party when Moses Kotane proposed transferring the headquarters to Cape Town as a "temporary measure". After a bitter fight, this was finally accepted. Andrews was at this point elected chairman. Kotane was general secretary with a new executive consisting of Ray Alexander, H.J. Simons, Z. Gool and Sam Kahn, all located at Cape Town.[25] The seat of the CPSA executive remained at Cape Town until the party was banned in 1950. The date for the big move to Cape Town was January 1939.

With this injection of new hope the CPSA attempted once again to reach the workers for the cause of Marxism-Leninism. In 1937 (after the end of Umsebenzi) the party came out with a new weekly paper called The Guardian. Though attempting in the early years to

conceal the fact, it was the official mouthpiece of communism. For 10 years it was under the editorship of Betty Radford, an able journalist who not only was a party member, but was later elected to the Cape Town City Council. Radford and her husband, the famous surgeon Dr. George Sachs, were both members of the CPSA. But later both were supposed to have dropped out of the party during the post-war period. The Guardian, later on, played an important role in the cause of communism in South Africa. Bill Andrews made regular contributions in the form of communist propaganda articles.

In April 1941 only one CPSA member was on the editorial board of The Guardian, but by the end of the war, it was the official organ of the party in everything but name. It was the most popular and successful newspaper ever produced by the communists in South Africa. Betty Radford (Sachs), the brilliant editor, was also involved in the protracted sedition trial which followed the 1946 mine strike. When she and her husband dropped out of party activities, the editorship of the newspaper was handed to Brian Bunting, who also edited its successors, the Clarion and later New Age.

In May 1938 the Trotskyite publication in Cape Town, The Spark, announced: "The first Afrikaans edition of the Communist Manifesto was issued by their Workers' Party." Red literature of various types was slowly appearing across the country. Cape Town was originally the major centre for its production. Johannesburg later followed suit. (See chapter 16 for the banning of communist publications.)

GENERAL ELECTION OF 1938 AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

During the general election of May 1938, the Hertzog-Smuts Government was returned to power. They maintained their previous anti-communism stance. In the latter portion of the same year, on 16 December, the country observed the centenary of the Voortrekker victory at Blood River. On that date in 1838, the Afrikaner Voortrekkers had defeated the armies of the Zulu despot Dingaan. The Great Trek centenary celebrations of 1938 heralded a remarkable resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism. A mighty wave of spontaneous patriotism swept the entire country as hundreds of tented wagons converged on a hill just outside Pretoria. This site had been reserved for the Voortrekker monument to be erected. Out of this great movement came an organization known as the Ossewa-Brandwag (OB), originally founded for cultural purposes.

This was all destined to change. Meanwhile, the communists were busy seeking to infiltrate the trade unions and turn the tide of public sympathy toward the Soviet Union, in view of the war looming over much of Europe. The CPSA's attitude toward the war was another classical example of their dialectical strategy: simply do what is deemed best for the cause of communism regardless of the contradictions and costs.

At the outbreak of the Second World War on 3 September 1939, the communists rushed into action. It must be carefully remembered that up to this point, Russia, the "dearly beloved fatherland" of all South African communists, had not yet entered the war. Not only did the South African communists move into action, but the Hertzog-Smuts Government did likewise and their previously happy coalition was soon to split over the war issue.

THE BREAK BETWEEN HERTZOG AND SMUTS

> "What was to break the Hertzog-Smuts coalition was the question of South Africa's attitude toward the Second World War... Hertzog maintained that it was a war between European powers which did not affect South Africa and was in favour of remaining neutral. Smuts, on the other hand, maintained that it was in South Africa's interest to enter the war as an ally of Britain."[26]

A fierce debate occurred over the issue, lasting a whole day. Hertzog was supported in his position by Malan. Smuts was supported by his own followers, members of the various other parties and a few of Hertzog's followers. When the final vote was taken at 9 o'clock that night, there were 80 votes for Smuts and 67 for Hertzog. With this, the South African United Party was split. During the turmoil, Prime Minister Hertzog called on the Governor-General to dissolve Parliament and announce an election. Sir Patrick Duncan refused and requested Smuts to form a new Cabinet. Smuts did and succeeded Hertzog as Prime Minister and immediately prepared South Africa to enter the war. The reaction from the CPSA was electric. They launched a well-laid attack against the Smuts Government. A few years later this all changed.

THE REACTION OF THE CPSA TOWARDS THE WAR

Typical of communist mentality, party officials went to work and analysed the war from the viewpoint of the class struggle and interest of the workers. Later during the annual party conference in March 1940, their findings, supposedly tracing the true developments of the international situation in light of the war, were given. They said in part that the war was being fought... to maintain British dominance in Europe, to defend British colonies and retain British trade and investment overseas against rival imperialism. The CPSA maintained that it was their duty both to oppose the war and to resist the Nationalist Afrikaners of South Africa. They stated that to carry on the fight would require deeply-developed organizations, leadership and political clarity. This was the task of the party. Through one of their Transvaal front organizations, the Non-European United Front, founded in 1939, the CPSA issued a strong appeal in late 1940 for support of their war programme. A future president of the South African Indian Congress, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, was leader of the front and one of its principal organizers.[27] He was duly arrested for making speeches and issuing papers to protest against the recruitment of non-white soldiers in the war effort. Dadoo served a sentence of four months. A similar sentence was served on another Indian, D.A. Seedat of Natal, along with comrades Max and Louis Joffe and Arnold Latti. The government responded to the anti-war protesters and declared the "War Emergency Measures Act" effective. Under this law, the communists were slightly curbed for a short time.

Numerous communists were jailed during this period for "endangering the country's war effort",[28] and a few of their English publications were banned. But in spite of very limited police action and the laws, the dogged Reds continued their anti-war demonstrations and speeches. In Cape Town under the sterling leadership of comrades Kotane and Andrews, party activities were more effective than ever. These events occurred before Hitler invaded Russia. This Act changed everything for the CPSA!

MORE CPSA PUBLICATIONS

In Johannesburg, after the election of a new district committee in 1940, a string of "young people" were recruited to party service. Just prior to this, in 1939, the Johannesburg district committee launched an official party organ called Inkululeko. It began as a duplicated presentation, but was printed from 1941 onward. With the Suppression Act in 1950 it closed down. Inkululeko (Freedom) was under the direction of comrades Michael Diphuko and Edwin Mofutsanyana. In an attempt to reach the African it carried articles in Sotho, Venda, Zulu, Tswana, Xhosa and Shangaan. It reached a

Two samples of the Red newspaper, Inkululeko

rather large circulation by the early part of 1942, but soon declined. This paper was intended to be the successor of the old party newspaper, Umsebenzi.

Freedom appears to have started as a duplicated bi-monthly in 1940. It was something of a theoretical journal for the CPSA and seems to have circulated mostly inside party circles. For five years running, 1943-1947, it was published in a very neat, printed format five or six times a year. During this "high" period it was edited by the clever George Sachs. Thereafter it appeared in a new, smaller format monthly or fortnightly. Its new editor was Moses Kotane. Because it used to publish Central Committee reports and National Conference resolutions it is a valuable source for studying CPSA policy. It rarely ever carried any articles by leading international communist figures, but dealt almost entirely with the South African scene and issues. It also faded from the stage at the end of the war.

A radical publication printed in Afrikaans called Die Ware Republikein (The True Republican) was the unofficial journal of the CPSA. It appeared in about 1941 but soon faded away. An attempt was made to revive it towards the end of the war, but this too

failed. It was aimed at the Afrikaans-speaking workers and pushed the normal party line.

In 1944, the Reds produced a sheet called The Cape Party Organizer. It did simply nothing for the Marxist-Leninist cause. This poor contribution was dropped within a short time.

With the short-lived storm of literary propaganda, their speeches in public halls, private homes, street corners and anywhere else they could get a hearing, the hard-working comrades managed to revive the half-dead corpse of the CPSA during these years.

HITLER INVADES THE SOVIET UNION

When the tanks of Hitler smashed across the borders of Poland and invaded the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, the whole attitude of the CPSA changed. Another dialectical move was quickly necessary. To the utter amazement of hundreds of interested observers of party policy and moves, the CPSA's entire propaganda blitz did a complete about-face! The war was no longer denounced as an "imperialistic war". Suddenly and very dramatically, it became a "people's war". It followed that no sacrifice was too great to save the Soviet Union from "Hitler's aggression". To the stunning surprise of the government of South Africa, it suddenly found the CPSA had joined in the "struggle against the Axis powers and in this way was suddenly elevated to the status of an honourable and estimable fellow-fighter".[29] Now the CPSA was for the South African Government! The Reds were furious because Hitler had broken the "Nazi-Soviet pact that had been signed on the eve of the hostilities".[30] It is historically true that Stalin had signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler on 23 August 1939. Nevertheless, pact or no pact, Hitler's panzers drove onto Russian soil. Their intention was to conquer the Soviet Union.

Another dramatic change occurred within the propaganda ranks of the CPSA:

> "Red propaganda against the recruitment of natives abruptly ceased. Justice Minister D. Colin Steyn released white communists who had been interned for suspected disloyalty..."[31]

Even top communist Moses Kotane was released. Censorship was lifted on certain party publications.

The CPSA set out with a new line. They demanded that the African soldiers be armed and recruited on a basis equal to that of the whites; that the pass system and political and industrial colour bars be scrapped; that the oppressed masses should enjoy democratic and citizenship rights in the country which they were now called upon to defend. Part of this plot was with government approval. One writer says the communists were even permitted to go into the African locations and "agitate against the pass laws provided they coupled this with pro-war speeches".[32]

One of the few Afrikaans people to become deeply involved in the CPSA during this stage of the war was a female trade unionist named Bettie Elizabeth du Toit. She joined the CPSA in the late 1930s and visited Russia just before World War II exploded. She served the party as a women's representative on the national executive committee of the Trades and Labour Council. Du Toit married an Indian "Marxist-Muslim", Yusuf Cachalia, in the early 1950s. She later moved to England.

A GREAT REVIVAL WITHIN THE CPSA

The day Hitler's armies invaded Russia, the CPSA rushed about and called an emergency meeting of the central committee. They immediately issued a long statement condemning both Hitler and Nazi Germany and actually praised the Smuts Government

Bettie du Toit, one of the few Afrikaners to become involved in early communism

To the disgust of communist Sam Kahn (left), a magistrate, accompanied by a policeman, reads the order to ban a Marxist meeting on Market Square

for entering the war against the Germans. The CPSA issued regular statements regarding the war and the defence of socialism. Now the allies were fighting for a just cause!

Through the remainder of 1941 until most of 1944, a powerful communist effort was launched across the country in which hundreds were injected with party sympathies and support.[33] They distributed countless thousands of tracts and papers. They were making new friends and gaining support in hitherto untouched circles. The CPSA was riding high on the crest of the wave during these early war years. Now they had, to a certain extent, the support of Smuts, who in previous years had fought them so bitterly. Between 1941 and 1943, the party membership grew fourfold! Highly effective and active district committees were set in operation in Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, East London, Pretoria, on the East Rand and Kimberley. In Cape Town in 1943, the party's power was reflected when communist Sam Kahn and Betty Radford (editor of The Guardian) were elected, on the party platform, to the Cape Town City Council. Later, in 1949, Kahn was elected to Parliament. Due to legislation that forbade communists in Parliament, he was later expelled. Fred Carneson was elected as the black representative to the Cape Provincial Council in 1949, but was also expelled in 1952 for party membership. An Indian communist named M. M. Desai was elected to the Port Elizabeth City Council. When Kahn was forced out of Parliament in 1952, he was replaced by another popular communist, Brian Bunting, son of the well-known S.P. Bunting. The government removed Bunting. He was replaced by comrade Ray Alexander. She, too, was barred from taking her seat. Undaunted in their efforts, the communists battled to keep a member or friend in this strategic political position. Len B. Lee-Warden replaced Alexander in 1954 and served until 1960. He was later banned from all political activities.[34] All of these seats were held by white communists or their friends chosen as Native representatives. They were not elected by the white electorate.

This succession of communists and their friends attempting to penetrate the political structures of the country reveals the upsurge of their activities in this period. For the most part, the Smuts Government paid little attention to their work of infiltration into the social, political and economic sectors of the nation.

From the end of 1943 till mid-1945, a vast national Anti-Pass Campaign was conducted by a select committee consisting of both ANC and CPSA members and fellow-travellers. The campaign ended when R.V. Selope Thema, the elderly, respectable and "anti-communist" editor of the Bantu World, led an 18-man delegation to see the acting Prime

REDS OR FELLOW TRAVELLERS WHO SERVED THE PARTY IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS

Advocate F. G. T. Boshoff in Hillbrow

R. H. Fleet in Rosettenville

Issy Wolfson in Troyeville.

M. M. Desai in Port Elizabeth

R. E. "Rex" Close in Cape Town

Z. Gool in Cape Town

Betty Radford in Cape Town

Sam Kahn in Cape Town

Archie Muller in East London

State Library - Pretoria

Minister in Pretoria, who was "too busy to see them" At least five of the 18 were known communists. They were M. Kotane, J. Phillips, Y.M. Dadoo, J. Gomas and J. Palmer. The popular Clements Kadalie was also among the delegation.

Some years before the war ended, during the 1943 general election, the CPSA nominated nine candidates in several major centres of the nation.

On the Witwatersrand they nominated Franz Boshoff, D. du Plessis, R.H. Fleet and Issy Wolfson. In Cape Town they put forward comrades George Sachs, H. Snitcher and Miss J. Fourie. In Durban their candidate was E. Shanley and in East London M. Muller. None were successful. With all the claims of being "the people's movement" and "fighting for the betterment of the people", the communists were almost continually rejected by the electorate of South Africa. There was one communist who did win for the first and only time, the Hillbrow seat in the Johannesburg City Council. This was Hilda Watts Bernstein.[35] Cape Town was the only place in the whole of South Africa where the communists had reasonable success at the polls.

Hilda Watts Bernstein, first Red elected to the Johannesburg City Council. Her husband, Lionel, was acquitted in the Rivonia trial, then fled South Africa. (See chapter 23)

The Star

Years later the police raid Hilda's house and remove many documents. An objecting Hilda follows in the background

The Star

After loading the papers and documents into their car the police drive off

REDS OR FELLOW TRAVELLERS WHO SERVED THE PARTY IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS

Alpheus M. Maliba served the party in the Zoutpansberg area

Sidney M. Lekgetho worked with Maliba

Errol Shanley, a Red politician in Durban

Ray Alexander served the CPSA in the trade unions and politics

Communist or fellow traveller candidates for the Orlando Advisory Board were, standing, left to right: J. J. Masupha, E. Machimbela. Sitting: S. M. Moema and E. T. Mofutsanyana

H. L. Rosier, in Red politics in Cape Town

Left to right: Joey Fourie and Dr. George Sachs in Cape Town

State Library - Pretoria

Danie du Plessis in Springs and Advocate H. Snitcher in Woodstock

L. B. Lee-Warden, Cape Town, replaced Ray Alexander in politics

Fred Carneson in Cape Town

SOUTH AFRICA'S OLDEST COMMUNIST ON SABC

Then the incredible happened. During the war on May Day 1942, the leader of the communists in South Africa actually addressed the nation on the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Bill Andrews was invited by the management to

> "address the workers over the radio and exhort them to greater persistence in the struggle. In his speech, Andrews stressed the brotherhood of all workers and encouraged them to do their utmost to annihilate Hitlerism in all its forms".[36]

Capitalising on this "esteemed privilege", the CPSA seized the opportunity and issued a pamphlet called, Meet the Communists! In it the CPSA was presented as a democratic organization whose aims were to build dams, hospitals and parks. These professional liars were presented as angels of mercy, love and compassion.

At no period in their entire history did the CPSA enjoy such an honourable reception from the general (and ignorant) public as during the war years. Riding on the newly-acquired prestige, the Reds went into the various union organizations seeking to gain

control of these mass movements. One hindering factor during these better days for the party was the "War Measure No. 1,425, which... required a special permit before meetings of more than twenty people could be held on mine property".[37] This severely hampered their work. Nevertheless, party publications reached an all-time high circulation. Two new alleged fronts to arise during this period were the Zoutpansberg Balemi (Ploughmen's) Association, directed by comrade Alpheus M. Maliba. He was converted to communism while studying at the Marxist night-school in Johannesburg in 1935. The second was the Springbok Legion, headed by communists Jack Hodgson and Cecil Williams. (Full details of the Legion are given in chapter 14).

STALIN ABOLISHES HIS COMINTERN IN 1943

During the height of the war, Stalin found himself seriously unpopular with the non-communist governments fighting the advance of Hitler's armies. The Comintern had for years been an irritant to all free nations of the world. Informed governments and their intelligence services knew very well that the Comintern was the father of international strife and attempted revolution over the globe. As the German armies moved deeper into Russia, Stalin made a typical "dialectical" move, and suddenly announced the dissolution of the Comintern. The following excerpt from Stalin's declaration, issued on 26 May 1943, is self-explanatory. Stalin declared the Comintern had been dissolved because:

> "It exposes the lie of the Hitlerites to the effect that 'Moscow' allegedly intends to intervene in the life of other nations and to 'Bolshevize' them. From now on an end is put to this lie."[38]

After Stalin "put an end to the lie" that the Comintern was a monster seeking to conquer every nation on earth, he then did what was normal in Marxist-Leninist thinking. He and his henchmen formed a substitute body, designed to do what the Comintern had done, simply to exercise full control over all member communist movements across the world. This included the CPSA. After the announcement given by Stalin of the abolition of the Comintern, the CPSA issued a statement on 3 June, 1943, expressing its full agreement with the decision to dissolve the Comintern.

The Comintern's substitute was called the Information Bureau of the Communist and Worker Parties, better known as the Cominform.[39] It was the same old witch, but wearing a new dress. The CPSA made a big noise about the dissolution of the Comintern and preached this as proof of the sincerity and trustworthiness of Stalin, and of the party movement within South Africa. General public ignorance of major issues being the greatest friend of the international communist conspiracy, the big lie was popularly believed.

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA CHANNELS DURING THE WAR YEARS

Coinciding with the CPSA's big push to gain new respectability during the war years, the party and its various friends were busy setting up "clubs, classes and discussion groups". These are mentioned in detail later. On 20 September 1943, a conference was held by the Independent Labour Party and the Progressive Labour Party at which they united forces to form a rabid movement named the Socialist Party of South Africa. Even though the Independent Labour Party had only been formed in May of the same year, this amalgamation was considered necessary for stronger political power. The whole purpose was to create a more powerful force of militancy within the trade unions.

In a pamphlet printed by this new socialist group, they declared the following objectives:

Leftist Dr. Max Joffe, a fellow traveller of the CPSA

D. A. Seedat was imprisoned in Durban during the war and listed in November 1962

This rare picture shows a reception for D. A. Seedat upon his release from jail. In the Gandhi Hall is Marxist M. Harmel, seated, with Seedat standing behind him. Also seated are Y. A. Cachalia (with fez), M. M. Gandhi and George Carr, extreme right

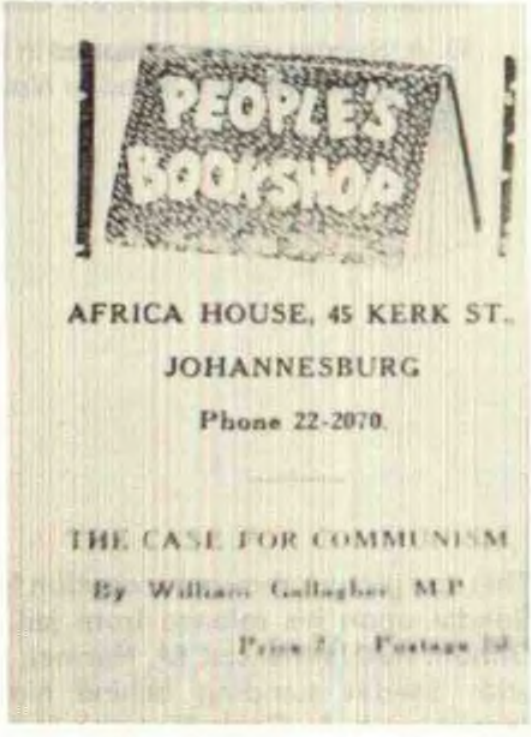
"To abolish the present system of capitalism and establish a socialist system in South Africa . . ."[40]

These stated aims read like edited sentences from one of the writings of Marx or Lenin.

Along with this group of political revolutionaries, the Left Clubs were gaining popularity during this time. They were located in most major centres and were successful in attracting many young people into their net. The Left Club in Johannesburg and the Marxist Club in Durban were possibly the most powerful and popular during this period. A sample of their propaganda is found in a booklet entitled, Communist Theory and Practice, printed in Pretoria, July 1944. The foreword is by George Findlay and it consists of a series of "three lectures delivered to the Left Club" in Johannesburg in May of that year. It was one long praise of communism and glorification of its doctrines and promises.[41]

In conjuction with these various fronts and movements, all attempting to influence

minds for Marxism-Leninism, numerous newspapers were being used for the same goals. One, in particular, was named Forward. It was a well-designed publication, often presenting various communist militants as heroes and friends of the working classes. When one reads that Bennie Weinbren was on its editorial board, the purpose of the paper is understandable. Some of the other birds in Forward's nest were Jessie McPherson and Colin Legum. A lucid example of Forward's ultra-left line is clearly illustrated in their edition of 26 May 1944. "Councillor B. Weinbren" reminisces about the good old days in the 1930s when comrade Issy Diamond and his friends staged the march on May Day 1931 on the Carlton Hotel. This edition of Forward states that this article is from a "series of lectures given by Councillor Weinbren at the Left Club in August 1943".



AFRICA HOUSE, 45 KERK ST.
JOHANNESBURG
Phone 22-2070
Postage 2d.
WHY YOU SHOULD BE A SOCIALIST. John Strachey.
Price 1/-
Postage 2d.
THE CASE FOR AFRICAN FREEDOM. Joyce Cary. 2/6
Postage 2d.
COMRADE BILL — The Life and Times of W. H. Andrews, Workers' Leader. R. K. Cope.
Price 1/6
Postage 2d.

Advertisements for the CPSA bookstore in Johannesburg

WARNINGS OF COMMUNIST DANGERS GIVEN IN PARLIAMENT

During the war years much debate raged in Parliament over the "communist threat". The ruling United Party continually accused the National Party of being "Hitlerites and Nazi-lovers" (which in part was true).

The Nationalists fired away at the United Party with all sorts of accusations, the major one being that they were "blind to the threat of communism" and in certain cases siding with it (which likewise was true). Thus the war of words, well mixed with political mud-slinging, raged. Eric H. Louw, M.P. for the National Party, had much to say about the threat of communism in South Africa. Time proved his words true. In a House of Assembly debate, Louw made this disclosure regarding communist activities in South Africa during the war years: "The communist party distributes its books in South Africa and its writings and speeches are quoted from, in communist pamphlets and newspapers."[42]

Brian Bunting, long-time South African communist

Sonia Bunting, wife of Brian, has served the CPSA most of her life

Strange Memorial Library

A CPSA conference held in Johannesburg in the early 1940s reflects their success with a packed house

He said that during a party meeting held in Cape Town, one of the areas in which the meeting was held was "adorned with the Red Star, the official coat of arms of Soviet Russia". During this time a strong effort was made to push the typical "anti-God" ideology of Soviet communism in South Africa. Louw roared forth about the CPSA's pamphlets being distributed in Cape Town. These read:

> "We declare that we do not believe in God and we know very well that the priest and the bourgeoisie (middle classes) spoke in the name of God only for the purpose of promoting their own interests."[43]

Louw and his National Party colleagues were infuriated by this Red propaganda.

He warned of serious unrest among the blacks (which came to pass), which would be caused by communist party propaganda being widely distributed among these people. His words were:

> "On the Rand during March of last year (1943) alone, 30 meetings were held which were addressed by communists, and where, according to their own statements, 120 000 pamphlets were distributed."[44]

He then accused the chief secretary of the CPSA, Moses Kotane, of being a leading culprit in the communist dirty work.

All of these factors combined to strengthen the CPSA. Research reveals that Louw's analysis of the situation was correct. With the advent of the 1940s the Reds were seriously occupied spreading their doctrine far and wide across South Africa. In Cape Town something of a communist college was formed. We read that Marxist Bill Andrews "gave two lectures on South African Trade Unionism before The People's College on 7 and 14 October 1940".[45] The CPSA was riding high during the war years and its success was tremendous.

This period of seeming success continued for several years. One of the main reasons was the ability of district party organizers and speakers to mobilise the masses for lectures and public speeches. One official report listed over 40 public addresses given in the Cape Town area alone by Brian Bunting and his comrades.[46] With a mass literature outreach and the personal touch, the Reds made tremendous strides during the period from about 1942 to 1950.

However, not everything was rosy for the Reds. During the early portion of 1943, some unknown persons entered the offices of the CPSA in Cape Town, smashed the furniture, rifled the place and set it alight.[47] And they were receiving continual opposition from the organization called the OB, mentioned in the following chapter.

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWELVE

1. Unpublished document on CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, pp. 26-27
2. Number 1, p. 25
3. Number 1, p. 26
4. Attempting to obey these instructions, the CPSA in 1933 published a special paper called *Indlela Yenkululeko* (The Road to Freedom) and circulated it widely among the students at Fort Hare College, at that time the only black college in South Africa. The school authorities warned of "dismissal" if the paper continued to circulate. The readers and sympathisers held secret meetings in the bush to read and discuss its contents.
5. The Lithuanian communist, Lazar Bach, went to Durban and attempted to organize a Seamen and Harbour Workers' Union. A few firemen on the whaling boats joined, but the Red front died shortly after Bach's departure from Durban.

   However, during the Dingaan's Day celebration of 16 December 1932 Mike Diamond, brother of the infamous Issy, also himself a barber, was arrested for the distribution of leaflets of revolutionary nature. During those days, Diamond was referred to as the "only white communist in Durban". He was sentenced to six months for the leaflet distribution. The sentence was later suspended. At that stage the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism had found little root in the Durban area.
6. *S.P. Bunting*
   The African Bookman, Cape Town 1943
   By Edward Roux, p. 147
7. Number 6, pp. 147-148
8. Bach had been very active in the underground of the Lithuanian Communist Party before coming to South Africa.
9. In the preface of his book, *Time Longer Than Rope*, Roux wrote: "I left the Communist Party in 1936" p. XI. He concluded with these words: "I am no longer a communist" p. XII.
10. Number 6, p. 148
11. Number 6, p. 152
12. Number 1, p. 26
13. By this time the words "Communism" and "Bolshevism" were becoming a stench in the nostrils of millions of people. Accordingly the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern resolved that the word "Socialist" should henceforth be adopted for use in public, in preference to the words "Communist" or "Bolshevik". (*Assault on Private Enterprise*, Tafelberg, Cape Town, 1977. By A.D. Wassenaar, p. 28)
14. Rumours returned to South Africa that Bach had shared a room with a communist named Laurie, who was accused of sending secret messages to Trotsky. Laurie was executed. Later a charge was laid against Bach that he had grievously sinned in not reporting the actions of Laurie to the NKVD. It is known that Bach was sent to some remote area away from Moscow. He was probably shot.

    Regarding Richter, he had a brother living in Moscow at that time who was the editor of a Jewish newspaper. It is probable that he was also executed.
15. Number 6, p. 155
16. Number 1, p. 28
17. *South African Personalities and Places*
    Kaynor Publishing House, Johannesburg 1959
    By Bernard Sachs, p. 131

18. *Industrial Relations in South Africa.*
Juta & Company, Cape Town 1976
By J.A. Grey Coetzee, P. 32.

19. Edited from *South Africa's Workers: Their Organizations and the Patterns of Employment*
Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg 1969
By Muriel Horrell, p. 10

20. *Comrade Bill*
Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
By R.K. Cope, P. 328

21. Number 1, p. 28

22. Copy located in the Strange Memorial Library, Johannesburg. Listed under S. Pam. 335.43 (68)

23. Andrews wrote of this second visit to Russia: "Moscow was a blaze of light and every street, square and building was beautifully decorated. The mood of the people seemed to be one of happy, quiet confidence. They were proud of their achievements... They walked as men and women who owned all that they saw around them, who were masters of their fate and confident of their destiny. Photographs and pictures cannot convey the colour or the thunderous cheers with which Stalin and other great leaders were greeted by the people." (See chapter 8, under heading Comrade Andrews Goes To Russia, for his first trip to Moscow)

    Looking back over the visit, one is staggered at the gullibility of a man like Andrews. Wined and dined in typical Kremlin fashion, Andrews saw the "glories of socialism" and no more. At the very time Andrews was in Moscow, Stalin was killing millions of his own people in the most horrible blood purges of all Russian history. Andrews returned to South Africa a standard propaganda piece for Moscow. He was firmly convinced that the "smiling faces" parading through Moscow were proof of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. (Number 20, p. 329-330)

    The long, never-ending line of political pilgrims going behind the communists' curtain continues to this present moment. So does the abysmal blindness of men like Andrews, Barlin, Bunting, Jones, Roux, Sachs, Gumede, La Guma, Wolton, Marks and later Bram Fischer, Leslie Messina and Nelson Mandela. Travelling in communist lands, yet stone blind to the greatest atrocities in all human history being committed in these very lands. Somehow seeking for alternatives to the flaws, both small and great in their own governments, they in some mental stupor embraced a system that has for over sixty years done the exact opposite of what they were fighting for. (See number 7 under documentation for chapter 10, and number 14 under chapter 7)

24. Number 1, p. 29

25. "Ray" Rachel Alexander was born into a Jewish family in Latvia in 1913. She emigrated to South Africa in 1929. Ray was a chief organizer of the communist-controlled, multi-racial trade unions in the Western Cape during the early 1930s. She was a member of the CPSA political bureau from 1938 until 1950. In April 1954, Africans in the Western Cape elected her to Parliament as the successor to Sam Kahn and Brian Bunting. She was barred from taking her seat under the Suppression of Communism Act. Along with her husband, she left South Africa in 1965.

    Harold Jack (H.J.) Simons, a lawyer and husband of Ray Alexander, was born in 1907 in Riversdale, in the Cape. He received his Ph.D. from the London School of Economics. Simons was one of the defendants in the famous sedition trial following the African mineworkers' strike of 1946. He was a member of the central committee of the CPSA. Simons left South Africa in 1965.

"Cissie" Zainnunnissee Gool was the daughter of the famous Abdul Abdurahman and was born in Cape Town in 1900. In the 1930s she attempted to wrest control of the Africa People's Organization from her father but failed. Assisted by Reds John Gomas and James La Guma she founded the National Liberation League, a front organization. She was its first president. Gool was a member of the South African Socialist Party and the CPSA political bureau. She lived for a time with Sam Kahn and was jailed in 1946 for her part in the so-called passive resistance campaign. She died in 1963.

Samuel Kahn was born in 1911 in Cape Town. A lawyer and Native Representative in Parliament he was a top South African communist. In 1938 he was elected to the central executive committee of the CPSA, a post which he held until 1950. He visited Russia in 1954, fled South Africa in 1960 and went to London.

Profiles of Alexander, Simons, Gool, Kahn, Dadoo and Watts (numbers 27 & 35 below) are mostly edited from,
From Protest to Challenge Documents Vol. 4
Hoover Institution Press, California, 1977
By Gail M. Gerhart and G.M. Carter.

26. *500 Years History of South Africa*
H.R. Academica, 1969
Edited by Prof. C.F.J. Muller, p. 440

27. Dadoo was born in Krugersdorp in 1909. After completing secondary school in India, he was sent to Edinburgh University and graduated as a doctor of medicine. Returning to South Africa in 1936 he plunged himself into radical politics. In a few years he had gained a national reputation as a militant Indian leader. By 1945 his radical followers had seized control of the formerly moderate Transvaal Indian Congress and he was installed as president. During 1946 he was jailed several times and played a leading role in the African mineworkers' strike of that period. He stood trial along with 51 others. Dadoo became a member of the central committee of the CPSA in the 1940s and remained in this position for years. He fled South Africa in 1960.

28. Number 1, p. 30

29. Number 1, p. 30. These "backward flips" of the Comintern were the accepted standard of the day. For example, between 1934 and mid-1939 it ordered that all communists be "anti-German". Then from August 1939 the Comintern ordered that communists be "pro-German" but only after Stalin had signed a pact with Hitler.

30. *Traitor's End*
Tafelberg-Uitgewers, Cape Town 1970
By Nathaniel Weyl, p. 83

31. Number 30, pp. 83-84

32. Number 30, p. 84

33. This mass, nationwide effort was explained in the CPSA publication, *Communist Plans for Victory*, issued in 1943

34. *Communist Activity in South Africa*
American University Field Staff, ESM, 8, 58
By E.S. Munger pp. 7-8

35. Hilda Watts was a noted South African communist. Born in London in 1915 she came to South Africa in 1934. Her radical political views were originally rooted in the Labour Party. She and her husband, Lionel "Rusty" Bernstein, joined the CPSA in the late 1930s. Hilda served the party in such fronts as the National Union of Distributive Workers, the Federation of South African Women, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Peace Council. Detained in

1960, she fled the country with her husband in 1964, shortly after the Rivonia trial. They went to London.

36. Number 1, p. 30
37. Number 30, p. 85
38. Number 1, p. 31
39. *A Study of Communism*
    Holt, Rienhart & Winston Inc., USA 1962
    By J. Edgar Hoover, p. 128, 142
40. Pamphlet, Strange Memorial Library, Johannesburg, listed under S. Pam. 968, 064 (Sou)
41. Number 40, S. Pam 335. 43
42. *The Communist Danger*
    Publication of the Enlightenment Service of the Reunited Nationalist Party 1943
    By Eric H. Louw, p. 5
43. Number 42, p. 10
44. Number 42, pp. 17-18
45. *Class Struggle in South Africa*
    Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town 1940
    By W.H. Andrews, pp. 40-60
46. Figures given from the sworn testimony of a policeman who infiltrated party meetings in the Cape Town area. (Found in *Report of the Select Committee on Suppression of Communism Act Enquiry*, Pretoria September 1953, pp. 8-47)
47. Reported in *Guardian*, 18 February 1943

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ANTI-SEMITISM AND A "CHANGED" SMUTS

SOUTH AFRICA'S JEWISH BACKGROUND

Numerous Jewish names are listed in this writing. These powerful and unique people have left their permanent mark on almost every major situation of earth's history. Beginning with God's call to Abraham, who was later described as "the Hebrew" (see Genesis 12:1-3 and 14:13), the ancient, wandering Jews, though numerically and geographically insignificant, appear in almost every major role of earth's history. The Jew may be found everywhere and involved in almost everything.[1]

It would be impossible in a study dealing with the CPSA, in which so many Jews have been involved, not to present some detail about these people within the South African context and their various involvements in the different leftist, revolutionary, militant and communist movements.

The old Jewish pedlar played a vital part in early South African history. A Jewish journalist, Mr Hoffman, arrived in South Africa in 1889 via America. After travelling extensively throughout the country, he wrote that the firm and cordial relations that were established between the Jewish immigrants and the Boers were impressive. One of his quotations reads as follows:

> "The farmers in South Africa in general respect the Jews very much and exalt them above all nations under the sun. The Jew, is in their eyes, a hallowed being, a people chosen from all nations, the happiest people under the sun. When a Jew comes to these farmers they receive him with great hospitality. They immediately outspan his horses, bring them into the stable and give them fodder and then the Jewish guest is called inside, is honoured, given food and drink and a place to spend the night without payment. The snakes of anti-Semitism have not yet laid their poisonous eggs in the country."[2]

This was written in 1895.

Famines and cholera in parts of Russia, droughts, Czarist pogroms and other factors compounded to drive millions of Jews from portions of Europe to the lands of the West.

> "The Jewish community of South Africa... was largely furnished by the immigration of Eastern European Jews between 1881 and 1910. During this period about 3 000 000 Jews migrated from Eastern Europe to overseas countries. For Lithuanian Jews... South Africa was viewed only second to North America, as a land of destination. The number of... Jews who came to South Africa grew in the seventies, so that by 1879 there was... in Cape Town, Rapshad's Boarding House..."

It was built for the overseas refugees. By the year "1904, the Jewish population of the Transvaal was estimated at over 15 000".[3] Then a total of 16 523 Jewish immigrants, (from 1927-1936) came into the country. Of this figure, 6 510 came from Lithuania, 1 593 from Latvia and 2 513 from Poland. According to one writer dealing with this subject, "in 1936, 68% of the Jews lived in the four major cities" (of South Africa) and "this had increased to 79% in 1960 and to 84% in 1970".[4] Jews are a people of involvement in the major cities. Some of the early Jews coming into South Africa and their children became

involved in the various leftist and communist movements of the country and this continued for years.

The Sachs family seen here represent the typical Jewish family entering early South Africa. This photo was made in Dvinsk, Latvia, before Mrs Sachs came to South Africa. Baby Solly is seated in the centre. Bernard was not yet born

THE ANTI-JEW, ANTI-COMMUNIST, PRO-HITLER ORGANIZATIONS

Frequently during the skirmishes, strikes, and union disputes of the earlier days, the voice of anti-Semitism was only gently heard, but never on a nationwide scale. However, this did not continue. As more Jews poured into the country and these moved into the urban areas and became absorbed into the social, economic and political mainstream of South African life, the demon of anti-Semitism was manifested. Dr. Malan's Purified National Party suddenly moved to the left and was strongly opposed to the Jews. There was, during this period, a large "influx of Jews from Nazi Germany" and this greatly

disturbed the more conservative and patriotic Afrikaners.[5] Malan called for legislation prohibiting their further entry into South Africa. Another leader in Malan's party described the Jewish people as "a thorn in the flesh".[6] Under severe pressure the Smuts Government was forced to legislate against the influx of Jews. This was called the Alien Act, No. 1, of 1937.

By this time many of the Jewish people were unpopular, especially during and after the depression years. This was partly because they controlled a considerable part of the "business of Johannesburg and other cities".[7] Some of them came from lands which enforced communist systems. Then they began to propagate these in South Africa. This was a slap in the face to the conservative Afrikaner. Finally, numerous Jews were conspicuous in the CPSA and had been for years. And on top of all this there was the war issue.

These circumstances created division among the Afrikaans people. The country buzzed with all sorts of whisperings about "crooked-nose Jews". Thousands of Afrikaners sided with Smuts in the government's war efforts against Nazi Germany. On the other side of the issue thousands were equally opposed to entering the war against Germany. Oddly enough, many of these Afrikaners developed a strange sort of affinity with Hitler and his policies. Some even viewed the Jews in a similar light as Hitler did.

Berlin was world headquarters for final peace. Hitler's doctrine of national socialism and belief in the superior Aryan race were embraced with wild fanaticism by some of the people.

Basically, that generation of Afrikaners carried in their memories the unspeakable cruelty imposed upon their parents and grandparents by the British invaders during the Anglo-Boer War. Over 20 000 of their women and children died like animals in British prison camps. Anything (even the demented Hitler) was better than fighting for the British, in Afrikaner thinking. Hence, their original identification with Hitler. They saw in him, as in themselves, a staunch enemy of hated British imperialism and cast in their lot with Hitler and Nazi Germany. As the war ended, this mood gradually changed. Then, many Afrikaners saw that going from the British to Hitler was like moving from the frying-pan into the fire.

THE MAIN PRO-HITLER ORGANIZATIONS

Organized forms of anti-Semitism started to appear on the South African scene in early 1933. By November of that year, General Smuts, serving as Minister of Justice, made a public denunciation of the various organizations propagating this message of racial hatred across the land. The leading anti-Jew groups of those days were the following:

1. The South African National party — known as the Greyshirts. It was under the leadership of Louis T. Weichardt and F.J. du Toit. Its official publication was called Die Waarheid and its headquarters were in Johannesburg. Weichardt was interned and the movement faded away.
2. The People's Movement — led by H. S. Terblanche with headquarters in Cape Town. It published a one-time journal called Terre Blanche. It widely distributed tracts and pamphlets.
3. The South African National Democratic Party (Blackshirts) — its paper was called Ons Reg. Led by Manie Wessels, with headquarters in the Orange Free State. It had a splinter body called Die Volksbeweging (also Blackshirts). Chris Havemann shared with Wessels the running of both organizations.

Africana Museum

This old photo, taken in 1938, shows hundreds of covered wagons camped at the site (empty pad on right) of the future Voortrekker Monument. From this event the Ossewa-Brandwag movement partially developed. This was during the centenary celebrations

J. F. Jersich

In this picture, taken in Harrismith during the 1938 centenary commemoration of the Great Trek, this little boy, J. F. Jersich, led the oxwagon through the town and laid a wreath at the Burger Monument

4. The South African Fascists — led by Johannes von Strauss von Moltke, a close friend of Weichardt. Small and insignificant, this group faded from the scene due to lack of support.
5. The Gentile Protection League — was directed by J.H.H. de Waal Jnr., who broke away from Weichardt's group in January 1935.
6. From within Parliament itself, appeared a wild anti-Jew, anti-communist but ardently pro-Hitler organization known as Nuwe Order or the New Order. It was directed by Oswald Pirow, a Cabinet Minister. Pirow was abrasive and bluntly outspoken. He was a terror to both Jews and communists. His pro-Nazi organization published a pamphlet entitled New Order for South Africa, which went through seven editions between December 1940 and May 1951. Pirow's group was officially "disowned" by Malan's Nationalists, and its members in the House, numbering about seventeen, were marked men by election time in 1943. None were returned to Parliament.
7. The Ossewa-Brandwag (Ox-Wagon Sentinel). Finally led by Dr. J.F.J. van Rensburg, this organization became the most powerful anti-communist,[8] pro-Hitler movement ever to appear on the stage of South African history. Arising from the enthusiasm and desire for unity among Afrikaans-speaking people during the centenary year of the Great Trek (1938) and from the reaction against the various political feuds of the 1930s, the OB started with wholesome aims and purposes. This soon changed. As an avowed admirer of the German National-Socialist system, deeply impressed by a personal meeting with Hitler, whom he described as "a saint", Van Rensburg infused an increasingly Nazi-like content into his organization. This is

clear from its symbols, oaths and pledge of obedience, and above all its formation of the Storm Troop section known as the Stormjaers. The OB's political ideology was in fact a clear adaptation of Hitler's German National-Socialism, differing mainly in its "Calvinist-Christian" claims. The OB's preaching about bloedsuiwerheid (blood purity) smacked of Hitler's insane ranting about the "pure Aryan race". Countless thousands of well-meaning and God-fearing Afrikaans people went into the OB movement and shared in its varied activities. They never realised it would soon produce its dreaded "Stormjaers" complete with blood-chilling oaths of death and self-destruction, and that this band of wild extremists would become guilty of arson, sabotage, robbery and even murder! To believe the myth that the OB top leadership was never conscious of these facts is to believe that horses lay eggs and chickens produce pineapples!

Dr. van Rensburg annually demonstrated his admiration for "Hitler the saint" by celebrating the German leader's birthday with "drinking and merry dancing". He would say: "We'll get rid of the Jew entirely."[9]

The extreme right-wing radicalism of the OB reached its peak by the mid-1940s. The powerful Afrikaans newspaper Die Vaderland (The Fatherland) "hoped the OB would become the greatest Afrikaans organization outside the church" and stated in another issue: "The OB is of the opinion that a German victory is an obvious condition for an Afrikaner Republic to come into existence. Liberation can happen only as a result of a German victory."[10]

The intolerable fanaticism of the OB was reflected in the numerous clergymen, ministers of certain Afrikaans denominations, who actually refused to let men wearing the uniform of military service into their churches! The uniform of the South African military forces was interpreted as a "sign of traitors".

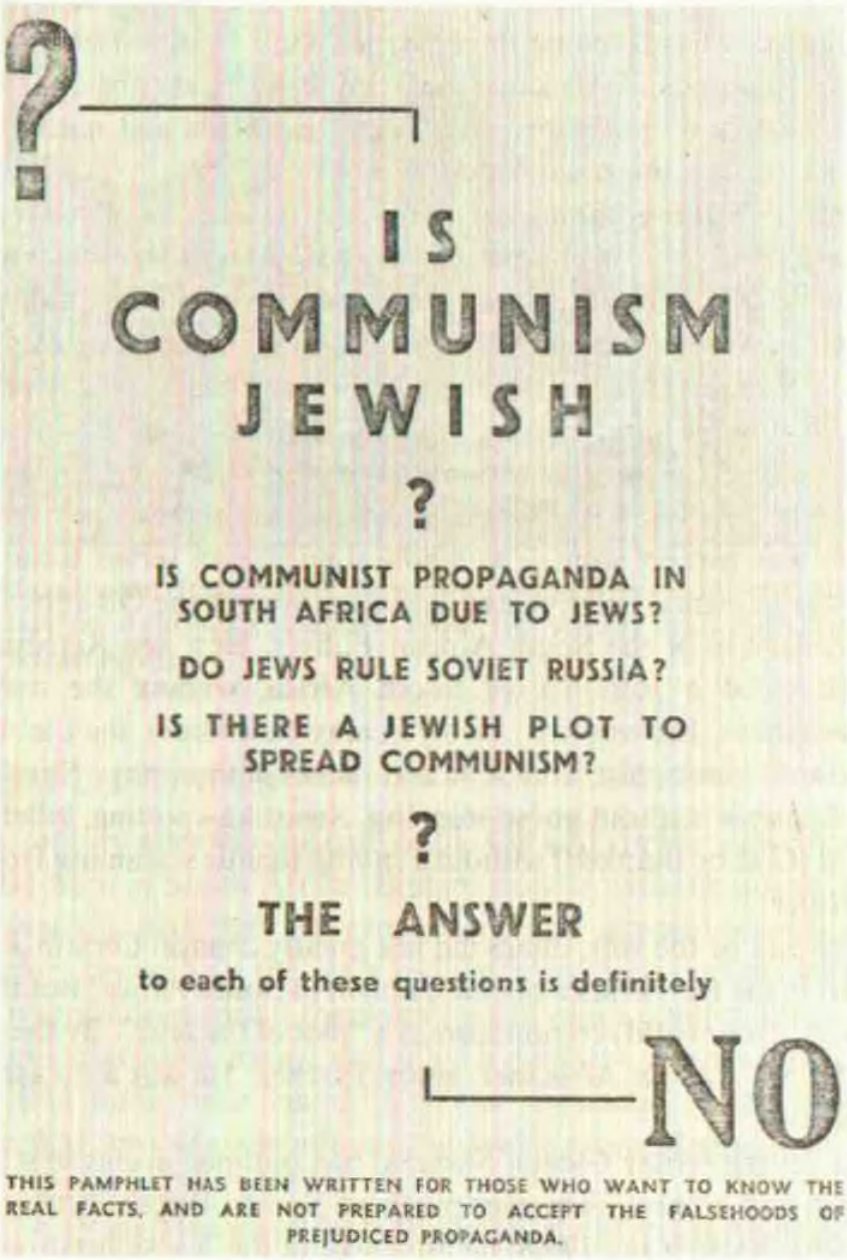
Dr. van Rensburg preached across South Africa these words: "Unless humanity wishes to sink... it must take the socialist path. Our alternative in the days to come will be... between socialism and capitalism. The triumph of socialism is inevitable. We believe in national socialism..."[11] Hitler believed exactly the same and murdered millions trying to achieve his goal. It is interesting that in 1941 Hitler declared: "Basically, national socialism and Marxism are the same"![12] Obviously, Van Rensburg missed this one.

The OB's powerful influence went into countless Afrikaans homes. Thousands of innocent school children at the sincere behest of their parents wore the horrible occult Swastika,[13] while young men sported Hitler-type moustaches and hairstyles. Jews were barred from certain political organizations. In time the Afrikaans nation was divided into two groups; patriots and traitors, according to the OB way of thinking. Even a revision of the infamous Hitler salute was flashed at the OB meetings. Many have struggled to deny the anti-Jew element within OB structures. Such claims are totally ludicrous to say the least. To accept that the movement was so completely Nazi-Hitler-orientated and then, by some miracle, void of all anti-Jewish feelings is to believe the impossible. The OB was a strong anti-communist body, while at the same time it carried powerful anti-Jewish feelings within its ranks, especially as numerous Jews were identified with capitalism and the Smuts government, which was openly sympathetic towards the British. Countless Afrikaners united with the OB, seeing only the religious, patriotic and nationalistic glory of the organization.

"Dr. D.F. Malan, leader of the... Nationalist opposition in Parliament, and General Hertzog, the former Prime Minister, became for a time unwilling bedfellows of the OB."[14]

But this was rather short-lived and in time Malan openly and fearlessly attacked the movement. Even the Afrikaans leader, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, became embroiled in the confusion. As editor of the Nationalist newspaper Die Transvaler, he was accused of spreading Nazi doctrine. He brought a suit for libel but lost the case. The Afrikaans people explained it away by saying it was because the presiding judge, Justice Millin, was Jewish.

According to the testimony of Bernard Sachs, a Jew, a communist, an enemy of the government and brother of Solly, "Verwoerd (as far as he could recollect) never attacked the Jews".[15]


?
IS
COMMUNISM
JEWISH
?
IS COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN SOUTH AFRICA DUE TO JEWS?
DO JEWS RULE SOVIET RUSSIA?
IS THERE A JEWISH PLOT TO SPREAD COMMUNISM?
?
THE ANSWER
to each of these questions is definitely
NO
THIS PAMPHLET HAS BEEN WRITTEN FOR THOSE WHO WANT TO KNOW THE REAL FACTS, AND ARE NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE FALSEHOODS OF PREJUDICED PROPAGANDA.

Strange Memorial Library

This publication was issued by Jewish leaders in an effort to clear their race of the allegation of being responsible for world communism

THE JEWISH ANSWER AND THE AFRIKANER NAZIS

Patriotic, freedom-loving South African Jews hurried to combat the avalanche of propaganda aimed at their race. A pamphlet issued by a group called the Jewish Publication Society hotly denied Jewish association with communism. It was called, Is

Communism Jewish? A copy is located in the Strange Memorial Library in Johannesburg. It is a rather feeble attempt to rescue the Jewish people from the accusation of being responsible for communism. Many better-prepared publications were issued during this period. Gustav Saron produced the paper, Nazi models and South African Imitations. Dr. A.H. Jonker produced a booklet on, Nazi uprisings within South Africa. It was broadcast in English and Afrikaans to the entire nation. As far back as June 1939, Charles Harris, the secretary of the Mineworkers' Union, a Jew, was shot dead outside his office by a political enemy. This cowardly act reveals the heated passion of the Jew-haters of those days. Harris' killer was never caught, at least in this life!

Certain future National Party members were interned during the war for their part in the pro-Nazi OB activities. Among these was a future Prime Minister of South Africa, John Vorster.[16] Thousands of Afrikaners were involved, in varying degrees, in the work of the movement. Scores of policemen were secret members and numerous professional persons were drawn into the organization.

Dr. van Rensburg's anti-communism was clearly obvious for all to see and hear — and his anti-Semitism was just as prominent. History has proven that Hitler's anti-communism was not as genuine as it seems. He signed a secret pact with Joseph Stalin, but later when, to his calculated advantage, he suddenly turned anti-communist, he held public burnings of communist literature. Then he attacked the Soviet Union, thereby breaking the pact.

However, one thing is sure. Passing time has demonstrated that the deeply patriotic Afrikaners who served so sincerely within various OB ranks were sincerely wrong! Their wistful dreams of a Republic which was to be established by the victory of the Nazis, was at the end of the war turned sour. The whole ugly dream serves today as a historical correction for the informed children and grandchildren of the OB adherents who blindly followed the leadership of the South African Führer, Herr van Rensburg.

Time has provided a Republic of South Africa, without the ruthless Nazis, the Greyshirts, Blackshirts, Brownshirts, Pirow's crazy New Order, the Liebbrandts, the Van Rensburgs, the anti-communist, anti-Jews and racists of those days. South Africa received its longed-for Republic without goose-stepping, Swastika-sporting, killer gestapo and SS murderers. And (God be thanked) without a raving lunatic screaming from the balconies, called Adolf Hitler!

Following the end of the war, things did not greatly change. Certain Jews continued to play a large part in the furtherance of communism in South Africa. But this hardly proves South African (or even world) communism is a "plot of the Jews". By the 1960s the known leader of the CPSA was an Afrikaner, Bram Fischer. He was ably assisted by various Jewish personalities.

The popular Jewish writer Gideon Shimoni has outlined in classic style the part Jews played in leftism and communism over much of South African history. Starting in the 1920s and passing through the 1960s, he lists most of the Jewish personalities involved in left-wing politics, socialism, Marxism and outright communism. Some of the names he gives are Molly Wolton (Zelikowitz), Lazar Bach, Max and Louis Joffe, Rebecca Bunting (Notlowitz), Solly and Bernard Sachs, Bennie Weinbren, Fanny Klenerman, Michael Harmel, Sam Kahn, Issy Wolfson, Katy Kagan, Issy Diamond, Eli Weinberg, Yettah Barenblatt, Hymie Barsel, Lionel Bernstein, Leon and Norman Levy, Sydney Shall, Joe and Ruth Slovo, Sonia Bunting, Lionel Forman, Isaac Horvitch, Ben Turok, Jacqueline and Rowley Arenstein, Errol and Dorothy Shanley, Monty Berman, Adrian Leftwich, Bertram Hirson, Neville Rubin and others.[17]

This long list of Jewish names is not as impressive as it seems. In the South African

Government's first listing of "persons who have been office bearers, officers, members or active supporters of the CPSA" there is a total of 435 names. Of this number 66 are clearly identifiable as Jews, 61 are white non-Jews and two are uncertain. The remaining 306 are blacks, coloureds and Indians. These facts again explode the "Jewish-communist" myth.[18] Nor did Jews always control all positions of CPSA leadership.

MacMillan

The Hitler fanatic Dr. van Rensburg enters the Brakpan Town Hall to deliver one of his famous speeches on national socialism. Note the young man with the Hitler-type moustache (bottom right)

ANTI-SEMITISM CONTINUES

Almost half a century after the collapse of the OB and similar movements, the fires of anti-Semitism still burn in South Africa. Bridges painted with the slogan "communism is Jewish" and swastikas plastered on synagogues and Jewish schools are periodical occurrences. History proves that the Jews have been involved in many leftist, communist and subversive organizations round the world; yet to make communism a "plot of world Jewry" on the basis that some, many, and often a majority of Jews took part, is absurd. The author of this book once heard a former president of the American Zionist Association state that Jews who abandoned the Jewish race and went to communism were "renegades and traitors to Jewry".[19]

A South African Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, stated in the Assembly regarding the Jewish question that "there was no room in South Africa for communists or neo-Nazis" and said that the remarks of the leader of "Die Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (The Afrikaans Resistance Movement) were objectionable and offensive to the Jewish people".[20] As previously stated, South Africans have not heard the last of the "Jewish conspiracy" cult. It is alive and well and deeply rooted in the Republic, even to the extent of bringing (secretly) into the country vicious literature and holding secret meetings. Pretoria and portions of Natal are major centres of their activities. The prominence given to The Afrikaans Resistance Movement by the press has served to revive memories of the OB.

During December of 1982, South African Security Police launched mass raids across the

country. They "found arms caches and the secret locations of the so-called Resistance Movement in various centres".[21] Some allege this highly secret organization is an attempt to emulate the OB of former days. They may be right. However, only time will tell the truth regarding this organization. One thing is sure: the communists are pleased with every movement and organization that succeeds in stirring up strife, hatred and bitterness across the nation. From the viewpoint of basic Marxism-Leninism, this is one of the prerequisites before they can "spring" their beloved revolution.

The spirit of anti-Semitism is still alive and well in South Africa. The markets are filled with "documentaries" and "factual publications" that "prove" the Jew is the hidden foe. This mountain of sub-literature includes the forgery called, The Myth of Six Million, and that grand king of fraudulent documents, The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion. Those who read this literary rubbish and believe its half-truths and half-lies would do themselves a favour by finding a Bible and studying carefully the Old Testament book of Esther. Here we read the factual historical account of how God dealt with an early Jew-hater named Haman.[22]

OB sabotage of a Boksburg shop

MacMillan

OB Stormjaer hand-grenades captured by the police

AN URGENT APPEAL TO OUR CHRISTIAN MOTHERS

If you still buy from Jews, why continue to do so? Jews support Jews. Let us, therefore, support our own people; even if we have to pay slightly more.

The Jews are united and cunning. We are disunited and thoughtless. The Jews are gradually taking national control in business and professions, whilst we are daily sinking without hope or chance. Our children must work for them at what wages? Starvation! what conditions? th often immoral!

MOTHERS! You are the builders of our nation. You are responsible for your children. See that they are provided for, it is your duty. Be steadfast, and let your slogan be: **We buy nothing from Jews**. Don't forget, they trade under cover of good old English, Dutch or fancy company names—do not be deceived—make sure. A stitch in time saves nine.

MOTHERS! Be true to yourselves. Before you spend a penny ask yourselves these questions: *Is my Grocer a Jew? Is my Lawyer a Jew? Is my Doctor a Jew? Is my Dairyman a Jew? Is my Butcher a Jew? And do they buy from Jews?* Every penny spent with Jews means further suffering to our children.

Jews stick together—let us do likewise. MOTHERS! our salvation lies with you—be true and loyal. You must foster a closer co-operation. Act now or you will have plenty of time for regrets.

Grant yourself a few minutes for intelligent consideration of the contents of this bulletin—it is a duty you owe to the future of your children and your nation!

After you have read this please pass it on to a friend.

Issued by the Grey-Shirt Office, Dwars-in-die-Weg, N. Paarl

Printed by Economic Press, Wellington

Strange Memorial Library

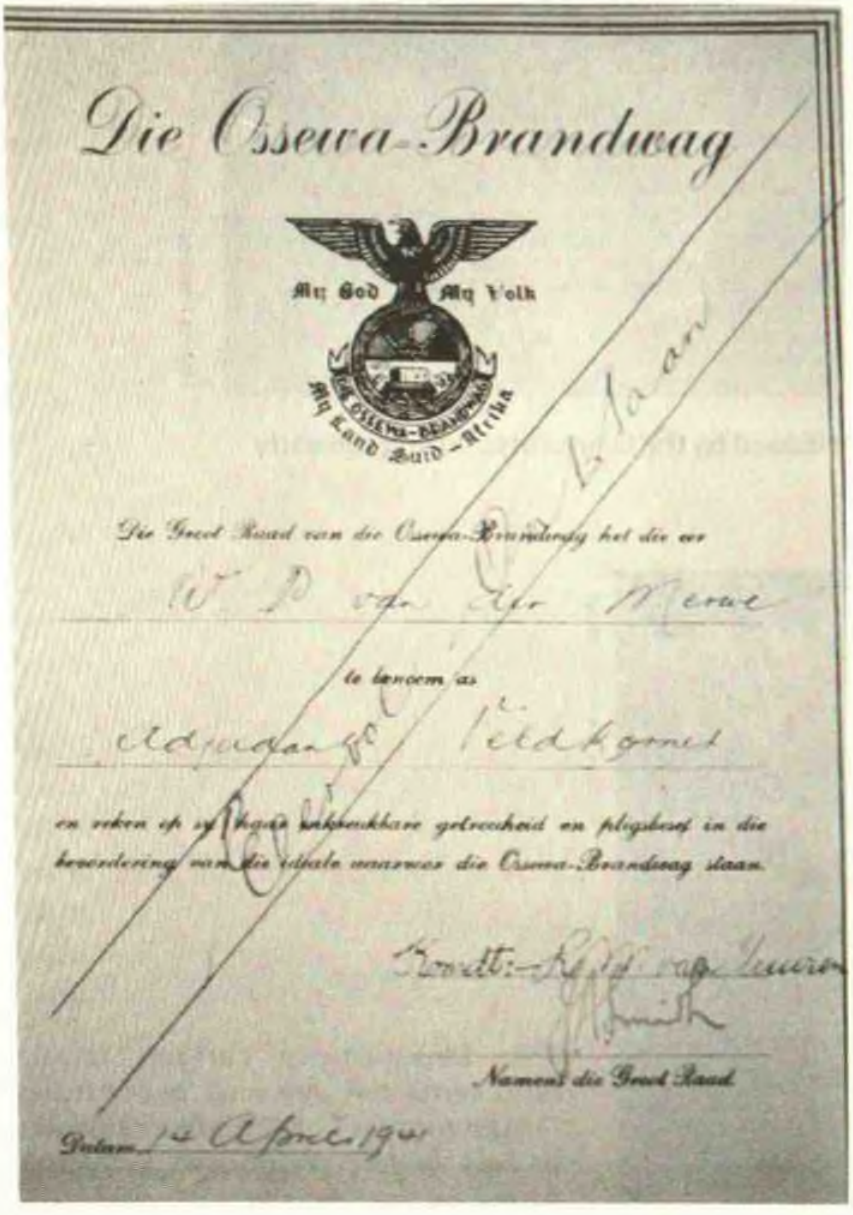
A hate sheet issued by the Greyshirts during the early war years

Strange Memorial Library

This blasphemous cartoon falsely represents the Jews as committing "ritual murder" of Christian children. It was widely distributed in South Africa by the Greyshirts.

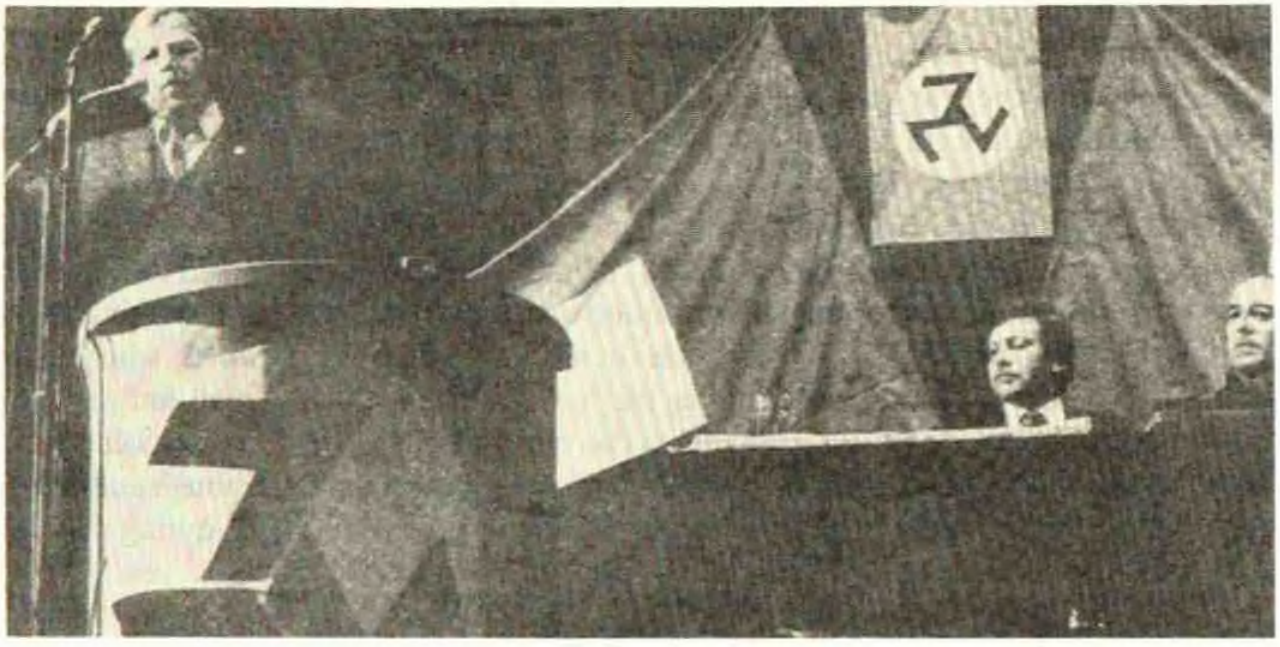
MacMillan

Ammunition, weapons and explosives captured by police in a raid on a secret OB arms location in Durban



Africana Museum

Copy of a discharge certificate issued in 1941 to a member of the OB, W. P. van der Merwe



Sunday Express

Die Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging at a meeting in Pretoria. Eugene Terre'Blanche, the group's fiery leader, is speaking. Note the emblem resembling a revised Swastika

Who's Who

The Hitlerite Minister of Justice, Oswald Pirow

SMUTS, THE "CHANGED AND KINDLY MAN"

Despite national criticism of the OB and its criminal deeds, the Smuts Government took no really effective or stern measures that proved successful in stopping the organization. Even after it was declared a "subversive movement", it continued. Smuts's manifest impotence in dealing with the pro-Nazis remains one of the enigmas of South African history. While thousands of South Africans were fighting and dying in North Africa to destroy the Nazis, back home, Smuts turned a half-blind eye to the very organization

fighting to establish a Nazi Socialist State in South Africa.

The communists, once the enemies of Smuts, were quick to detect his changed attitudes. During a part of the war years, he sided with them on various issues. Former communist Bennie Weinbren, once a bitter enemy of Smuts (when the General was crushing the Red Revolution during the 1922 strike), wrote of him: "A changed man was revealed to those who had known of him in the pre-1924 days. Gone was the ruthless tyrant of the 1907-1922 period and in his stead was a patient, kindly man full of understanding and tolerance."[23] Smuts' firm stand against attempted revolution and subversion was mostly a thing of the past. Now he was becoming a "darling of the devils". Weinbren extols Smuts, who, on the occasion of Andrews' 80th birthday, wrote the "delightful letter" below, (Bill Andrews was South Africa's oldest and most outstanding communist leader). Here, reproduced in full, is the correspondence between comrade Andrews and General Smuts. Though undated in the original documentation, the correspondence must have taken place during 1950, as Smuts died in September of 1950 and Andrews in December of the same year.

"My dear Andrews,

Though belated by a few days, I wish to send you my warm congratulations on your eightieth anniversary, and wish you health and strength for the years that still lie ahead. We two — almost the same age — have passed through an era of great events, and have much to look back upon and to ruminate over. Often our courses have clashed, but always too I hope, there has been respect for each other in spite of our differences. And now as we near the end, we can salute each other and wish each other well for what may lie ahead.

With much good wishes,

I remain, yours faithfully,
J.C. Smuts"

Communist Bill Andrews sent the following answer to Smuts' letter of greetings:

"My dear General,

Thank you very much for your kind message of congratulations and good wishes on the eightieth anniversary of my birthday. Yes, in spite of our differences, which I suppose arise from the observations of social phenomena from different angles, we have at least one thing in common — our age. Those who remember and took some part in affairs from the early days of the Witwatersrand goldfields are becoming few in number. Their work, whatever it may have been, is drawing to a close. It should therefore be possible as you suggest for mutual respect to exist between old warriors who have fought well and honourably, although generally on the opposite sides of the barricades. I hope to congratulate you in a few days on completing your eightieth year.

Your life has been crowned with stirring scenes and dramatic happenings, with great responsibilities shouldered, and with international and national honours conferred such as fall to the lot of few men.

I agree, we can salute and pass on with calmness and dignity to meet whatever the fates have prepared.

With very good wishes,
Yours sincerely,
W.H. Andrews"

Smuts sent a final reply to Andrews' letter containing these words:

"My dear Andrews,

What a very nice and welcome letter you have written me. I do want to say to you in all sincerity that I appreciate it very much. So old comrades of the wars salute each other as they pass from the stage.

Yours sincerely,
J.C. Smuts".[24]

General Smuts passed into eternity within a month of writing these letters to communist Bill Andrews. Andrews himself died three months later.[25]

Africana Museum

The "Labour Party crypto-communist" Jessie McPherson (centre) with Mrs. Bennie Weinbren and a city official, Mr. Meyers

COMMUNISM, THE "TRIVIAL THING"

"Before the war ended, Malan had openly condemned Smuts for accepting the terms of the Yalta Agreement,[26] which in Malan's view gave communist domination over most of Europe."[27] Further, as far as internal conditions in South Africa were concerned, Smuts actually went so far as to declare that communism was a "trivial thing".[28] Smuts' obvious weakness in dealing with the serious menace of communism in South Africa was greatly exploited in the election issues of 1948. Malan again attacked Smuts for his lazy attitude towards communism and his friendly attitude towards such groups (actually communist fronts) as the Springbok Legion that were furthering the aims of communism. Malan even charged that the Minister of Justice, H.G. Lawrence, had been a patron of the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union, along with other United Party MPs. He further stated that a number of the trade unions were affiliated to the CPSA and he specifically called Mrs. Jessie McPherson, ex-chairman of the Labour Party and a one-time mayoress of Johannesburg, a "Labour Party crypto-communist".[29] Smuts' soft attitude towards a common enemy was obvious to the conservative Afrikaner. It was one of the causes of his defeat in the general election of 1948.

Members of the Smuts Government made serious blunders in the House of Assembly debates and public speeches when answering questions about communism in South Africa. It was to cost them dearly in the election. We read in a United Party newsletter published by O.A. Oosthuizen, chief secretary of the Smuts party, these startling words: "The leaders of the Re-united Nationalist Party are doing everything in their power to spread the rumour that... communism involves a danger to South Africa... the campaign of lies against communism (is) the most fraudulent knavery in the history of the

(National) party..."[30] The same Mr. Oosthuizen, in another United Party newsletter, actually referred to the National Party as "extremely unchristian" because they described the Soviet Union as a "land of atheists and Godlessness".[31]

Finally another United Party Minister spoke these disturbing words during an election speech in Heidelberg: "Communism is not dangerous today..."[32]

Being condemned by their own words, such absurd and ill-informed statements played a considerable part in sweeping the United Party from office in 1948.

A rare photo showing a communist demonstration in the streets of Durban during the late 1930s

Underwood & Underwood

With a stroke of their pens, Roosevelt and Churchill signed millions into the darkness of communism at the Yalta Conference in 1945

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1. Regarding the breathtaking fable of "Anglo-Israelism or British-Israelism", few heresies have so violated most rules of geography, history, philosophy, physiology and ethnology as this one.

   Their amazing revelations that Jews are not Israelites and Israelites are not Jews, find their origin in a Briton named Richard Brothers, who was later sent to a mental hospital where he died. Unfortunately for the world, his crazy theology did not die with him. For the best explanation of this untruth, see *The Kingdom of the Cults* by W.R. Martin, pp. 295-323, and *Dake's Annotated Reference Bible*, pp. 367-409.

2. *A History of the Jews in South Africa, from earliest times to 1895*
   Published by South African Jewish Board of Deputies, Johannesburg 1935
   By Herrman Lewis, pp. 181-182

   The snakes of anti-Semitism have laid their poisonous eggs since the early days of Old Testament history. And some of them have been planted and hatched in the most unexpected places.

   The famed leader of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther, had his own heart filled with this poison towards the Jewish race. His words were: "The Jews deserve the most severe penalties. Their synagogues should be levelled, their homes destroyed, they should be exiled into tents like the gypsies. Their religious writing should be taken from them. All professions should be closed to them. Only the hardest, coarsest work should be permitted them. Rich Jews should have their fortunes confiscated, and the money used to support Jews who are willing to be converted." Luther continues with these words: "If all these measures are unsuccessful, the Christian princes should have the duty of driving the Jews from their lands as they would rabid dogs." (*The Unholy War*, Thomas Nelson Publishers, Nashville, Tenn. 1980. By Marius Baar, p. 121)

   "Centuries later when the Nazis came to power in Germany, they used statements by Martin Luther to propagate their policy of anti-Semitism."
   (*The Last Word on the Middle East*. Kingsway Publications, Eastbourne, England 1982. By Derek Prince, p. 129)

   The renowned early Christian preacher John Chrysostom (340-420 AD), known as "the golden voiced one", carried in his heart hatred for the Jews and even said so openly. (See his unholy statements in, *The Anguish of the Jews*. Macmillian Publishing Company, New York 1965. By Edward H. Flannery, pp. 48-49)

3. *The Jews in South African History*
   Oxford University Press, London 1955
   Edited by Gustav Saron and Louis Hotz, pp. 59, 69 and 222

4. For more details see
   Jewish South Africans
   Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University 1977
   By A.A. Dubb, pp. 21-30

5. *500 Years History of South Africa*
   Published by H.R. Academica, Pretoria 1969
   Edited by C.F.J. Muller, p. 438

6. Number 5, p. 438. This was Oswald Pirow, a Cabinet Minister.

7. *Traitor's End*
   Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
   By Nathaniel Weyl, p. 80

8. Leader of the OB, Dr. van Rensburg, continually made speeches on the Reef, calling for the banning of the CPSA and such fronts as the Springbok Legion. A sample of these may be found in Strange Memorial Library, Johannesburg, listed under S. Pam. 335, 43 (68). Simultaneously, communist leader Bill Andrews was calling for the banning of Van Rensburg's OB.

9. *O.B. Traitors or Patriots*
MacMillan of South Africa, 1976
By Col. George C. Visser, pp. 168, 183

For Dr. van Rensburg's side of the story see
Their Paths Crossed Mine: Memoirs of the Commandant-General of the Ossewa-Brandwag.
S.A. Central News Agency, Johannesburg, 1956
By J.F.J. van Rensburg

The author has ploughed through a complete book of Dr. van Rensburg's speeches as well as his autobiography. He has found only one meaningful comment regarding the mass murder of millions of Jews by Hitler and his hatchetmen: "The cold-blooded mass murder of Jews is a blot on Christian humanity" (second documentation number 9, p. 109. See number 11 for these speeches). Christianity had nothing to do with it; rather a demon-possessed ex-wallpaper hanger was the blackguard and his supporters around the world, of which Van Rensburg was the leading one in South Africa. (For more on Hitler's support, see note number 22, under documentation for chapter 32)

10. *Die Vaderland*, 1 January 1942 and 8 August 1942

11. *Some Facts about the Ossewa-Brandwag*
Stellenbosch, 1944
Speeches by the Commandant-General van Rensburg, pp. 33-34, 93

12. Quoted in *American Opinion*, Belmont, Mass. USA, February 1977, p. 19

13. It is beyond dispute that the Nazi movement was occult (i.e. devil) inspired. See, *The Hidden Dangers of the Rainbow*. Huntington House Inc. Shreveport, La., USA 1983 pp 90-120. By Constance Cumbey. And, *The Occult and the Third Reich*. MacMillan Press, USA, 1974. By Jean-Michel Angebert, pp. X-XII

14. First documentation of number 9, p. 13
"In 1941 Malan called on all members of the HNP (not to be confused with the present group bearing that name) to resign from the OB." (*The Star*, 30 October 1941)

15. *The Road from Sharpeville*
Marzani and Munsell, New York 1961
By Bernard Sachs, p. 34

16. For a review of these internments see first documentation of number 9, pp. 208-209. For the communist version see *Guardian*, 3 January 1941 and 20 February 1941.
Shortly after the end of the war, the OB began to die out as an effective organization. *Die Burger*, 27 August 1946, reported it was "beginning to wilt". The *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 January 1947, declared "its membership had shrunk to about 800".

By 1953, the stigma attached to the criminal deeds committed by certain members of the OB had almost vanished. Members of the National Party who had been ardent supporters of the movement came to the fore in political activities. Balthazar Johannes Vorster, an ex-internee at Koffiefontein and member of the OB, became South Africa's seventh Prime Minister on 13 September 1966.

17. For a good review of Jews involved in South African communism see:
Jews and Zionism: The South African Experience (1910-1967)

Oxford University Press, Cape Town 1980
By Gideon Shimoni, pp. 150-152, 227-234, 286, 295

18. *Government Gazette Extraordinary*, Vol. VI, 16 November 1962 pp. 2-28

19. The Jew Karl Marx hated his own race. His lesser-known work, *A World Without Jews*, drips with hatred for the Jewish people. The popular illusion that Marxism will forever end all forms of racism and class distinctions has been proved totally false after over 60 years of practice in the Soviet Union. Marx was a sick and evil man of paranoid dimensions. See the excellent documentary on this subject, *Karl Marx, Racist*. Arlington House, New York 1979. By Nathaniel Weyl.

20. *The Star*, 16 April 1982, and *Sunday Times*, 18 April 1982.
Mr. Botha had also been a member of the OB but had resigned in 1941. (The *Cape Times*, 2 May 1983.) *The Sunday Times*, 18 April 1982, carried the story that "members of the South African Police have been warned not to join the resistance movement".

21. *Sunday Express*, 19 December 1982

22. Any person of influence who dares to give an undistorted version of the crimes and evils of the guilty Jews or the miserable failures and suffering imposed by certain black African tyrants and dictators, will immediately be branded as "anti-Semitic" or a "racist" by portions of the liberal media, the liberal church and its kind. This simply reveals how sick men are.

    No better researched and documented volume has ever been written concerning the "total Jewish conspiracy" myth than the classic, *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution*. Arlington House Publishers, New Rochelle, N.Y., 1974. Its writer is the serious and authoritative Antony C. Sutton.

23. *2000 Casualties*
Trade Union Council of South Africa, Johannesburg 1961
By Walker and Weinbren p. 184

24. Letters reproduced from
South African Personalities and Places
Kaynor Publishers, Johannesburg 1959
By Bernard Sachs, pp. 39-40

25. A few years prior to this exchange of letters between Smuts and Andrews, communist Bill Andrews penned these words about General Smuts: "I am not likely to forget nor lightly to forgive the numerous occasions when the present Prime Minister has brutally suppressed the attempt of various sections of the workers to secure... a human standard of living."
(Comrade Bill Stewart Printing Company, Cape Town n.d.
By R.K. Cope, p. 338)

26. History has well vindicated these words of Dr. Malan. Signed on 11 February 1945, the Yalta Agreement finally gave Stalin and the Soviet Union millions of human slaves.

27. *Afrikaner Politics in South Africa*
University of California Press 1974
By Newell M. Stultz, pp. 121-122

28. *House of Assembly Debates* — Vol. 63, 15 March 1948
Cols. 3190-3214

29. Number 28, cols. 3214-3217
Stultz quotes Malan as saying that McPherson was a "well-known communist". (Number 27. pp. 122-123)

30. *The Communist Danger*
Publication of the Enlightenment Service of the Reunited Nationalist Party 1943
By Eric H. Louw, p. 4

31. Number 30. p. 9
32. Number 30, p. 20

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

COMMUNIST FRONTS AND A RED CLERGYMAN

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FRONTS

The Soviet Union controls a large worldwide propaganda apparatus for the purpose of defending its policies, attacking its enemies and generally furthering the cause of Marxism-Leninism. This operates through the Kremlin government, with its embassies, news agencies, radio networks, books and periodicals, as well as through the Soviet Communist Party and fraternal parties under its discipline throughout the world.

There is also a network of sympathising mass organizations or "democratic organizations" better known in the free West as front organizations. They are described as such because they provide a facade for para-communist activities. The fronts are deliberately camouflaged to conceal, as far as possible, their ultimate goals.

Communist front organizations have a long history. In 1921 when Lenin conceived the idea of spreading communism through the trade unions, youth organizations and other bodies, he used the term "transmission belts". Later, a Finnish communist Dr. Otto Kuusinen, at a meeting of the Comintern Executive Committee in March 1926, advocated "creating a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees around the Communist Party... actually working under the influence of the Party..."[1]

The task of forming such "solar systems" around the party was given to a German communist, Willie Münzenberg. He cynically called these groups his "Innocents Clubs". Many such bodies were flourishing in Europe during the 1930s.[2]

AIMS OF FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

The final purpose of all fronts is to advance the cause of Soviet communism, to defend Soviet policies (regardless of what they may be or how abruptly they may change) and to attack the policies or persons of those who effectively oppose the communist cause. What makes an organization a communist front is its inner directing nucleus of Marxist masterminds.

Fronts also act as channels for recruiting new members into the party, particularly among socialistically inclined movements, trade unions, so-called internationalists, pacifists and any other specialised group for which a particular front may cater. They provide a cover for secret communist activities and, where the actual party may be banned (as in the South African context), for the party itself. Many fronts seek to mould and manipulate public opinion and clamour for their "view" to be expressed continually through the national and even international mass media.

Nearly all fronts of any size publish their own newspaper. This has been especially true of the South African scene. Through these channels they present faithfully the party line, though often it is well couched in the cursed Aesopian language. In the history of the

CPSA there have been literally scores of front organizations in operation. For the most part they have been supported by non-communists, largely people of liberal views and of considerable distinction in their various walks of life. The policies of all fronts, as far as possible, are strictly controlled by the few seasoned communists hidden away within the organizations.

THE TWO MAJOR TYPES OF FRONTS

Trained and disciplined communists across the world know that in order to accomplish their "historical role" they must use the people. Their influence must reach far beyond the actual party membership. This is realised by a wide variety of means. A few of these are propaganda, demonstrations, appeals for sympathy, operating through front organizations, and infiltrating and gaining control of non-communist groups which have a specialised emphasis in sensitive areas. The communists always present themselves as friends, defenders and champions of the people's rights. Any popular issue, regardless, may be seized upon and given a strong emotional appeal, leading to conflict and physical violence if considered necessary.

In brief, communist fronts may be classified into two groups:[3] First, the "created" front movement and, second, the "captive" front. If there is no organization through which they may work, they simply create one. The preferred method is to infiltrate party members into non-communist organizations for the purpose of exercising influences for communism. This standard tactic has been employed across the history of the CPSA, but it came to the fore as a specialised method during and after the war.

Many organizations in South Africa that started out with clean and politically wholesome purposes were, in time, to become the tools of the very people and ideologies they abhorred. Others were actually created for special communist aims and purposes. Several of the larger and more effective fronts are discussed in the following pages. Many of the smaller ones are briefly mentioned.

The South African Communist Youth League displays the hammer and sickle from the stage in Cape Town City Hall in 1943

Drum

Dr. G. H. Gool, one of the few moderates in the NEUM. He was forced out by the radicals

Drum

W. M. Tsoti, a moderate in the All Africa Conference (AAC) and NEUM. He too was forced out by the Marxist radicals

A Red demonstration on Cape Town docks. The big man (left) is a policeman

THE SPRINGBOK LEGION

It is still debated in certain "academic" circles whether the communists did in fact use various organizations in South Africa. This question can be finally answered by one of the CPSA's former top men, Dr. Ed Roux, who admitted that the CPSA was "domineering in the mass organizations, antagonising all non-party, fellow-travellers in trade unions and in the Friends of the Soviet Union".[4] Again the former communist, Dr. Roux, makes this statement that should settle the debate:

> "The communists hoped to capitalize on the sentiments of soldiers returning from the war and took over the ex-servicemen's organization called the Springbok Legion ..."[5]

The Legion was an amalgamation of three groups in December 1941 at Kaffirskraal.

Strange Memorial Library

A rare photo showing a meeting of the Springbok Legion in 1944 in Johannesburg

The three groups were the Springbok Legion, formed in September 1941 at Kaffirskraal; the Soldier's Interest Committee, formed in Addis Ababa in May 1941, and the Union of Soldiers, formed among members of the First South African Brigade in Egypt in June 1941. The three merged in December 1941, and took the name Springbok Legion. Their first national congress was held in Johannesburg in February 1944. The sixth point in their constitution called for Liberty — Equity — Fraternity. These demands were used by the French and Bolshevik revolutionists. At this first national congress, Jock Isakowitz was elected chairman and Jack Hodgson national secretary. Both were dedicated communists. There were also many non-communists in the legion. This gave the organization the respectability so badly needed.

By June/July 1942, only six months after its official creation, it was already reflecting communist propaganda. Its official publication, Fighting Talk, hotly protested against the South African Military Police interrupting a communist party meeting in Johannesburg and ordering the soldiers present to leave. The following year, leading communist Lionel Bernstein printed a booklet called 'D' Day for Democracy, which was filled with sharp Marxist-Leninist propaganda.[6]

While the outspoken Jack Hodgson served the CPSA as the national secretary of the Legion, communist Lionel Bernstein was editor of Fighting Talk. Other Reds who played leading roles in the Legion were Petrus Beyleveld, Ruth First (Slovo) and her husband Joe Slovo. They were ably assisted by comrades "John Morley-Turner, Jock Isakowitz and V.C. Berrangé".[7] Even the far-left female labourite, Jessie McPherson was associated with the Legion. As the movement began to lose its popularity there was a mad rush to gain a new respectability with the general public. Fighting Talk began to present various articles by so-called non-communists. These included articles by such writers as Doris Lessing, Diego Rivera, Jean P. Sartre, Alex Hepple, Harry Bloom, Rev. Trevor Huddleston and Louis Burnham, editor of Paul Robeson's paper, Freedom.[8] Burnham would frequently quote Robeson in his articles.

The Legion was busy pumping its communist line into a part of South African life. A deluge of paper-and-ink propaganda was streaming from its office in 96 Main Street, Johannesburg. With the Nationalist Government hot on its trail it issued a special booklet called, Will We Be Banned For This? Other widely circulated pieces of literature were, The

Lesson of Belgium; 13 000 Casualties; Ex-Servicemen ... 'shun'; Save S.A. — From the Nats; and a well-prepared publication called, Action Stations, A Crisis Call!

With the obvious communist control of the Legion it began to die as an effective national movement. Its offices were raided on numerous occasions by the Security Police and the conservative element of the press was never sympathetic. Finally, this front was banned in 1953. Most of its hard-core communist leadership was absorbed into the Congress of Democrats (COD), another front body.[9] It was at this point that Malan charged Smuts with being "friendly" with this and other communist front organizations in South Africa — a charge which was justified.

Strange Memorial Library

A booklet produced by the Springbok Legion

Communist Jack Hodgson

State Library - Pretoria

A CPO demonstration in Cape Town streets during the mid-1940s

COMMUNISM AND THE COLOURED PEOPLE

In about 1902, the African Political (later called People's) Organization (APO) was formed. Its president was the powerful and very popular coloured leader, Dr. Abdul Abdurahman.

The APO fought diligently for the rights of the coloured people, especially in the Cape areas. Successful communist influence among the coloureds was small, until the 1940s. One factor which proved a giant handicap to the communists seeking to penetrate and use the coloured movements and unite them with the black groups was that among the coloureds "there is little enthusiasm for association with Africans..."[10]

Nevertheless, the CPSA and various forms of communist doctrine filtered into the coloured communities in the early 1940s. In 1943, the ruling United Party, under Smuts, set up a "Coloured Advisory Board" with the goal of giving the coloured people a channel through which to express themselves to the government. This resulted in deep political division among the coloureds. One group interpreted this as another "trick of the government to further oppress the coloureds" and they immediately formed an Anti-Coloured Advisory Council Movement.[11] In December 1943, this "anti" group became a rabid Trotskyite communist organization, under the cover name of the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM). Like all other groups of this nature, there were many innocent people of goodwill unwittingly involved in its activities.

The NEUM consisted primarily of intellectuals and had a powerful influence in university circles. In time, the NEUM "succeeded in capturing the oldest and once by far the most impressive movement among non-Europeans, the African People's Organization".[12] In 1959, the NEUM was co-operating with The Black Sash, which was working with the ANC. The Black Sash was a radical group of females which came into existence in the mid-1950s, in opposition to the legal and political manifestations of apartheid. Some of its members were in the Defence and Aid Fund.

A communist-riddled movement called the Teachers' League of South Africa threw its lot in with the comrades of the NEUM. As more communists of various breeds, specially the Trotskyite kind, united with this coloured organization, it became completely anti-White, African and Indian. It openly opposed the main hard-line CPSA activities. Its

official publication was The Torch. This was later banned by the government. Another name often given to the NEUM was the Trotskyite Unity Movement. Soon small branches were located in most major centres across the nation.

The Cape Town group was led by comrade Benny Kies. Part of their time was spent fighting their biggest opposition in the Cape area, a group called the Stalinist-Communists. The coloured Trotskyite communists within the NEUM clearly outmanoeuvred the Stalinists, especially within the Cape universities. One blessing from the viewpoint of the authorities was that they rejected all demonstrations, protests, pamphleteering and riots, preaching that the revolution would come spontaneously within the country.

Relatively speaking, communism has had little success among the coloured people of South Africa, but if present trends continue in the country, especially in the large coloured University of the Western Cape, this will soon change. It is alleged that certain youthful coloureds are being groomed for Marxism-Leninism within this institution and in secret home cells, especially in the Cape Flats area where groups join to study the doctrines of communism.

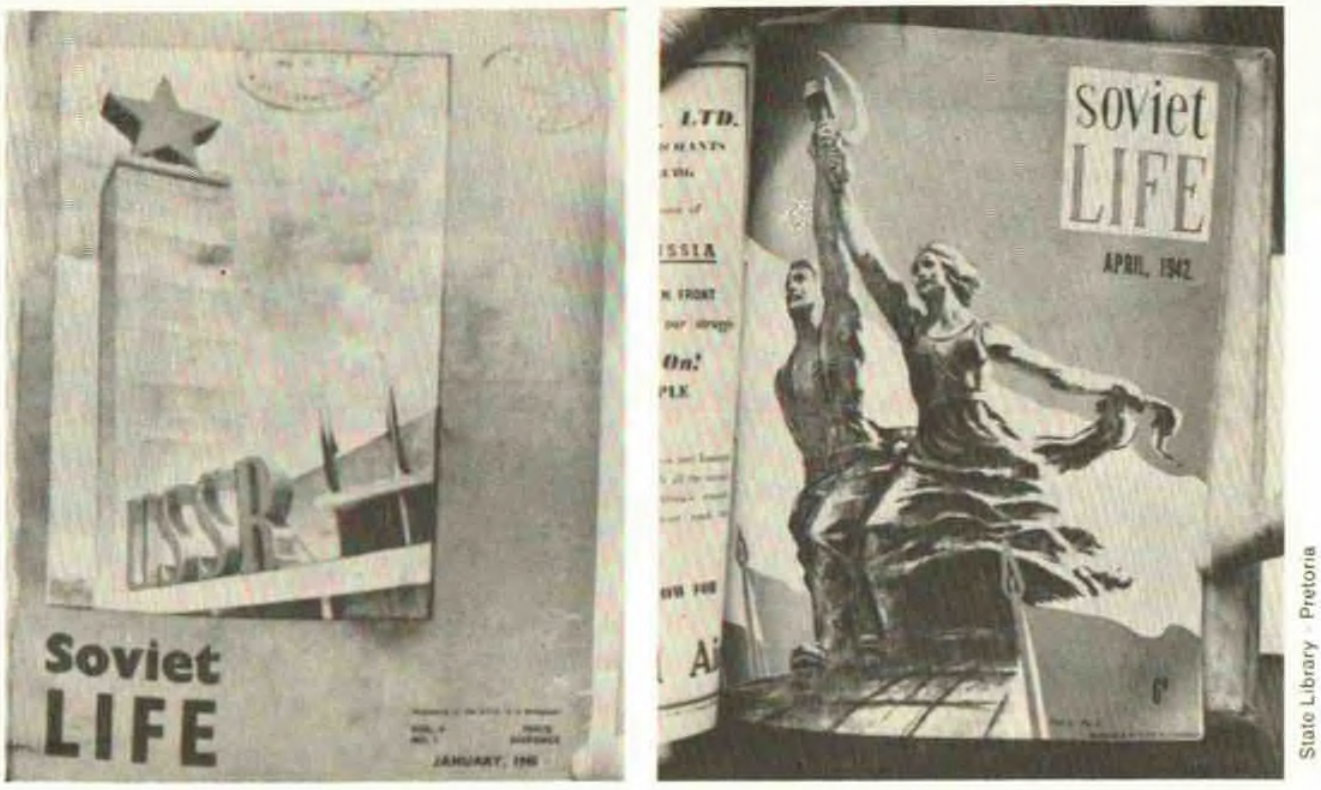
SOUTH AFRICAN FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET UNION

A special co-ordinating committee was set up in Moscow in 1927 with its own secretariat and was known as the International Association of Friends of the Soviet Union. It controlled the activities of the friendship associations operating abroad. During the war years and with the Allies' recognition of the Soviet Union, this movement became a sweeping success within the free non-communist world. Radio Moscow claimed that by 1946 there were such friendship groups operating in 60 different countries of the world. One of these countries was South Africa, a special target area for the Red front organization. The SAFSU started in the early 1940s in Johannesburg. It received large amounts of finance from overseas. Much of this was used to publish a monthly propaganda-filled booklet called Soviet Life.

In one of its outstanding publications, the Soviet propaganda line is presented in excellent fashion. This sixteen page work, written by Tamara Rust (probably a pseudonym), is sub-titled, A Graphic Account of the Rights and Freedom Enjoyed by Women in Soviet Russia. It covered everything from "women's rights", "marriage", the "decline in divorce in Russia", "wages" and the miracles being performed by socialism, to the unspeakable thrill of living in Russia! Several other outstanding publications issued by the SAFSU during the war years were Russia Was Ready,[13] filled with praises of the Soviet system, and Let's Talk About Russia, a sixteen-page booklet written by Dr. George Sachs. It claimed to "answer all the questions regarding the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Union". Like much of the material coming from the SAFSU it was a blatant lie, cleverly mixed with portions of truth.

The SAFSU became a prime channel for Soviet propaganda in South Africa. Again, Ed Roux, a top CPSA member, openly confessed the communist use of the organization. He declared that the CPSA was "domineering in the mass organizations" and he named the first one as "the Friends of the Soviet Union".[14]

In early 1943, the CPSA issued a booklet entitled Communist Plans for Victory. In it the CPSA spoke of the South African Friends of the Soviet Union and praised them for their work in support of the Soviet Union and called upon others to demonstrate the spirit of goodwill existing between this group and Russia. The booklet further praised the people of



State Library - Pretoria

Samples of communist propaganda produced by SAFSU, a Red front

South Africa for sending large amounts of money to the Medical Aid for Russia Fund. In short, the context clearly identifies the SAFSU with the cause of communism in South Africa and the Soviet Union overseas.[15]

This front had a large following and trapped in its net some prominent people, using their names to gain further prestige. In July 1944, a "Southern Africa-Soviet Friendship Congress was held at the Witwatersrand University". On page two of the official programme some of the "Congress Supporters" are listed as Attorney Morris Kentridge, Bill Andrews, South Africa's oldest communist, and the Czechoslovakian Consul-General in London, comrade A. Blahovsky. In a foreword, Dr. J.H. Harvey Pirie wrote: "Nothing but good can come from a study of Soviet Life." Truer words were never spoken, in view of the fact that at this period in Soviet history Stalin had already butchered over 60 000 000 of his own people. It is interesting that the name at the top of the list of "Patrons" is "Field Marshal, The Right Hon. J.C. Smuts". The official programme contains a personal letter from Dr. M. Stein-Lessing, the Organizing Secretary, in which he states: "The purpose of the Congress is to provide factual information without any political bias. A study of the scientific, educational, medical, social, economic and cultural life of the Soviet Union will be made by experts in their own fields, discussing the experiments and developments that have taken place in the USSR." Any "unbiased" student of Soviet history knows full well that such a "study" would have blown the roof off the Wits University Great Hall, where the meetings were being held! "The SAFSU later became the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union".[16]

Another famous fellow-traveller involved in this front, as well as the Medical Aid for Russia Fund, was Jessie McPherson. She was "one of those responsible for the formation" of this group.[17] Some well-known Reds associated with this large front were Bram Fischer, Joe Slovo, Lionel Bernstein and Brian and Sonia Bunting.

State Library - Pretoria

John Morley-Turner, of the Springbok Legion, was listed in November 1962

State Library - Pretoria

A SAFSU delegation at the Soviet Pavilion in 1945

Southern Africa – Soviet Friendship Congress

June, 1944.

Dear Sir/Madam,

The Southern Africa-Soviet Friendship Congress is organising a Congress to be held in Johannesburg in July, 1944. The aim of this Congress is to express and promote that spirit of co-operation of our people with the Soviet people which, as was clearly shown in the Teheran Conference, is of primary importance for furthering the war effort and ensuring victory and lasting Peace.

The purpose of the Congress is to provide factual information without any political bias. A study of the scientific, educational, medical, social, economic and cultural life of the Soviet Union will be made by experts in their own fields including the experiments and developments that have taken place in the U.S.S.R. The Congress, therefore, is to take the form of a series of panels on different subjects (the enclosed programme) with ample time for open discussion by the delegates.

The Congress will be open also to individual members of the public.

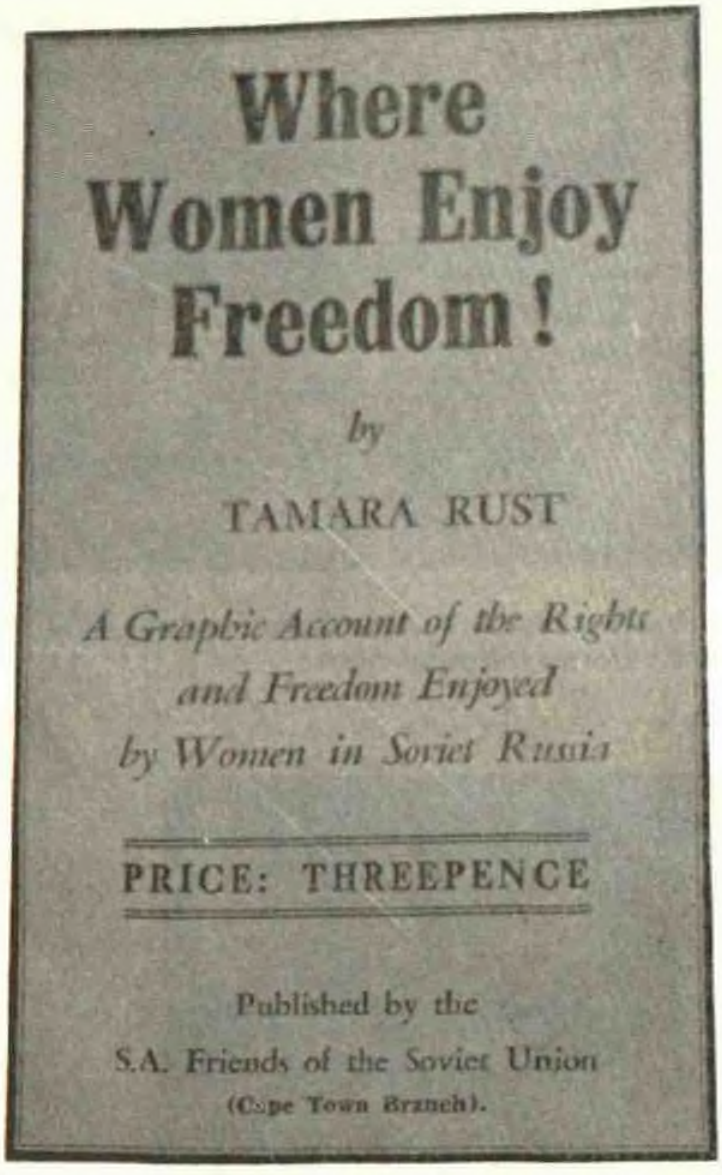
On behalf of the Organising Committee I have pleasure in cordially inviting you to attend. Please fill in the enclosed form and return to us at your earliest convenience.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. E. Stein-Liebig,
ORGANISING SECRETARY.

Strange Memorial Library

Invitation to a congress of the Red front organization, the Southern Africa-Soviet Friendship Congress



University of O.F.S.

Another sample of SAFSU propaganda

State Library - Pretoria

South African Dr. J. H. Harvey Pirie visiting the USSR. His ticket was provided for by SAFSU

The People's Pageant on the stage in Cape Town in 1942 projecting the communist line before a large audience.

The Star

The Jewish Workers' Club of Johannesburg organised these children to "knit for Russia"

In June 1942, during a communist propaganda show in Cape Town City Hall, the portrait of Joseph Stalin was displayed. Various Russian agents were present and the singing of The Internationale was heard

A police raid on SAIC headquarters in Durban. Note the portrait of Chairman Mao in background

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

The SAIC was established in the early 1900s, as a result of a union of three similar bodies, the Natal, Cape and Transvaal Indian Congresses. The oldest of these three was the Natal Indian Congress, established by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894. As far back as 1939, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo was busy within the SAIC organizing "joint protest" against various government projects and policies.

It cannot be doubted that thousands of people who associated themselves with the SAIC and similar organizations had only sincere, honest purposes, and would knowingly have nothing to do with open outright communism or even the radical left. But, as has been the established rule over the course of history, the "masses and mobs" were normally ignorant of the hidden and secret plans of some of their leadership. (See chapter 33 under heading, All Protesters Are Not Communists.)

A few of the better-informed Indians who would not be swallowed up by "mob pressure and popular choice" saw clearly what was happening within the hierarchy of the SAIC. They launched an effort to save their movement from the hands of the communists and their dupes.

Two prominent figures who were noted conservative leaders and who continually opposed the obvious communist and revolutionary elements within the Indian Congress were Dr. P.R. Pather and A.I. Kajee. However, as pressure mounted and the organization became more infiltrated, both were ousted by J.N. Singh, Ismail Meer, Dr. G.M. Naicker and Dr. Y.M. Dadoo.[18] Like so many organizations that started for the good and betterment of their particular race, it was soon taken over by communists and became a

Drum

Dr. G. M. Naicker and D. Chetty give the clenched fist salute as they leave Durban Central Prison

Drum

Dr. G. M. Naicker addresses workers on behalf of SACTU. To his right stands Curnick Ndhlovu and to his left Stephen Dhlamini, the SACTU chairman. Both were listed in August 1967

voice for the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. As normal, the innocent masses associated with the movement were totally unaware of this and actually refused to believe otherwise.

By 1946, communist influence within the SAIC was obvious. Inspired by the Red Rev. Michael Scott, the SAIC conducted its "Passive Resistance Campaign" in Natal as a protest against the law on the Land Tenure of Asiatics and Representation of Indians. This became popularly known as the "Ghetto Act" in communist and left-wing circles. The following extract from the minutes of a meeting held on 21 June 1946 by the Durban District Committee of the CPSA shows unquestionably that this campaign had its origin among the Reds and that the party even had its members within the Congress:

> "It was felt by the District Committee that the local Indian Congress (SAIC) must be forced by pressure to set up a Passive Resistance Council, and our Party members working in the Congress to do everything possible to see that the whole Congress is activized — furthermore, that whenever and wherever it holds area or factory meetings it should point out clearly how the 'Ghetto Act' affects all sections of the South African Population."[19]

This document proves the communist use of the SAIC.

By 1947, well-known persons like Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, M.D. Naidoo, A.M. Kathrada, Dr. G.M. Naicker, I.E. Bhoola and others had already seized the reins of power in this organization. Four of this executive were listed communists.[20] By capturing executive positions within this and other organizations, they were able to implement their various policies through the otherwise unsuspecting members of the movements. Again, the classic communist technique of using the innocents to do the dirty work was exemplified. Due to the communist control of this otherwise innocent organization and its leadership being arrested and imprisoned, the SAIC soon died. Its communist members were absorbed into other front movements.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

In chapter five a brief sketch was given of the ANC. Because numerous members of the organization were affiliated with or members of the CPSA, it is necessary to give further detailed information regarding this movement. Blacks from the fields of labour and politics, socialist and various Marxist-inclined organizations united with the ANC. However, in its earlier days the staunch conservatives were present. They had no sympathies with any form of socialistic-communism. These consisted of lawyers, ministers of religion, teachers, clerks and chiefs. Originally, when the movement was established in January 1912, it was called the South African Native National Congress (SANNC). A newspaper edited by C. Kunene, called Abantu-Batho (Our People), was published carrying articles in both English and Zulu. The movement was under the direction of the brilliant Pixley ka I. Seme, who had been highly trained in American and British universities. A major purpose of the organization was to unite all the different black organizations, as well as the many chiefdoms in South Africa.

The first real alliance between the ANC and the communists dates back to 1928, when E.J. Khaile, then ANC secretary-general, was elected to the CPSA's central committee. From this time onward the alliance continued.

The outstanding communist J.B. Marks joined the CPSA in 1928 and was elected in 1936 as secretary-general of the ANC.[21] He greatly revived the organization. Marks was also a member of the political bureau of the CPSA from about 1930 until 1937. Though expelled from the party for a short time in 1937, he was later readmitted and elected to the joint committee of the Johannesburg district in 1946. Marks was trained at the Lenin

Skota

African National Congress, Bloemfontein, 1930. First row, seated on ground, left to right: Albert Nzula, John Gomas, next two unidentified, Elliot Tonjeni. Second row: first six unidentified, J. T. Gumede, Chief Mandlesilo Nkosi, Z. R. Mahabane, Chief Stephen Mini, next two unidentified, Pixley Seme. Third row: Edwin Mofutsanyana (?), next four unidentified, S. M. Masabalala, Thomas Mapikela, L. T. Mvabaza, S. M. Makgatho, unidentified, Mazingi, unidentified. Back row: P. Phatlane, Dave Mark, unidentified, R. V. Selope Thema, C. D. Modiakgotla, A. W. G. Champion, Bhulose, Theodore Lujiza, A. M. Rakaoane (?), T. D. Mweli Skota, unidentified, Morris Somtunzi, H. S. Msimang, unidentified

School in Moscow and died in the Soviet Union in 1972 where he was buried with full Soviet honours. It cannot be disputed that J.B. Marks brought a powerful Marxist influence into the ANC, even in its early days. Even though the handful of conservatives were there battling hard against the Marxist militants, they were, in time, destined to lose the fight.

As the communists began to penetrate and become increasingly vocal within the structures of the ANC, its emphasis slowly changed. It was becoming a militant political organization. A division of the ANC called the Youth League was formed in mid-1943.[22] It was headed by young intellectuals such as Anton Lembede, Walter Sisulu, Congress Mabata, A.P. Mda, Oliver Tambo, Peter Raboroko, Nelson Mandela, Joe Matthews and others. They set up a form of "systematic, strategic and tactical planning that had never been attempted by their elders".[23] They planned and pushed for "mass radical action". Soon it came. The Youth League started as a non-communist movement, but the CPSA soon changed all this. (See note number 25, under documentation for chapter 27.)

Drum

Dr. A. B. Xuma was forced out of the ANC by the communist element

COMMUNISTS AND NON-COMMUNISTS IN THE ANC

It was popular in the earlier days of the ANC to find communists and "conservative"

non-communists marching together for some common cause. During the Anti-Pass Campaign (mentioned in chapter 12) of 1943-1945, both confirmed communists and their enemies, the bourgeois capitalists, took part. In 1943, the ANC declared the pass laws to be "Enemy Number One" of the African people. During this time white communists were pumping large sums of financial support into the ANC. They would happily turn a blind eye to the presence of the "capitalist pigs" within the organization, as long as it was accomplishing their desired aims.

In the middle of this anti-pass effort, the radical elements within the ANC called for a large anti-pass conference during the Easter weekend of 1944. This meeting was held on 20 and 21 May 1944 in Johannesburg. It was attended by 540 delegates, who boasted of representing about 600 000 Africans. More than 20 000 people conducted a protest march through the streets. A decision was made at this conference to collect one million signatures for a petition against the pass laws and to present this to the government in August 1944. The whole effort lacked genuine popular support and died in abject failure, after the 18-man delegation went to Pretoria to see the acting Prime Minister, but were refused a hearing. (See chapter 12 under heading, A Great Revival within the CPSA.)

Hotheaded young radicals prevailed within the ANC. Such men as Dr. Alfred B. Xuma, who was a weak conservative and willing for a while to "co-operate" with known communists, were ousted. Xuma had been president of the ANC for nine years. He was replaced by Marxist Moses Kotane, who was simultaneously the general secretary of the CPSA.[24] By "1947, seven members of the ANC executive... were communists".[25] The movement slowly became a captive front organization for the cause of South African communists. Then a mixture of such characters as Moses Kotane, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer, Michael Harmel and Joe Slovo were seen moving in and out of the ANC meetings.[26] Its banning and subsequent activities are discussed in chapter 20.

WAS THE ANC A "NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION"?

As members of the CPSA and leftists began to infiltrate the ANC and capture executive and leadership positions, the general media and mass opinion began to present the organization in a new role. The more the communists gained a stranglehold on the ANC, the more it was presented as a "nationalist movement". It was said to be concerned only with protest and the advancement of the blacks of South Africa as they were being destroyed by "brutal government oppression". As would be expected, the by-and-large ignorant and casual observers swallowed the bait. Certain leaders within the South African Council of Churches and that collection of Judas Iscariots within the ranks of the World Council of Churches still preach a similar line. (See chapter 29 for a discussion of the "split" within the ANC over the issue of communist domination.)

Bartholomew Hlapane, a former member of the central committee of the CPSA, testified in court: "All policy-making in the ANC was first discussed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party."[27] Far from being an African nationalist movement, with the goal of obtaining a better life for the black people, the ANC became a tool of the CPSA and its Moscow lords.[28] The CPSA wanted its men or sympathisers in control of the ANC.

An example of this is the case of Nelson Mandela, who had been a member of the Youth League of the ANC. As a trained advocate, he was selected for special service. Ex-communist and ANC member Bruno Mtolo was sickened by the "dirty deal being given the blacks by the communist party leadership", and turned State's witness against his

former comrades. He relates how there was a move under way while Albert Luthuli was alive, to swing ANC leadership from Luthuli into the hands of Mandela.[29] Why Mandela? The following, from a long court document, proven to be in Mandela's handwriting, may suggest why:

> "In our country the struggle of the oppressed people is guided by the South African Communist Party and inspired by its policies. We communist party members are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history and are the contemporary fighting and driving force in changing society and the world. The aim of studying Marxist philosophy is to enable us to direct more effectively revolutionary mass struggles. To put it in a nutshell Marxism is a guide to action.
>
> In South Africa, a communist party member must take part in mass struggles initiated by the South African Communist Party, the Congress Movement, or by other political bodies with the liberation movement." Elsewhere Mandela writes: "The people of South Africa, led by the communist party, will destroy capitalist society and build in its place socialism... Hence the transition from capitalism to socialism and the liberation of the working class from the yoke cannot be effected by slow changes or by reforms as reactionaries and liberals often advise but by revolution. One must, therefore, be a revolutionary and not a reformist."[30]

This document was entitled, How to be a Good Communist. (Portions of this are repeated in chapter 23 with details of Mandela's part in founding Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.) Do these notes "taken down" by Mandela explain why he was chosen to replace Luthuli in the ANC, and what inspired him in assisting to found Umkhonto?

The youthful blacks within the ranks of the ANC who have no Marxist-Leninist aspirations whatsoever, and who knowingly would have nothing to do with outright communism, simply serve as "showcase specimens" for the secret leadership of the organization. Tambo, Slovo and the KGB agents point to the genuine black nationalists within the ANC as "proof" that it is not a communist movement. It's like pointing to the polar bears in the Arctic zone to prove the place never freezes.

THE (UN)REVEREND MICHAEL SCOTT

During this period a clergyman was hiding his true motives behind the cloth of the Christian ministry. He was the Rev. Michael Scott. Born in Britain in 1907, he first came to South Africa to recover from tuberculosis and later, returning to England, he was ordained into the Anglican ministry in 1927. About this time he was probably recruited into the communist party. It is known that he worked openly with the communists while preaching in the slums in the 1930s.

Scott returned to South Africa in 1943, and commenced work for communism. His own words are:

> "I made contact with some of the South African communists on an introduction from communists in England; but I found them very suspicious of my (communist) views... They were also suspicious of my religion."

Then, speaking of his views on doctrine, he said:

> "It (his doctrinal view) was of course the same doctrine to which the communists in their turn appealed as the basis of their conception of social change."[31]

From 1944 until most of 1947, Scott served the party interest in the Johannesburg and Durban areas. He was deeply involved in various demonstrations and strikes. In 1946, he joined the SAIC in its Passive Resistance Movement campaign in Durban.[32] Rev. Scott spent several months in jail for his trouble. He was a close collaborator of sworn communist Ruth First (Slovo). He also became involved in "communist politics" in South

Strange Memorial Library

The Rev. Michael Scott appears before the UN. Scott was a self-confessed communist and an Anglican clergyman

West Africa. In 1951 he was declared a prohibited immigrant to South Africa and, moving to Nyasaland, was deported by the British Government. Later, in 1966, he was deported from India. Scott is a typical example of a "heel" being transformed into a hero by the liberal media, journalists and clergymen. Historian Eric Walker refers to him as "a saintly Anglican clergyman".[33] Obviously, Walker has a different understanding of the word "saintly" from that found in the pages of the Holy Bible. The communist publication Inkululeko, January through March 1949, carried continual articles praising Scott.

He confessed that he

> "operated for years as an international courier for the underground communist parties and as a Comintern paymaster for illegal Red apparatuses and their agents".[34]

After being refused permission to re-enter South Africa, Scott settled in London, that historical refuge for political rubbish.

Though Scott claimed to have resigned from the communist party before joining the R.A.F. in 1940, his associations with darkness hardly changed. Scott's constant bedfellows in England were communists, socialists and screwball political idealists, crank revolutionists and "non-violent" activists such as Margaret Roberts, wife of Colin Legum, Mary Benson, Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Rev. Trevor Huddleston, Jeremy Thorpe, Canon John Collins, Mrs Barbara Castle and Anthony W. Benn, to name a few. As water seeks its own level, men seek out their own kind. Had Scott and his kind lived in Russia or Red China they would have been stood against a wall and shot. Fortunately for Scott he was only in the "police state" of South Africa.

SAAN

N. I. Honono, Jane Gool and I. B. Tabata. Gool played a leading role in founding NEUM. All three fled South Africa in 1963

State Library - Pretoria

A rare photo taken by a CPSA member showing policemen watching one of their meetings. Note banner advertising a Red Youth Festival in Warsaw and the policeman with a camera

OBEDIENCE TO LENIN'S LAW

Some writers have only scorn for the notion that a few communists can capture control of a non-communist organization. They argue that target organizations must be in the hands of a majority of card-carrying Reds before the movement is controlled. Such statements reveal a total ignorance of basic communist modus operandi and strategy. V.I. Lenin laid down specific basic laws and every dedicated communist blindly follows those laws, regardless. Lenin said: "Revolutionaries should operate through any institution that actually commands some degree of power."[35] He commanded that "every cook must become an administrator for the party". Members of the CPSA were subjected

without question to these dictums. Again, Bartholomew Hlapane testified before the American Senate sub-committee that all comrades were bound by the following rule: "Members of the CPSA must also belong to a mass organization such as the ANC or the SACTU. The idea was to get members to infiltrate any organization ... to undermine the leadership and ultimately gain control of such organizations."[36]

The communist party never requires a 100 percent membership of its workers in any organization, group or population it seeks to manipulate or control. For example, in the Soviet Union, less than 10 percent of the 280 000 000 people "enjoy the many benefits and privileges" of actual party membership. Yet this small percentage controls the entire USSR via its historically unparalleled monopoly rule, its KGB, prisons and mass terror. And many of these 10 percent only pay a form of lip service to the godless system.

From a strict strategical point of view, the party prefers a minority of members in any "targeted organization" and will continue with this as long as its aims are being realised. Every genuine communist on earth knows this principle. The pseudo-liberal dupes and their crowd will not learn this proven truth until it is too late. They only understand "majority" rule and strength, while Lenin called for "fewer but better".

Just as the war was ending, Stalin got busy and formed a series of massive international front organizations. Among the first to be established in 1945 were the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). Then followed the International Union of Students (IUS) and the World Peace Council (WPC) in 1946 and 1949 respectively. South African communists rushed about obediently to affiliate all the relevant South African groups with these international organizations, all controlled from Moscow.

The Star

Expelled from South Africa, the leftist Anglican priest, Trevor Huddleston, waves a final farewell

THE PARTY SUPPORTS THOSE WHO ARE USABLE

The CPSA was continually trying, financially, to keep alive its various fronts and usable captive organizations.

Leading black communist Bartholomew Hlapane spelt this out clearly. He said under oath that

> "in 1961 Ben Turok was in charge of CPSA finance. Its (the CPSA) money was used to finance such groups as the ANC, SACTU, COD, SAIC and the Federation of South African Women (FSAW)".[37]

Today, over twenty years later, this principle still holds true for the CPSA.

History has shown that this support has been given to a various assortment of persons and organizations. Evidence that cannot be printed shows that even a "Christian anti-communism" organization in England has received lavish amounts of financial support from the Soviets via special channels. Later, a Marxist agent was actually appointed to the executive of this same mission.

Like their bedfellows, the monopoly capitalists, mentioned in chapter 32, the communists support those they consider usable to their cause.

The Star

Rowley Arenstein, top communist in the Durban area in the early 1940s, consults with two clients

The Star

Rowley's wife, Jacqueline Arenstein, was a Durban correspondent for The Guardian

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1. *International Press Correspondence*
   Vol. VI, April 1926
   London
2. *Soviet International Front Organizations*
   Frederick A. Praeger Publisher, New York 1965
   By Iain Phelps-Fetherston, pp. 1-7
3. For a comprehensive and clear review of communist fronts see
   The Assault on the West
   Foreign Affairs Publishing Company, England 1968
   By Ian Greig, pp. 39-69
4. *S.P. Bunting*
   The African Bookman, Cape Town 1943
   By Edward Roux, p. 153
5. *Africa and Communism*
   Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1967
   By F.R. Metrowich, p. 196
6. Samples of these publications located in Strange Memorial Library, Johannesburg, and the University of the Orange Free State, Bloemfontein, Department of South African Political History.
7. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969 p. 35
8. *Communist Activity in South Africa*
   American University Field Staff, ESM, 8/58
   By E.S. Munger, pp. 29-30

   It is hardly correct to state that these people were all "non-communists". Paul Robeson was a famed American negro communist who won the Stalin Peace Prize for his service to Moscow.

   The Rev. Huddleston, though "never charged with communist activity", is another classical example of the liberal clergyman who loans himself to the cause of the godless.

   An example of Huddleston's blatant ignorance (if it was that) regarding proven communists and their friends are his words concerning certain persons serving sentences on Robben Island. He said: "Political prisoners being held on Robben Island would qualify as among the greatest black leaders in the world today." Huddleston concluded his jargon with: "The loss of political leadership in South Africa because of the political trials is unspeakably great ... they (the proven communists and their co-conspirators) would be among the greatest who are leading the world forward to peace." (*Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1973)

   For a pungent answer to Huddleston's nonsense, see the little book
   You Are Wrong Father Huddleston
   Culemborg Publishers, Cape Town 1956
   By Alexander Steward
9. *Red Trap*
   A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
   By Chris Vermaak, pp. 26-27
10. First document of Number 8, p. 13
11. In opposition to this movement rose the Coloured People's National Union. It started in 1944

and was directed by George Golding, who believed that the causes of the coloureds were best furthered by working with the government and not against it. Golding, a school principal, was a highly respected leader among his people. The author found no evidence available of communists having used his group.

12. *The Politics of Inequality*
Thames & Hudson, London 1958
By G.M. Carter, p. 360

13. This particular pamphlet carried SAFSU addresses in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria, Pietermaritzburg, Bulawayo and Salisbury, plus a list of twelve other books for sale, dealing with the subject "about Russia". This reveals SAFSU's widespread influence. This pamphlet along with hundreds of others is located at the Institute for the Study of Marxism, Stellenbosch University.

14. Number 4, p. 153

15. See *Communist Plans for Victory*, Johannesburg 1943, p. 18. Institute for the Study of Marxism, Stellenbosch University.

16. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, November 1975, pages un-numbered.

17. *Forward*, 26 May 1944

18. The conservatives thrown out moved to form their own group, called the South African Indian Organization. They rightly charged that the Natal Indian Congress "was under radical communist influence" (Number 12, p. 365). Also sometimes referred to as the Natal Indian Organization, this small band of staunch conservatives sought co-operation with the government and other conservative white organizations.

    For attempts to remove the Reds from the Indian movement see *Inkululeko*, No. 122, December 1947.

19. Number 7, p. 34

20. Edited from number 7, p. 35. Though called a communist in a few writings, Naicker was never officially listed as such. One document refers to him as "more Gandhian than Marxist in philosophy. Naicker was often regarded as a radical..." (See *From Protest to Challenge Documents, Vol. 4*. Hoover Institution Press, California 1977. By Gail M. Gerhart and G.M. Carter, p. 108.) He should not be confused with Marimuthu P. Naicker who was listed in 1962.

21. *South Africa a Skunk Among Nations*
Tandem Books, London 1975
By Les de Villiers, p. 63

22. "In 1943, Abraham Fischer, later the top communist in South Africa, drafted a new communist-inspired constitution for the ANC." (Number 5, p. 200)

23. *Towards a Certain Future. The Politics and Economics of Southern Africa*
David Philip Publishing Company, Cape Town 1981
By Robert I. Rotberg, p. 66

    The African National Congress Women's League was formed at the same time as the Youth League. It also allegedly became a front movement.

24. Number 7, p. 35

    Attempts to oust Reds from the ANC are very well covered in *Inkululeko*, 29 October 1945, 3 December 1945 and 4 January 1946

25. Number 9, p. 26

26. The statement by one writer that "few if any ANC leaders are ideological communists" hardly

explains anything. "Ideological" or not, numbers of them were working for communist goals; the only option of any democratic government is to stop all such intentions, regardless. (Number 12, p. 376)

27. Edited from
The Communist Strategy
Department of Information, Pretoria 1975
By De Villiers, Metrowich and Du Plessis, pp. 59-60

28. *The World Marxist Review*, No. 6, 1963, pp. 56-57, illustrates the Kremlin's constant denial for over 30 years of their control of the ANC. It reads in part: "The (Soviet) Communist Party rejects the propaganda charge that it has captured or controls the ANC and other organizations." Yet some 20 years later the same Kremlin had spent "R64-million on training ANC and SWAPO terrorists for Africa..." (*Cape Times*, 21 May 1983)

29. Number 27, p. 60

30. Number 27, p. 60. Mandela explained his writing as notes he had "taken down" from another source. See chapter 23 and documentation notes 6 and 11 for further explanation.

31. *The Puppeteers*
Tandem Books, London, 1965
By H. Soref and I. Greig, p. 103

32. Rowley Israel Arenstein was the party's top organizer in the Durban district during these times. He joined the CPSA in 1938 and served them for years. As an attorney, he was noted for his defence of the Fort Hare expellee Anderson Ganyile. Arenstein's wife, Jacqueline, a journalist, was a defendant in the Treason Trial. In 1966 he was jailed for four years. Both Rowley and his wife Jacqueline have their names recorded again in a "consolidated list" under the Internal Security Act 1982. (See Government Gazette 1 July 1983 p. 19)

33. *A History of Southern Africa*
Longmans & Green, London 1964
By Eric A. Walker, p. 790

34. *Traitor's End*
Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
By Nathaniel Weyl, p. 79

35. *Africa Insight*
Pretoria, No. 1, 1981 p. 52

36. *The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa. Hearings before the Sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism of the United States Senate*, March 1982, Washington D.C., Vol. 1, p. 532

37. Number 36, p. 532

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

POST-WAR PERIOD TILL CAPTAIN BOTHA'S REPORT

THE AFRICAN MINEWORKERS' STRIKE OF 1946

Communist philosophy teaches that if they can succeed in crippling the economy of a country, the government will be forced to negotiate with them and make every concession in their favour. The first major post-war effort to bring down the Smuts Government was the communist-created African mineworkers' strike. The origin of the strike may be traced to the All-African Congress held in Bloemfontein at the close of 1944. Here, a resolution was passed that all African workers must be paid 10s per day. This resolution was brought back to the Reef by the communists. It was continually talked about and finally crystallized on 15 April 1946 into an actual demand made by the African workers to the Chamber of Mines. The word had been previously "passed along" that should the demand be refused, they would strike.

The CPSA tried every means possible to exploit the post-war situation in South Africa. With thousands of ex-servicemen seeking work and the rise in the cost of living, the party found fertile soil in which to sow their seeds of discontent and hate. Communists Sam Kahn and Brian Bunting preached at public CPSA meetings that the cause of the problems being faced was "the government siding with the capitalist to exploit the South African workers, both black and white."[1] A young communist lawyer slowly rising to fame stood on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall during a CPSA public meeting and proclaimed a similar line. The date of this speech was 28 April 1946. His name was Bram Fischer.

At another meeting used by the communists to stir up hatred and fear, more petrol was poured on the small fire. In mid-May 1946, sixty-two delegates, many of them known communists, attended a conference of the Anti-Fascist Movement at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg. Advocate Fischer was a leading speaker at this front meeting. It was chaired by fellow-advocate Vernon C. Berrangé, ably assisted by Hilda Watts.[2] The masses were being psychologically prepared for the big strike. It was carefully engineered and directed by the CPSA and its fellow-travellers. All the speech-making was centred on the "oppressed miners".

PROOF OF COMMUNIST INVOLVEMENT

During this early stage, the Johannesburg committee of the CPSA had compiled a comprehensive report and sent it to the central committee of the CPSA in Cape Town by a secret courier. On 5 June 1946, the central committee approved the conspiracy of their Johannesburg comrades.

The top communist supervising the strike was J.B. Marks. Born in Ventersdorp in 1903 as a coloured, he chose to identify himself as a black. He graduated from the Kilnerton

Teachers Training College in 1921. Later, while teaching at Vredefort he was dismissed for his "political activities". Marks, as already mentioned, joined the CPSA in 1928 and was sent to Russia to study at the Lenin School in Moscow. Upon returning to South Africa, he ran for Parliament as a communist representing the Germiston area. He was expelled from the party for a short period, but was later readmitted. Marks joined the ANC in the 1920s. In the early 1940s, he was a member of its executive committee in the Transvaal.[3] Marks' true name was John Joseph and in some documents he is referred to as J.J. Marks. He is mostly listed as J.B. in this book.

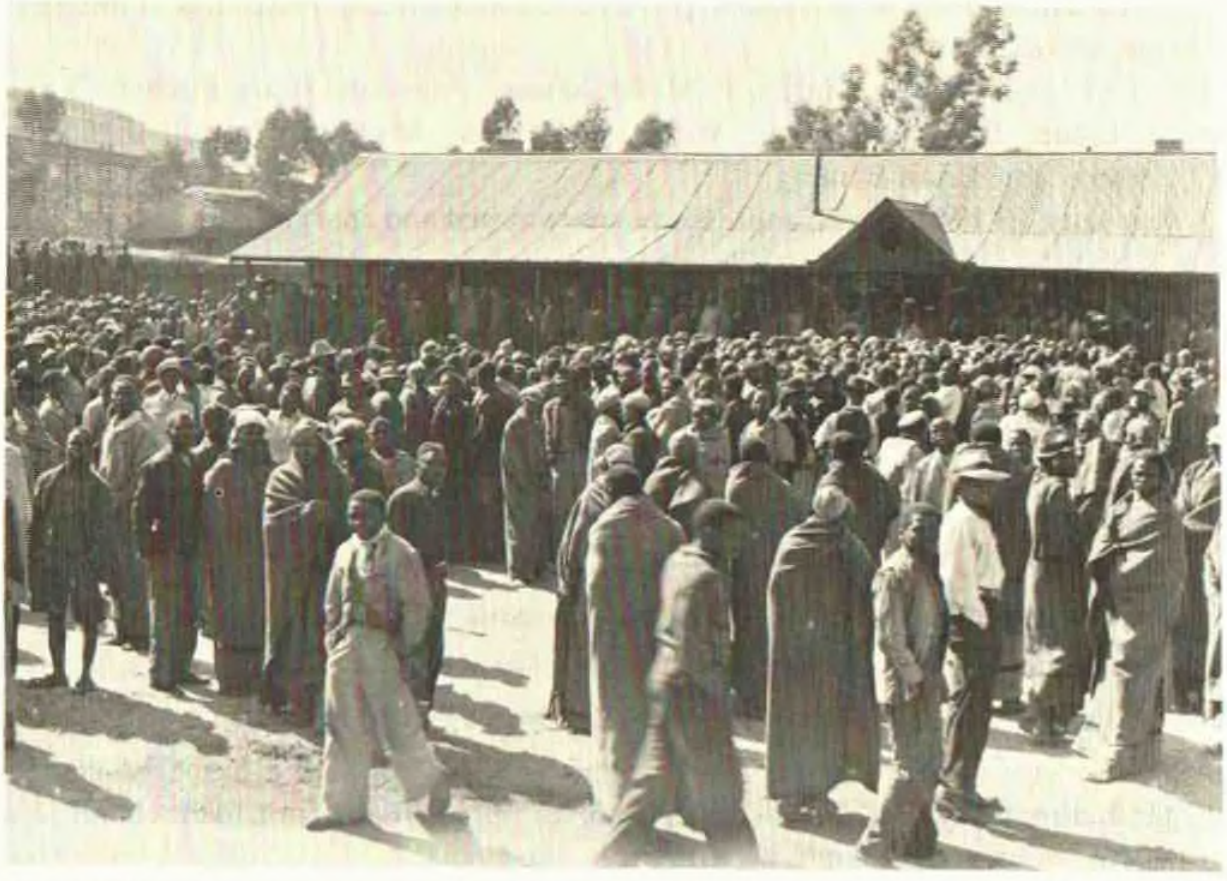
In 1941, he established the African Mineworkers' Union which was a branch of the Non-European Trade Unions directed by Makabeni. As chairman of the powerful black organization, he had great prestige in the eyes of the miners. On 12 August 1946, he directed them into strike action. Despite a law called War Measure No. 145, which forbade such strike action, Marks went ahead with party directives. In a short time the strike assumed gigantic proportions and about 50 000 blacks participated. The poor illiterate Africans who refused to take part in the strike were severely beaten by the communist thugs and their dupes.

Communist J. B. Marks (seated under portrait) stirs up the miners to unleash the 1946 strike, during a union meeting

A top communist, Lionel Forman, assisted Marks in the strike

THE RESULTS OF THE STRIKE

Amid the actual hostilities, nine Africans were killed and many others injured. About 1 500 policemen had to be assembled to control the situation. During the strike, the communists made a desperate attempt to include all non-European unions on the Rand in the conflict. Pamphlets produced and issued by the CPSA and various unions under their control, inciting the Africans to strike and violence, were widely distributed. Because communists and fellow-travellers across the country were involved, the police launched a nation-wide investigation into the CPSA's activities. Their findings, four years later, led to the banning of the party.



The Star Archives

In April 1946, the miners were already inflamed by Red speechmakers and were stirred to the point of open conflict. Here miners wrapped in their traditional blankets mill about, refusing to return to work

The Star Archives

Police in hot pursuit of known troublemakers during the height of the conflict in the 1946 strike

As a result of their complicity in the strike, the following members and friends of the CPSA in Johannesburg were arrested, prosecuted and convicted on a charge of instigating an illegal strike:

Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, J.B. Marks, E. Mofutsanyana, Advocate Bram Fischer, D.J. du Plessis, Lionel Bernstein, Hilda Watts, R.H. Fleet, Michael Harmel, J.N. Singh, W.J. Roberts and Brian Bunting.[4]

A year later, in 1947, several more Reds were arrested and charged with sedition. They were:

"W.H. Andrews	—	Chairman of CPSA
Moses Kotane	—	Secretary of the CPSA
H. Snitcher	—	Member of Central Committee of CPSA
I.O. Horvitch	—	Member of Central Committee of CPSA
L. Phillips	—	Member of Central Committee of CPSA
Dr. H.J. Simons	—	Member of Central Committee of CPSA
Fred Carneson	—	Member of Central Committee of CPSA
H.A. Naidoo	—	Member of Central Committee of CPSA
L.C. Joffe	—	(Banned from the CPSA, but still working with them.)

After numerous delays, these men eventually appeared before a special court in Johannesburg in May 1948. The defence, however, raised an objection to the charge-sheet and the charge was accordingly withdrawn by the Court."[5]

The black unions were never able to stay out of politics. This was because much of their leadership consisted of rabid leftists, communists and socialists. These leaders were continually preaching standard communist hatred for "the capitalist oppressors", the "class struggle" and the glories of that future "socialist paradise". Because of these tactics, hundreds of otherwise innocent and hard-working persons trying to obtain a better deal for themselves and their families were unwittingly associated and branded with the minority of professional Red troublemakers.

The more clear-thinking workers saw through the communist schemes and devices.

> "Feeling that the Council (directed by Marks) was too much under the influence of the communists, one group broke away and established the Council of African Trade Unions."[6]

This strike was the largest upheaval produced by the communists in the first five years after the Second World War. Ironically, it was to help lead to their partial downfall four years later when the Suppression of Communism Act was passed.

THE AFRICAN-INDIAN RIOTS IN DURBAN IN 1949

During this period there was friction between the Africans and the Indians of South Africa. Later, in January 1949, this exploded into a serious race riot.

> "Arising out of the chance striking of an African boy by an Indian shopkeeper, the riots enveloped most of Durban, as... Africans burned many Indian homes, all too often with their families inside."[7]

Many Africans were shot during the battles that followed.

> "The casualties were appalling, no less than 87 Zulus and 50 Indians being killed and nearly 1 100 injured. Slum conditions form the background to the riots and although communists were not always the instigators, there was little doubt that they were exploiting an explosive situation."[8]

The Star

Charged with sedition were, back row, left to right: I. Horvitch, M. Kotane, S. Kahn (defending attorney). Centre: L. Phillips, H. Snitcher, Betty Sachs. Front row: P. Herbstein (defending attorney), F. Carneson, W. H. Andrews. Inset: Dr. Simons

Africans burn their passes during the 1946 strike to show solidarity with the miners. Their joy was short-lived.

THE UNITED PARTY'S SILENCE ABOUT COMMUNISM

Following the 1946 African mineworkers' strike, the then ruling United Party instructed a senior police officer, Captain D.H. Botha, to launch a thorough investigation into its causes and effects. Botha at the time of this assignment was head of the Johannesburg Security Police. After months of investigations, raids, surveillance of party persons and activities, a report of hair-raising charges was given.[9] It is strange that Smuts' United Party, after receiving such alarming documentation from Captain Botha, failed to take immediate action against the CPSA. One report said they were waiting until after the election (in 1948) before taking action.

> "Instead, the facts (of the report) were concealed from the general public and the contents . . . only became known in 1952, when it was tabled in Parliament by the Minister of Justice. By then the National Party, which had come to power in 1948, had already acted against the creeping Red Menace."[10]

Somehow, the Reds sensed that they were not going to fare as well under the new Nationalist Government rule as they had under Smuts' United Party. They duplicated hundreds of leaflets and distributed them far and wide. These were intended to boost the morale of party comrades. They were told not to be afraid of the new government or any of

its threats, and that history was on their side and finally communism would triumph. This propaganda paper called on all people to unite and resist the Nationalist Government.

Time proved the fears of the CPSA were well justified, for soon the National Party went into action and the writing was on the wall for the brazen communists and their dupes.

THE REVELATIONS OF CAPTAIN BOTHA'S REPORT

Captain Botha reported that during the latter portion of the 1940s, the communists were launching a powerful drive to capture positions of leadership within every trade union possible.[11] Already they had penetrated and captured majority control of executive positions of several important organizations (already discussed) such as the ANC, SAIC, SAFSU and the Springbok Legion.

Regarding their drive to capture control of unions, we quote below from letters intercepted by the police, contained in the Botha report, sent to party members across South Africa during this period. These were circular letters sent to secretaries of local party committees by the general secretary of the CPSA.[12]

> "This is to inform you that in June 1945, there will be an election for the secretaryship of the Building Workers' Industrial Union of South Africa.
>
> Comrade Danie du Plessis will be one of the candidates. It is the duty of all District Committees of the Party and Party Industrial Committees to do all in their power to ensure the election of Comrade Danie du Plessis."

Another CPSA directive, listed as No. 38/45 and dated 7 June 1945, in connection with the dried fruit workers' strike reads:

> "You are asked to see that when appeals are received by the Trade Unions, that our members support them; funds are urgently needed when the strike continues in the remaining factories."

Regarding a planned dockworkers' strike, the CPSA general secretary issued this order to comrades working in this field:

> "The dock workers deserve the support of all Trade Unions and progressive organizations, and we ask your District to see that Trade Unions in your area support the dock workers..."

This directive from CPSA headquarters is dated 19 February 1943 and deals with the art of recruiting the unsuspecting workers into the party.

> "It is our duty to pick out workers who show promise, who are loyal to the Union, to give them the necessary education. We must try to recruit them into the Party... The District Committee should require every Trade Union official who is a member of the Party to organize regular classes in economics and political theory among the members of his union... to recruit the best of them into the Party."

Scores of such directives were posted across South Africa from CPSA headquarters in their mad rush to seize control of any union they considered a help to their cause.

WORKING FOR A REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Botha presented many letters from South African communists proving that they were working for a revolution in the country. Ray Alexander, the female communist serving the conspiracy within the Cape trade unions, wrote this "secret letter" dated 2 September 1946:

> "The class struggle, therefore, is created by Capitalism itself... as the struggle becomes sharper, it may take the form of revolutionary upheavals for the seizure of political power by the workers."

The longing for the revolution came to the fore on 19 May 1946. Rose Behr wrote from Johannesburg to comrade A.H.A. Selby, at P.O. Box 733, East London, this message of anticipation:

"I am very glad indeed that your demonstration was a success. I can just imagine how happy you must have been, all full of smiles, with shining eyes and convinced that we could start the revolution any day you chose to name. The day after (last Sunday), Rosenbalht took me over to Pretoria and told me something of their plans."

Who's Who

Communist advocate Hyman M. Basner, who served the party in the fields of politics and law

THE DEPTH OF INFILTRATION

With this big drive, the CPSA took on a special form of orderly, highly-sophisticated operational methods. Their success was outstanding. They were moving into some of South Africa's most important and vital organizations and capturing the highest positions of leadership. Another sample of their success is contained in a letter sent by Michael Harmel to the central executive committee of the CPSA, in which he said:

"the Communist Party was in control of the Jewish Board of Deputies and that their majority was to be increased with the forthcoming elections" (for the Board of Deputies).[13]

In reply to this very sensitive piece of news, the general secretary of the CPSA responded with a blistering letter and severely reprimanded Harmel for sending this information through the post. This letter was dated 14 March 1945. Thus, in early 1945, the party attempted to seize control of this Jewish governing body. Reaction by dedicated, patriotic Jewish leaders and the police ensured the failure of this Red plot.

The CPSA had by this time created certain "sub-branches" within which were various "secret branches". Members of these groups were only known to special persons. The "secret branch" members served basically in the field of gathering and passing intelligence on to higher party officials. One letter intercepted by the Security Police gives details regarding a "secret branch" worker named K. Nathanson, who was a teacher at the Newcastle High School, and his "secret contact" was listed under No. 2733102 as Sgt. J.B. Page, a hidden contact located in a Natal military camp.

Outside military camps, the party set up a vast network of secret agents, whose work was to collect sensitive intelligence for party use. These men were considered to be the high-ranking intelligence officers for Marxism-Leninism in South Africa. The secret officers were:

"Jack Hodgson — 22 Ascot Mansions, Von Brandis Group.
Roy du Preez — 27a 6th Avenue, Parktown North, Von Brandis Group.
Stan Letica — 22 Ascot Mansions, Yeoville Group.

George Clayton — 18 Jan Smuts Ave., Parktown, University Group.
L. Newanan — 195 3rd Avenue, Germiston Location.
Brian Bunting — Circle Court, Clarendon Circle, Alexandra Group.
R. Levine — 49 Becker Street, Yeoville, Alexandra Group.
D. and A. Chapman — 4 Lenharr Court, Kerk Street, Von Brandis Group."

This official police documentation, taken during raids at various places across South Africa, reveals how well-placed party members and group workers were. A careful review and comparative analysis of the following section reveals the CPSA had people placed across the nation. The conspicuous lack of African names again underscores the truth that the CPSA was a "white-dominated organization". The blacks were used for doing the dirty work.

Party discipline was rigidly enforced during this period. The captured documents read that "a member may not resign. He can only be lapsed or expelled." A Johannesburg advocate, F.G.T. Boshoff, who was in the party, accepted a brief from the government and was suspended for six months. The CPSA's district committee maintained that he could have told a lie to get out of the brief. The wording of the CPSA censure of Advocate Boshoff read in part that "he could have made the excuse that he had previous commitments".

Captain Botha said: "The censure was apparently sponsored by V.C. Berrangé, a well-known attorney of Johannesburg and a member of the Industrial and Legal Committees of the Communist Party." Berrangé is mentioned numerous times in the following pages.

Drum

Dr. G. M. Naicker stirs the masses during a 1946 passive resistance campaign

Roy du Preez, one of the "secret officers" of the CPSA

The Star Archives

Professional Red agitators attempted to stir the white meatworkers during the mid-1940s. Their efforts proved a complete failure

SECRET AGENTS AND WELL-PLACED PARTY WORKERS

One document related that members of the district committee held a secret meeting with someone from the "S.P." (codename for the Soviet Secret Police) on 14 February 1946 in the party offices at 7.30 p.m. Who this Soviet secret agent was, cannot be finally traced. Present at this top-level meeting were M. Harmel (in the chair), D.J. du Plessis and W.J. Roberts. Apologies were read from A. Fischer, R.H. Fleet, H. Watts, I. Wolfson, E. Mofutsanyana, B. Mnisi. Absent without apology was E. Weinberg. Comrades on leave were Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, S. Buirski and J. Palmer. Seemingly, at this point, Moscow had a top worker on hand to direct CPSA activities. This trained Soviet agent may have

A rare photograph showing the Johannesburg district committee of the CPSA in 1945. All of these shared in the 1946 strike. Seated, left to right: B. Mnisi, M. Harmel (secretary), D. du Plessis (chairman), Josie Palmer and H. Watts. Standing: S. Buirski, A. Fischer, I. Wolfson, R. Fleet, E. Weinberg, W. Roberts and Y. M. Dadoo. Inset: E. T. Mofutsanyana

been Michael Harmel. (See note number 6, under documentation for chapter 22.)

CPSA members were given strict assignments relating to their respective districts or "groups". All members had to belong to local groups and were given specific activities. Another captured communist document lists many names of members and their various groups and assignments.

Comrades placed in groups, but not to be drawn into public activity were:

"Jack Hodgson	—	Von Brandis
Jock Isakowitz	—	Hillbrow
Roy du Plessis	—	Von Brandis
Stan Letica	—	Yeoville
George Clayton	—	University
S. Eppel	—	To be allocated
N. Newana	—	To be allocated

Comrades to do normal work for the party within their respective groups but not to speak on public platforms outside their areas were:

Brian Bunting	—	Alexandra
Fred Carneson	—	Alexandra
R. Levine	—	Either Alexandra or Sophiatown (to be decided)
D. Chapman	—	Von Brandis
A. Chapman	—	Von Brandis

Members to do normal group work were:

G. Routh	—	Sophiatown (but not to work in Parktown as a party member)
P. Bennett	—	Krugersdorp
W. Green	—	Von Brandis
G. Meyer	—	(Unlisted?)
J. O'Meara	—	Von Brandis (but not to speak at public meetings)
H. Mindel	—	City and Suburbs
J. Wolpe	—	Yeoville
S. Buys	—	Durban
I. Heyan	—	Krugersdorp
D. Saunderson	—	(Unlisted?)
C. Williams	—	Von Brandis
B. Clapman	—	Recommended for lapsing from membership
J. Barnett	—	(Unlisted?)
I. Rosenberg	—	(Unlisted?)
D. Kitson	—	Hillbrow
W. Evans	—	Brakpan
E. Levinsky	—	Hillbrow
L. Oppenheim	—	(Unlisted?)
M. Centner	—	Secretary to contact
B. Arenstein	—	University
J. Marcus	—	Alexandra
S. Kark	—	(Unlisted?)
J. Hoogendyk	—	(Unlisted?)
E. Bruwer	—	(Unlisted?)
W. Kodesh	—	Cape Town
A. Israel	—	(Unlisted?)
L. Bernstein	—	(Unlisted?)
W. Hepher	—	(Unlisted?)
Ruth Lazarus	—	(Unlisted?)
M. Kagan	—	(Unlisted?)
M. Millner	—	(Unlisted?)
Rose Harrison	—	(Unlisted?)
E. Grimes	—	(Unlisted?)
M. Bloch	—	Hillbrow
M.S. Booysens	—	Springs."

Unlisted means place of work not yet designated.

This long list of 47 names has been given to show the widespread areas and activities of the CPSA during this period. One survey of the listing shows the communists seemed to have been everywhere. Captain Botha added the timely comment, after giving this list of South African communists, that these facts can only lead one to the inevitable conclusion

that the communist party or its members have wilfully set themselves a course which must ultimately lead to internal strife. Earlier in the document he states:

> "I would therefore suggest on broad principles that the CPSA... is engaged in nothing else but High Treason in the real sense of the meaning and definition of that crime as it is known to us."

CHANGE OF RENDEZVOUS FOR COMMUNISTS

Botha also explained that since the war, South African communists had clearly been directed to Paris, France, instead of their former rendezvous with their Red superiors, in Moscow and the Comintern. He related that the most recent South African communists to have visited Paris in the greatest of secrecy were W.H. Andrews, V.C. Berrangé, R.H. Fleet, C. Peltz, an accountant from Durban, and Solly Sachs, Dulcie Hartwell, Johanna Cornelius, Ruth First and A.J. Dawns. Not all of these were actual party members. Several would fall under Lenin's alleged description of such people as "useful idiots".

The comrades who visited Russia before the war were: A. Fischer, M. Kotane, W.H. Andrews, Ray Alexander, M. Harmel, R.H. Fleet, E. Mofutsanyana, J.B. Marks, I. Wolfson, H. Watts, S. Buirski, Betty Sachs, I.O. Horvitch, F. Carneson, H.M. Basner,[14] Anna Scheepers, Dulcie Hartwell, Sophie Venter, Johanna Cornelius and Hester Cornelius.[15]

This new gathering place for South Africans was selected by the (supposedly defunct) Comintern for issuing directives for South African revolution.

State Library - Pretoria

Three South African female delegates to the 21st celebrations of the Soviet Revolution. In their room at the Hotel Metropole, Moscow, are, left to right: Miss Anna Scheepers (Johannesburg), a Soviet journalist, Miss Dulcie Hartwell (Johannesburg), and Miss Sophie Venter (Germiston)

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1. *The Amazing Mr. Fischer*
   Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1966
   By Gerard Ludi and Blaar Grobbelaar, p. 11
2. Edited from number 1, pp. 11-12
3. Profile on Marks basically edited from
   From Protest to Challenge Documents, Vol. 4
   Hoover Institution Press, California 1977
   By Gail M. Gerhart and G.M. Carter, pp. 75-76
4. This group comprised the Johannesburg district committee of the CPSA.
5. Edited from unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, pp. 33-34
6. *South African Trade Unions: History, Legislation, Policy*
   McGraw Hill Book Company, Johannesburg 1976
   By M.A. du Toit, p. 38
7. *The Politics of Inequality*
   Thames and Hudson, London 1958
   By G.M. Carter, p. 361
8. Edited from *The Making of a Nation – A History of the Union of South Africa, 1910-1961*
   MacMillan, Johannesburg 1969
   By D.W. Krüger, p. 256
9. A week after the strike the Security Police raided the offices of the party, The Guardian, and homes of their officials and staffs in almost every major centre across South Africa. Hundreds of documents were seized. Botha's report was based on many of these. The Minister of Justice, Mr. C.R. Swart, read Botha's report in Parliament. It is fully recorded in *Hansard*, number 12, below.
10. *Red Trap*
    A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
    By Chris Vermaak, p. 30
11. "By February 1949... the communists were already controlling about one-third of the 215 registered trade unions in South Africa." (Number 5, p. 36)
12. Most of the names, dates and facts listed in this section to the end of the chapter were edited from an official Security Police report. It is found in *House of Assembly Debates*, 18 January to 25 June 1952, cols. 7946-7968
13. Quoted in number 10, pp. 35-36
14. Hyman M. Basner was elected to the Senate in 1942 as a Black Representative. He also played a leading role in founding the African Democratic Party, a split-off from the ANC in 1943. This organization was largely based on the Rand and pretended to walk a middle road between the communists and the ANC. It was a multi-racial movement, but soon died for lack of support. Basner "resigned" from the CPSA, but according to Captain Botha: "Basner himself does not pretend to be a communist, but it is clear that from various letters which I saw, that he is, and, I think it may be safely assumed that he is a secret member of the party."
15. This is the same Hester Cornelius (sister of Johanna) who made the classical statement, proved miserably false over the years, about Solly Sachs. She stated: "It took a Jew to make me understand that poverty could be wiped out in sunny South Africa..." (Rebel Daughters, MacGibbon and Kee, England, 1957, by Solly Sachs, p. 42). Cornelius should have listened to the words of another Jew, better informed than the wild communist Solly Sachs. The Lord Jesus Christ said: "For ye have the poor always with you..." (Matthew 26:11).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM BILL AND RELATIVE EVENTS

C.R. SWART'S BILL

With the dawn of the 1950s, the communist onslaught against South Africa was reaching a serious level. Their small but powerful influence could be found or felt across the nation. The areas most affected were the trade unions. They exploded with strife. Riots, strikes, demonstrations, acts of subversion and sabotage were appearing. The official yearbook for the Union of South Africa records that during the period from 1941 until 1947, there was a total of 409 strikes in the country. Most of these were instigated by communists or their dupes, always on the basis of "honest issues" such as "higher wages, land, freedom, equality and justice". One need look but a few moments at what communism has brought in the lands where it has come to power for the true interpretation of these much-used expressions. The 900 miles of barbed wire, machine-guns, landmines, watch-dogs, guard towers and terror reflected at the Berlin Wall and East-West frontier speak clearly of the "freedom and liberation" brought by the Marxist-Leninists.

Following the severe riots and demonstrations during 1949, the Minister of Justice Mr. C.R. Swart was working day and night, conferring with security experts across South Africa and from overseas. Something was coming!

> "In 1949, the government attempted to deprive such Reds as Solly Sachs, Sam Kahn and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, the Indian communist leader, of their passports, but the courts generally ruled in favour of the plaintiffs."[1]

Then the CPSA and the ANC announced their plans of holding a "Freedom Day" demonstration for blacks across the nation. The government outlawed these plans, but the communists defied the order. Widespread violence occurred on 26 April throughout the Rand, when 18 people were killed and many injured in a Red-sponsored demonstration.

This was enough. The Nationalist Government upon coming to power had set up a "departmental committee to investigate communism in the union." The Minister of Justice told the House of Assembly that the committee's report disclosed that communism constituted a national danger. This, of course, resulted in a nationwide outcry from the Reds and their friends. After further investigations action was taken. On 6 May 1950, Mr. C.R. Swart introduced in Parliament the Suppression of Communism Bill (referred to as an Act only after official acceptance).

The dark shadow of repression had hung over the CPSA for years. Seven years prior to Swart's Bill, Eric Louw, a member of the opposition in those days, had moved a Private Member's motion calling for the outlawing of the Communist Party. The Smuts Government argued that the communists had contravened no law.

Department of Information

Mr. C. R. Swart, the man who produced the Suppression of Communism Bill

THE CPSA'S REACTION TO THE BILL

> "On June 20 1950, four days before the Act came into effect, communist Sam Kahn dramatically announced in the House that the Communist Party had dissolved. This action created legal complications in removing Kahn from the House and Carneson from the Cape Provincial Council, as well as in dealing with the Communist Party itself."[2]

This sudden announcement by Kahn proves his liaison with the party and their hurried step to stay ahead of the Government Bill, designed to put them out of action in South Africa. He further announced that all records had been destroyed and all party assets liquidated. This was a desperate effort on the part of the CPSA to save itself from complete public exposure.

With the announcement of the Bill, the ANC called an emergency meeting in Johannesburg. Communists, socialists, and even "non-communists" were all present at this protest meeting. The date of 26 June was set aside to protest against the Suppression of Communism Act, and as a day of mourning for those killed in the previous May Day demonstrations. The communist concept of a "Freedom Day" was also born at this 26 June gathering. In coming years, it became a "Holy Day" for the CPSA, its friends and fellow-travellers.

Later documents reveal that the CPSA was not altogether unprepared for the banning order. On 11 December 1949, the Wits University Branch of the CPSA submitted a special resolution to the Johannesburg District Committee of the CPSA. In it they mentioned the visit of a British M15 chief with the intention of advising on the suppression of communist activities in South Africa. Hence, some six months before the banning order was gazetted the party was getting ready. The CPSA actually organised a special "new underground apparatus", in anticipation of being banned.

Some years later the party also went through a name change as a result of the banning order. A South African communist writing under the name of Toussaint states:

> "The Communist Party of South Africa was officially banned in 1950, but reconstituted itself as the South African Communist Party (SACP) in 1959 and operated illegally."[3]

GENERAL REACTION TO THE BILL

With the passing of the Bill, which was placed on the statute book on 26 June 1950, a howl went up across South Africa. The opposition press followed its normal line. The Rand Daily Mail continued its stance and called the government's statements and actions "a red-herring..." Other protesters against the new Act were "the Johannesburg Bar Association"[4] (with communists in it!) which saw the Act putting freedom in jeopardy; the Cape and Durban Bar Associations; and the South African Trades and Labour Council. Miss Anna Scheepers, a leader of the Garment Workers' Union warned it would mean the end of trade unionism.[5] Demonstrations against the Act were held in Cape Town and elsewhere. The English-language press opposed it. The Cape Argus, The Friend, "and others were in stiff opposition to the Bill".[6]

The Labour Party loosed fierce opposition to the Act, describing it as "wicked and dangerous". Obviously, one of the purposes of the Act was to remove known communists from the House of Assembly. This included Sam Kahn and his kind. The Rand Daily Mail joined in the war of words that followed. The Star also followed the same line. Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, Labour Representative for the Natives in the House of Assembly, voted against it. The United Party, while opposing the Act, proposed that communism be made tantamount to treason and punishable by the death sentence.[7] And as normal, liberal churchmen voiced their disapproval.

Former communist Bennie Weinbren expressed his views of the Act in these words:

> "The Suppression of Communism Act has proved to be the most effective weapon used by the government in the campaign to smash the free trade union. Not only has the law been freely used to ban and remove from office those trade union officers who were most active in defending the rights and furthering the interests of South Africa's most depressed classes of workers, but it has had the effect also of filleting a number of trade union leaders."[8]

One should note the typical Aesopian jargon used worldwide by communists about "defending... rights" etc. Looking back on Weinbren's prediction of the government's attempts to "smash the free trade unions", time has again proven another "trade union authority" wrong. South African trade unions are larger and more powerful now than at any time in the nation's history. The argument that their success has been "in spite of the Act" and not "because of it" is absurd.

At the other end of the spectrum, the conservative Afrikaans press, churches and individuals and many English-speaking persons wholeheartedly supported the Act. Overseas, such Marxist-infected organizations as the British Trades Union Congress, the World Federation of Trade Unions and the national executive of the British Labour Party

sent numerous powerful and lengthy objections to the Malan Government about the Act. However, all protests fell on deaf ears.

A main objection was that its definition of communism was "so wide that even non-communists could be included in it".[9]

This objection was not altogether unfounded. Many liberals and "progressives" who wanted to express opposition to various government measures and laws, or black leaders attempting to achieve greater political power, could be caught in the Suppression of Communism net. But few of these same liberals ever balanced their heated anti-government rhetoric with an equal amount of heated anti-communist rhetoric. This was missing. This Act, designed to "crush the monster of communism", caught the hottest opposition. None of the objections moved the government and the Act hung like the executioner's axe over the heads of CPSA members and their fellow-travellers. Soon it would fall.

DOES BANNING A COMMUNIST PARTY DEPRIVE FREEDOM?

The most popular objection to the banning of a communist movement is that "it destroys the right of free speech and expression". Pseudo-liberals, leftists, socialist-bent radicals and their breed have hurled this high-sounding accusation into the faces of anti-communists for decades. It is a gross untruth and will not stand against the facts.

When a government, anywhere, allows freedom to an organization within its national boundaries, and it is a historically proven fact that the same organization will use that freedom to destroy the freedom of the entire nation, then that government is guilty of subverting its own foundations. This is precisely the goal of the international communist conspiracy. The record demonstrates this over its entire existence. A good look at communist history, communist refugees and communist monopoly justifies any government wise and courageous enough to ban their actions at every possible turn. This the South African Government did, and it stands like a majestic beacon in the history of the country as a memorial to wisdom and sincere concern for people of all race groups within its boundaries.

Not overlooking all other deeds of suppression, racism, biased actions and plain dirty politics, the passing and putting into physical, practical action of the Suppression of Communism Act is a credit to South Africa and its government.

The communist party has always held that its "guiding principles" and "fortifications" are derived only from the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism. For any party member or group to deviate permanently from these is a crime of the highest nature for which multiple thousands have been executed.[10] World communist leaders openly confess their aims.

> "It is the objective of the communist party to bring about the socialist-communist social system via the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both the... revolution, as well as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat are incompatible with the liberal democratic system."[11]

Every other system, regardless, must be overthrown and destroyed in order to bring about and establish this goal of Marxism-Leninism. Any means whereby this goal may be achieved is considered honourable and good. All forms of Western democracy are despised and scorned by the trained, loyal communist. The number one enemy is that of free-enterprise (but not monopoly) capitalism. It must be totally abolished.

Knowingly to allow freedom to an organization so madly possessed by such hellish beliefs, and which has for over 60 years so persistently fought to bring them to physical reality in true liberal, democratic or republican-type societies, is an act of the highest

stupidity. This most Western governments have continually been guilty of. South Korea, Free China, South Africa and a few other nations have up to now been the very bitterly hated exceptions to this rule.

The Star

Protest marches against the Suppression Act were held in most major centres across the nation

AN EXAMINATION OF THE ACT AND ITS EFFECTS

In the Act, the communists were singled out for special attention due to their long-time damaging influence on the trade unions, the political systems of the nation, various other organizations and the peace of South Africa in general. In almost every riot of any considerable size, the communists, their evil influence, or their dupes were to be found.

The Malan Government declared that the communists within the ranks of certain groups created forms of incitement leading to strikes and riots — even loss of life and property — and that these actions endangered the machinery of negotiation and the economic growth and prosperity of the nation.

> "It was felt that by their encouragement of any and every wage demand, they obstructed the approach to a more responsible wage policy; and by the use of unscrupulous methods and the skilful exploitation of union branch meetings as a field for political agitation, they were progressively weakening trade-union democracy. It was also accepted that the communists' lack of political success emphasized by the virtual disappearance of the Labour Party, prompted them to concentrate their efforts on industrial agitation, for there were always numerous grievances to exploit."[12]

A string of Acts had been produced by previous governments to control agitation and incitement among white and black groups across the nation. The Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1914, the Bantu Administration Act of 1927 and the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1930 and others were all aimed at this target. What the previous Acts failed to achieve, apparently the Suppression of Communism Act and its succeeding amendments accomplished. The original Bill of 1950 briefly defined communism as follows:

> "Communism means the doctrine of Marxian Socialism as expounded by Lenin or Trotsky, the Third Communist International (the Comintern), or the Communist Information Bureau (The Cominform), or any related form of that doctrine expounded or advocated in the Union for the promotion of the fundamental principles of that doctrine and includes, in particular, any doctrine or scheme —
>
> (a) which aims at the establishment of the proletariat under which one political organization only is recognised and all other political organizations are suppressed or eliminated; or
>
> (b) which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union by the promotion of disturbance or disorder, by unlawful acts or omissions or by means which include the promotion of disturbances or disorder, or such acts or omissions or threats; or

(c) which aims at bringing about any political, industrial, social or economic change within the Union in accordance with the directions or under the guidance of or in co-operation with any foreign or international institution whose purpose or one of whose purposes (professed or otherwise) is to promote the establishment within the Union of any political, industrial, social or economic system identical with or similar to any system in operation in any country which has adopted a system of Government such as is described in paragraph (a); or

(d) which aims at the encouragement of feelings of hostility between the European and non-European races of the Union the consequences of which are calculated to further the achievement of any object referred to in paragraph (a) or (b)."[13]

VARIOUS AMENDMENTS TO THE ACT IN 1951, 1954 AND 1962

As emergency situations arose in dealing with the communists and their wiles, various amendments were added. In 1951, the terms of the new amendments dealt with "communist persons" rather than "doctrines" as in 1950. This addition was so widened that "persons" could be included who had, even before the Act was passed in 1950, professed to be communists or had promoted the aims of communism.[14] "In 1951, therefore, the 1950 law was applied retroactively to anyone who had ever been a communist."[15]

Then the 1954 Amendment made it an offence for the writings or speeches of banned persons to be recorded, published, or disseminated in any manner except with the Minister's approval, or for purposes of proceedings in a court of law.[16]

Further, the additions to the Suppression of Communism Act in the 1962 amendment included "house arrest". Under these further laws, the banning orders covered a wide spectrum, such as confining a person to a stipulated area, town, or part of a town, and allowing no form of communication with any other banned or listed person.

> "People who have been served banning orders may not change their place of residence or employment without first notifying the police. In some cases, banning orders decree that the banned person has to resign from any organization where the government policy is discussed, may not attend gatherings where more than one other person is present, has to report to the police daily or weekly, may not enter any factory or education institution, may not be present in a court of law unless personally involved in the proceedings and may not enter the premises where any publication is prepared or where a trade union has its offices. In other cases, people could be placed under house arrest, confined to their homes for twenty-four hours a day, but more usually for twelve hours (allowing for work), and at week-ends and on public holidays."[17]

NEW AGE

CARRY FREEDOM CHARTER TO EVERY HOME!

Call By People's Leaders

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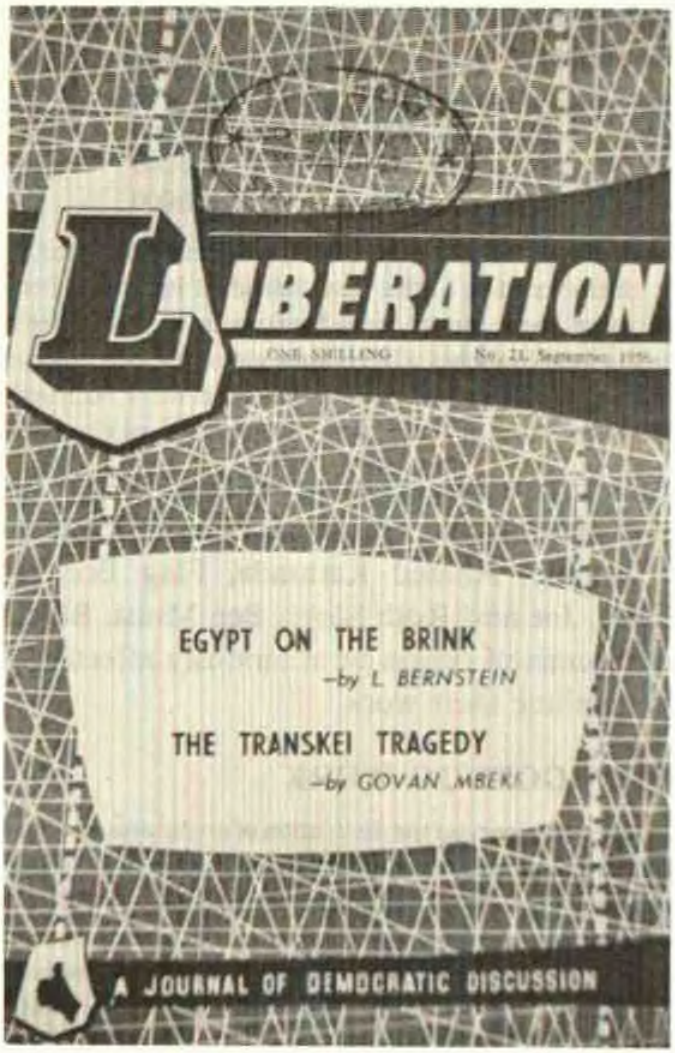
The Red publication New Age, banned in 1962



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Liberation pushed the party line in South Africa

INITIAL EFFECTS OF THE SUPPRESSION ACT

Despite the howls of the liberals, socialists, Marxist-Leninists and their fellow-travellers,

> "The full effects of the punitive measure soon became apparent. During the ten years following the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, there were no major industrial disputes. Trade unions were aware that the right to strike and especially the right to strike on a large scale, was hedged about with perilous restrictions and they were reluctant in the face of a hostile government to take the risks involved."[18]

The Red dragon had been injected with a mild opiate and it was partially paralyzed, but raging in wild fury.

The CPSA was not banned because of its overwhelming numerical superiority or its sheer armed strength. This was never the case over the course of its entire history. As small as it was in comparison with other political organizations it had developed that cunning Marxist-Leninist ability to shake selected portions of the nation at almost any selected time. It could take away public peace and replace it with riot, terror and death. It was especially successful and rife among the trade unions, which were becoming the main channel for strife and turmoil over the country. (See note number 11 under documentation for chapter 15.)

The smallness of the CPSA at the time of its banning in June 1950 is clearly demonstrated by one American researcher who frequently visited South Africa during those days:

"At the time the CPSA was officially dissolved in 1950, its membership was approximately as follows:

Communist Members in 1950		Total Population
Africans	1 200	8 000 000
Europeans	900	2 500 000
Asians	250	300 000
Coloureds	150	1 000 000

On the whole, the European members (of the CPSA) were better educated, more sternly disciplined and harder working. The chief exception to this were individual Indians. After the official banning of the party, Moses Kotane rushed about South Africa breaking up the party, destroying or hiding documents and giving instructions to local branches. Orders were given that communists must infiltrate all kinds of national organizations, and when they had gained executive control, such organizations could be used for communistic ends with some hope of escaping the Suppression of Communism Act."[19]

The Act struck like an earthquake within the ranks of the CPSA and its friends. Such steeled comrades as Raymond Mhlaba, Gladstone Tshume, Eli and Violet Weinberg, Ivan Schermbrucker, Dan Tloome, Ahmed Kathrada, Flag Boshielo, Elias Motsoaledi, M.P. Naicker, T.H. Gwala, Joe and Ruth Slovo, Ben Mnisi, Billy Nair, Lionel Forman, Johnson Ngwavela and dozens of others were seriously affected. They were now being driven underground to continue their work.

THE RED LIQUIDATOR GOES TO WORK

"A liquidator was appointed to supervise the dissolution of communist organizations and to compile a list of communists, former communists and communist supporters. Unless they successfully rebutted the charge of communist activity, they were forbidden to be members of Parliament, the Provincial Councils or other public bodies. Organizations serving the purposes of communism were to be liquidated; broad powers were vested in the government to suppress periodicals deemed communist and 'named communists' could be banned from attending trade union, political and other gatherings and could be barred from specific areas."[20]

The liquidator of the communist party, on presentation of evidence (usually of party membership) in camera "named" some 600 persons as communists.[21] The official liquidator, Mr. Justice J. de Villiers Louw, used great prudence in the task. In some cases he refused to name a person after seeing the government's evidence, or actually removed a name from the list on presentation of further evidence.

"In analysing the list of named persons, we find that the 256 Africans comprise the largest racial group. There were 235 Europeans, 67 coloureds and 36 Asians.

Among the Europeans, there were 74 women compared to 161 men. Over one-third of the Europeans named were born abroad, principally in Eastern Europe and Great Britain. Occupationally, they ranged very widely. Trade union officials (15) were most numerous, trailed by lawyers, accountants and university teachers. One-half of the women were housewives and eight of them union officials. Johannesburg had the most of the Europeans (126), Cape Town had 63, Pretoria 12, Durban 10. This left a handful in small towns and on farms.

Among the blacks, labourers were predominant, totalling 81 out of the 256. Union officials and private businessmen had 15 representatives each. All but three of the 25 African women listed were housewives. Out of Africans on the list, 78 lived in Johannesburg, 31 in Cape Town, 21 in Springs, 20 in Pretoria, 18 in Wolmaransstad and 11 in Port Elizabeth. Wolmaransstad is a small town in the Western Transvaal and one can speculate that there must have been a powerful personality at work there at some stage. An analysis of tribal affiliation shows the majority of Africans were Basuto (85) followed by Xhosa (54) and Zulu (19).

Thirty of the 54 coloured men and 13 coloured women lived in Cape Town. Of this number of coloureds, 11 were union officials and the remainder follow a wide variety of occupations. All of the Indians were men, with one exception, and almost half lived in Durban. Again, there were 5 union officials and like the Europeans, a sprinkling of professional men."[22]

It is evident that these "named communists"[23] were primarily urban people. There were

GUARDIAN

TRADE UNIONS FIGHT BACK

IT SHOULDN'T HAPPEN TO A DOG!

Our New Name Is ADVANCE

People's World

FORMERLY THE CLARION

WAS POLICE SHOOTING CAUSE

NORTHERN

Advance

DONGES BANS FAMOUS NOVELS

RACE TENSION

1948 1952

The Clarion

Only Democratic Unity Can Stop Fascism

CALL FOR ACTIVE RESISTANCE

CLARION SALES SOARING

THOUSANDS VOLUNTEER FOR DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

All of these publications carried the message of communism

Institute for Study of Marxism

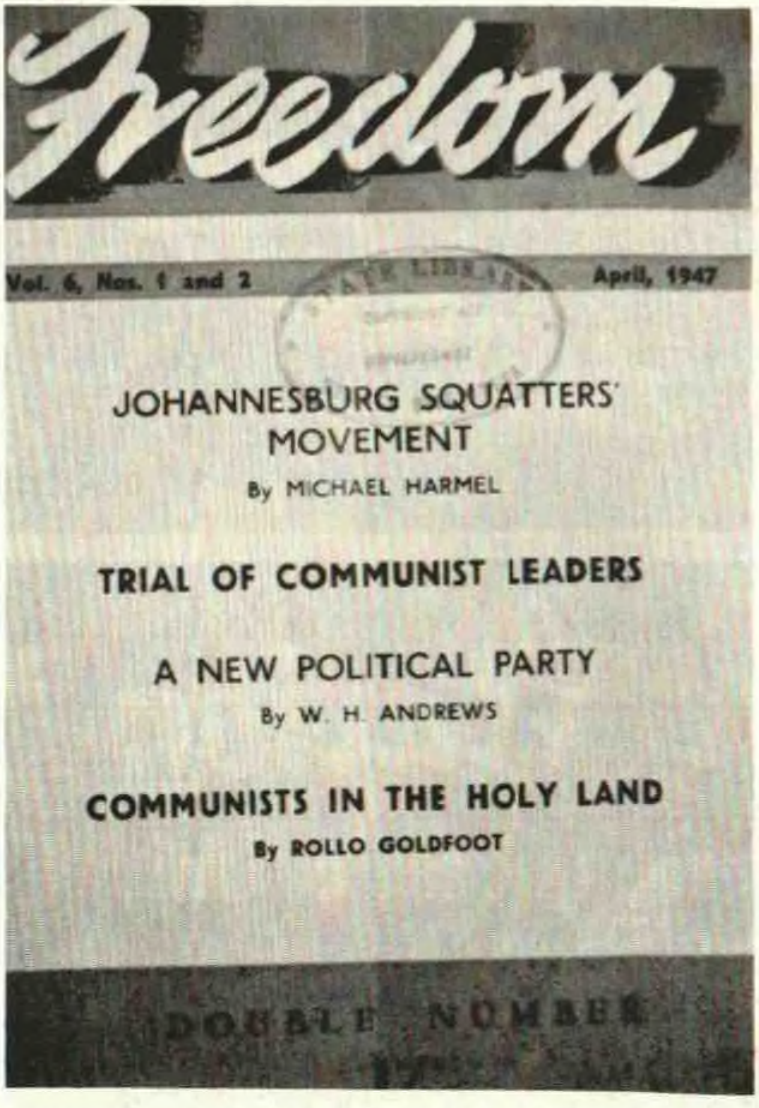
no known communist movements of any importance in the rural areas. Communism breeds best amid the masses within the big cities.

COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS BANNED

Next the government dealt with the various communistically disposed newspapers. The Guardian was banned first.[24] It had carried the official communist line for many years and was under the editorship of party member Brian Bunting and his wife Sonia at the time of its banning.

Employing a standard long-time dialectical tactic, The Guardian announced its collapse, only to reappear under the name Advance.[25] After the banning of Advance, this principle continued with Advance becoming Clarion, then People's World and finally New Age. The New Age was banned in 1962.[26] A string of leftists and communists were responsible for the appearance of each succeeding newspaper. Some of these were Lionel Forman, Govan Mbeki, Ruth First, M.P. Naicker and Daniel Tloome. The Suppression Act shut the mouths of these CPSA literary propagandists spreading their message through these channels.

A communist publication of lesser importance, called Liberation, edited by comrades Michael Harmel and Daniel Tloome, appeared on the propaganda scene. Though having



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Moses Kotane's propaganda booklet only lasted a short time

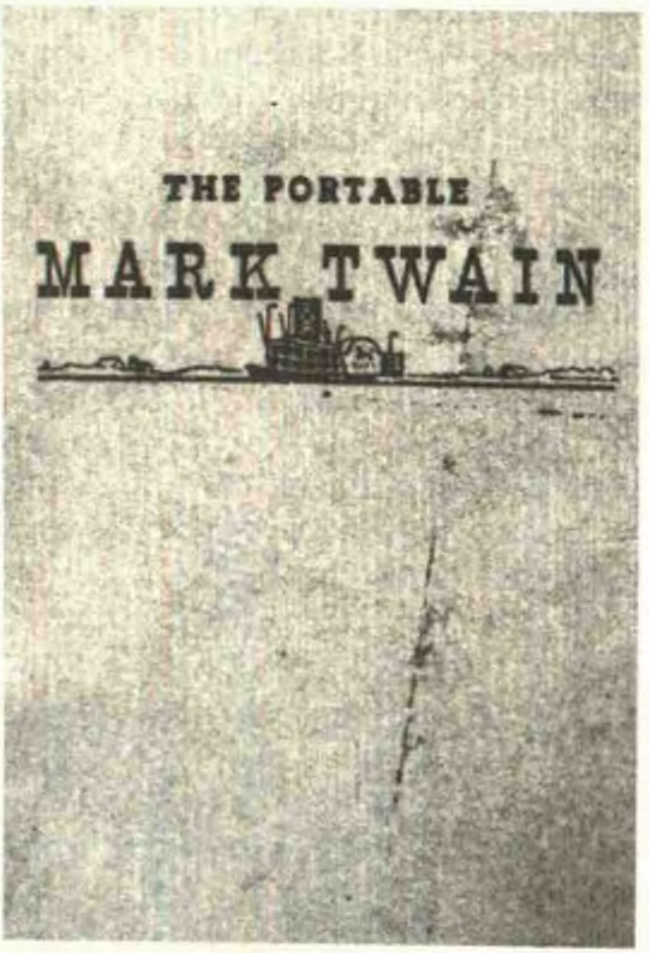
a very small circulation, the publication later presented itself as a Journal of Democratic Discussion. Duma Nokwe was one of the writers for Liberation. This is the same Duma Nokwe who along with a group of Marxist Youth League members travelled to the Bucharest communist-controlled World Youth Conference and afterwards "visited" Russia, China and other socialist countries on a five-month tour. After being jailed on several occasions, he fled South Africa in 1963. Nokwe added a "Chinese touch" to Liberation.

Another "prominent writer" to add his talent to Liberation was Advocate D.N. Pritt Q.C., a famous British barrister. Communist Eli Weinberg and Advocate Nelson Mandela also contributed to the pages of Liberation. It was clearly a voice for leftist and communist lies and half-truths. As previously mentioned, Fighting Talk, the voice of the Springbok Legion, was also banned.

The curious mystery hovering over Ronald Segal's provocative magazine, South Africa, is discussed in chapter 32.

SAAN

M. P. Naicker's articles often appeared in various Red publications. Naicker fled South Africa and worked for the ANC in London



Institute for Study of Marxism

These innocent-looking booklets contained hard-line Marxist propaganda in the middle pages

COMMUNIST PUBLICATIONS ENTERING SOUTH AFRICA

After the banning of the party, a deluge of communist propaganda literature, such as books, papers and tracts of various sorts, began to pour into South Africa. Tons of printed matter posted from Prague, Moscow and "cover locations" such as West Berlin and Liechtenstein has been mailed into the country. The material touches a very wide range of subjects, such as education, medicine, sport, tourism, legal and technical fields, religion, retirement, vacations and job opportunities. It is still mailed in plain wrappers to selected points such as law firms, main public libraries, schools, universities, civic and social organizations and leftist and socialistic-inclined bodies. This communist literature comes in every major language of South Africa.

Up until the closing of the Soviet Consulate in Pretoria (February 1956) and its deputy office in Cape Town, both served as receiving and distribution stations for Marxist-Leninist literature. Communists and their friends travelling in and out of South Africa still ferry a considerable amount of printed propaganda into the country. The hard-line communist publications such as State and Revolution; Left Wing Communism; Das Kapital; the Manifesto; What is to be Done? along with countless other pieces are presently being used by secret study groups, some of these allegedly operating among university students in black, coloured, Indian and white institutions.

Cassette and disc recordings have over the past decade become a popular method of propaganda outreach for various fronts operating from overseas and attempting to reach certain South African groups. The flood of Red literature of the 1950s and 60s has greatly increased up to this present time. It constitutes another problem for security officials.

Not only from overseas, but within South Africa itself, after the banning of the party, a profusion of CPSA literature hit the country. Various clever publications seemingly designed for everyday usage were appearing. A Memo Book of 96 pages was generally distributed. The first four pages and last nine were blank. The middle contained Marxist doctrine. A CPSA booklet called, Modern Folk Ballads (Pocket Poets), carried exactly the same design. A publication, What Animal is It? ostensibly written by the South African Bird Book Fund, another entitled Landmarks of South African History, and various others appeared in the major cities of the country. All, without exception, were filled with communist propaganda in the middle pages. A booklet designed for students, titled Sociology for Examination Review, was issued, carrying portions of the writings of Marx and Engels. As early as 1946, the CPSA printed The Portable Mark Twain with over 80 pages of propaganda.[27]

Other party publications in those days included The Coming Struggle; Economics and Politics; Democracy in Action; The Nationalist Attack on the Trade Unions; We South Africans; Seven Words; India; The Facts; Communism for South Africa; Our Common Enemy; The Communist Challenge; and Arms of the People. These are only a few of the numerous titles which flooded South Africa during the post-war period up until about 1969. Hundreds of others have entered the country since and continue to do so up to the present.

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER SIXTEEN

1. *Traitor's End*
   Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
   By Nathaniel Weyl, pp. 91-92
2. *The Politics of Inequality*
   Thames and Hudson, London 1958
   By G.M. Carter p. 69
3. *Political Affairs*
   Communist Party of USA
   October 1981
4. Number 1, p. 92
5. *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 June 1950
6. Number 2, p. 68
7. Edited from leading newspapers of May and June 1950. Most of them continually carried the story.
8. *2000 Casualties*
   Trade Union Council of South Africa, Johannesburg 1961
   By Ivan L. Walker and Bennie Weinbren, p. 241
9. *500 Years South African History*
   H. R. Academica, Pretoria 1969
   Edited by C.F.J. Muller, p. 493
10. On one occasion Lenin said: "Whoever deviates (from Marxist-Leninist principles), should simply be placed in a cage and displayed together with some Australian Kangaroo . . ." (*Military Pedagogy*, Moscow 1973. By Colonels Danchonko and Vydrin, p. 194)

    Lenin's comments are interesting, for a "soft-nose bullet through the back of the neck" was the normal prescription for all serious deviation from party doctrine.
11. *Outlawing the Communist Party*
    Bookmailer Club, New York 1957
    Translated and edited by W.P. von Schmertzing, pp. 14-15
12. *Industrial Relations in South Africa*
    Juta and Company Ltd., Cape Town 1976
    By J.A. Grey Coetzee, p. 41
13. *Communist Activity in South Africa*
    American University Field Staff, New York 8-58
    By E.S. Munger, pp. 34-35
    See also *Government Gazette* No. 8232, 9 June 1982, for a complete explanation of the Internal Security Act, 1982
14. *South African Trade Unions: History, Legislaton, Policy*
    McGraw-Hill Book Company, Johannesburg 1976
    By M.A. du Toit, p. 18
15. *Towards a Certain Future*
    David Philip Publishers, Cape Town 1981
    By Robert I. Rotberg, p. 38
16. Number 12, pp. 42-43
17. Number 12, p. 43
18. Number 12, pp. 43-44

19. Edited from number 13, pp. 33-36
20. Number 1, p. 92
21. These were known communists. Hundreds were unknown.
22. Edited from first document of number 13, pp. 37-38
23. "In the terms of the Act a 'named person' could apply for his name to be removed from the list of suspected persons. When no such application was received, the person concerned is listed as a communist." *(Rivonia Unmasked,*
Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1965
By Lauritz Strydom, p. 53)
24. With the banning of *The Guardian,* the CPSA and its friends hurried about to save face. A Freedom of the Press conference was held in the banqueting hall, Cape Town, on Sunday 20 January 1952 to protest. With about 500 people present and over 20 speakers, the Reds rattled their sabres at the Malan Government. A look at the personalities present made it seem more like a meeting of the Comintern. Gathered to protest were such "freedom fighters" as Dr. Robert Forsyth, Solly Sachs, Alex Hepple, T. Ngwenya, K. March, Z. Gool, Ray Alexander, Sam Kahn, the Rev. A.W. Blaxall, A.P. Jenner, D.L. Dryburgh and Brian Bunting. (See the CPSA pamphlet *Press Freedom is the Lifeblood of Democracy,* Cape Town 1952, pp. 1-2. See note 27 below)
25. Number 1, p. 93
26. When *The Guardian* was banned and reappeared as *Advance,* a dance was held at Bram Fischer's house on 11 April 1953 to collect funds for the "new paper".
(The Amazing Mr. Fischer, Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1966.
By G. Ludi and B. Grobbelaar, p. 26)
27. Copies of all these publications are located at the Institute for the Study of Marxism at Stellenbosch University.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

A DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN AND LIBERAL DILEMMA

BACKGROUND TO THE DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

The communists hurried to fight back against the government's opposition. In February 1951, the ANC, the SAIC and the African People's Organization (APO) called an emergency meeting in Cape Town. Some 32 organizations reportedly attended this meeting. They pledged themselves to resist racial policies considered to be oppressive. A few months later, in July, representatives of the ANC, the SAIC and the Franchise Action Council (a coloured organization in the Cape) met in Johannesburg. They came together to make plans to launch a mass campaign of resistance. A "Joint Planning Committee" (or Council) was created which consisted of Dr. J.S. Moroka, J.B. Marks, Walter Sisulu, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo and Y.A. Cachalia. One particular document states that "all the members of this committee were communists, excepting the Chairman, Dr. Moroka".[1]

This same document continues: "In organizing this campaign, they envisaged forcing the government firstly to compromise with the organizers, and secondly, to arouse sympathy overseas for the 'oppressed' non-Europeans in South Africa."[2] (For more details regarding overseas support, see chapter 30 under heading, It Began Over Thirty Years Ago.)

The "Joint Planning Committee" declared that the government must, before 29 February 1952, repeal various laws, including the Suppression of Communism Act. These demands of the "Committee" were approved at a meeting of the ANC in December 1951 at Bloemfontein. This meeting was chaired by Dr. Moroka and the secretary was Walter Sisulu. These two addressed a letter to the Prime Minister which was flatly rejected and included a warning not to incite the people to disobey the law.

It is not true that all Africans were sympathetic to plans of the "Joint Committee". R.V. Selope Thema, a former ANC president, split off from the group and formed the National-Minded Bloc. He tried for a time to keep this new group within the ANC, but the more he opposed the communists (such as J. B. Marks) the more unpopular he became. Using the black newspaper the Bantu World, of which he was the editor, he fought hard against the "forces of internationalism" within the ANC. Thema used his paper to oppose the Defiance Campaign of 1952. His enemies soon discredited and isolated him from the mainstream of black life and he later joined the Moral Re-Armament movement. Though opposing the communists, Thema would often work with them in joint projects.

Still another group called the Bantu National Congress, which consisted basically of African herbalists, appeared in February 1952. After merging with a group called the Supreme Council of Bantu Federations, they announced their support of the government's policy of apartheid! No effective communist influence is traceable in these movements. On the contrary, they were often verbally attacked by communists within the "Joint Planning Committee".

The World

R. V. Selope Thema, editor of Bantu World, split with the ANC and started his own radical group, the National-Minded Bloc

Dr. Peter Tsele was a prominent leader in the ANC Youth League until 1951. Fiercely objecting to the communist influence he saw entering the movement, he resigned. When the Pan African (or Africanist) Congress was founded in 1959, he attempted to form a rival body called the Pan African Freedom Movement, which died for lack of support. From the rooms of his medical practice in Pretoria, he persuaded many blacks to join him in the battle against communism among the African people. The blacks of South Africa suffered a great loss with his death in a car accident in 1961. Dr. Tsele fought diligently against the communist-inspired Defiance Campaign and the communist influence within the ANC.

Max Yergan was a black American who came to South Africa in the late 1920s and stayed until about 1937. Working for the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) he was a dedicated communist at that time. He spread Marxism among many of the students of Fort Hare, most notably Govan Mbeki. In 1936, he shared in drafting the constitution of the All-African Convention. Suddenly he left South Africa and returned to his native America. In later years Yergan became deeply disenchanted with Marxism-Leninism. In 1952, he reappeared in Johannesburg right in the middle of the Defiance Campaign and preached forcefully against the communists within the movement. His powerful speeches

convinced many to drop out of the campaign and shortly he became a marked man due to his violent anti-communist stance. Yergan's work was soon swallowed up by the rabid, chanting, crazed mobs leading the Defiance Campaign.

Drum

SAIC leaders deliberately break the law at Boksburg. These three men had secret contacts with the CPSA

THE DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

After preliminary warm-up attempts, the actual campaign was launched on 26 June 1952. It should be noted that, in the early stages, classes and training sessions were given to prepare the volunteers for the battle. These classes were supervised by the Reds. We read:

> "In order to incite the masses, skilled communist agitators were sent to various parts of the country to do this work. Numerous meetings were held and poisonous anti-white speeches were made which resulted in an eruption of serious racial riots..."[3]

A call went out for

> "10 000 volunteers openly to violate six laws that the Congress found obnoxious and to court arrest and imprisonment. The (communist) theory was that the prisons would become overcrowded, the police and judicial machinery would break down and the government (because of mob action) would be compelled to consent to the nullification of its laws..."[4]

In the first few months of the campaign, thousands of non-whites, mostly blacks, proceeded in the cities and larger towns to contravene pass laws, to enter waiting rooms and railway coaches reserved for whites and to disregard any law they felt was repugnant. Mobs of blacks, chanting, dancing, singing and shouting "Africa" and giving the ANC salute[5] roamed the streets. When arrested, most offered no resistance, this being the result of their previous training sessions. However, such passivity did not continue very long.

Feelings were running high and tension was mounting.

At this time another person appeared by the name of Patrick Duncan.[6]

> "Some 8 000 people, led by Duncan, son of a former Governor-General of South Africa, and Manilal Gandhi, second son of Mahatma, broke laws by entering Bantu locations without permission and by invading racially reserved railroad stations ..."[7]

The South African police acted with great wisdom, arresting only the known communists in the earlier stages of the campaign. With the leadership and instigators removed from the scene of action, the campaign began to falter and, within eight months, was over — but not before serious loss of life and property had occurred. Inflamed by the rhetoric and harangue of the campaign directed by communist leaders, crazed mobs ran amuck in Johannesburg, Kimberley, East London and Port Elizabeth. Both blacks and whites were killed in the clashes that followed.

In East London, savage mobs murdered a Roman Catholic nun who had served them for years as a missionary medical doctor.[8] After pulling Dr. Mary Quinlan's body from a burning car, they hacked her to death and actually ate portions of her flesh! When the police arrived, some of the cannibals were shot on the spot after resisting the order to surrender. Dr. Quinlan was one of the many victims of the Defiance Campaign.

Dr. G. M. Naicker and Mr P. Similane stir up the mobs by making speeches at "Red Square" in Durban. The crowds were psychologically prepared for the campaign

SMASHING THE DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

The Defiance Campaign came to a crashing halt when about sixty leaders of the ANC and SAIC — among whom were a very large number of known communists — were arrested. They were charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. They later appeared in the Supreme Court and received sentences ranging from three to nine months'

Trained black cadres kept the crowds whipped up during the Defiance Campaign

imprisonment. These were later conditionally suspended. Included in this line-up were numerous friends and members of the CPSA:

> "Moses Kotane, H.V. Thandraym, J.B. Marks, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, Raymond Mhlaba, I.M. Maseko, A.M. Kathrada, A.P. Mati, Daniel Tloome, D.W. Bopape, G.X. Tshume, J.G. Phillips, and H. Seperepere."[9]

Because the police arrested and removed the professional communist agitators from the scene, the campaign began to fade out. Without their leadership, the wild mobs were disorientated and began to dissolve and scatter.

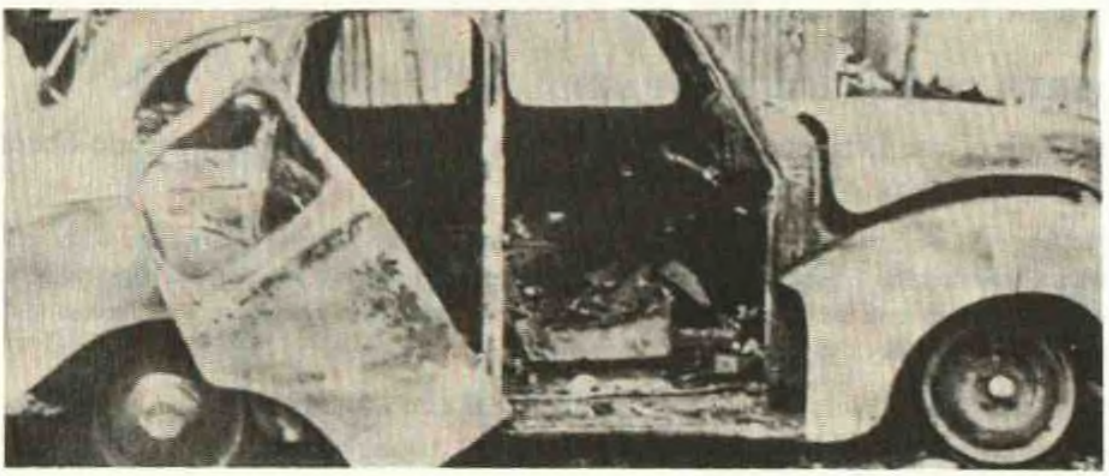
Under the Suppression of Communism Act,

> "about ninety communists received notices demanding their resignation from certain organizations or trade unions and advising them not to participate in the activities of such organizations. They were also barred from attending any meetings for a prescribed period. About half of the persons concerned were active communists who filled key positions such as secretary or national organizer, in the different trade unions. Most of these had the power to cripple the country economically by calling a general strike. The restrictions placed upon the most tenacious members of the communist party curtailed their activities considerably..."[10]

Through these actions, the so-called Defiance Campaign died.

Nasionale Boekhandel

The arrow marks the spot where Dr. Quinlan was murdered



Marius Garb

The remains of Dr. Quinlan's car. Note the brick on the floorboard and doors torn from the hinges

Marius Garb

Some of the killers of Dr. Quinlan, numbered and lined up at the police station

COMMUNIST FISCHER GOES TO VIENNA: STALIN DIES

By the end of 1952, as the Defiance Campaign was on its death-bed, Advocate Bram Fischer seemed to have made a considerable impression on the party leadership.

> "He was elected as a delegate to a Congress of People for Peace in Vienna from 2-20 December 1952, organized by the World Peace Council. It is believed that he spent some time in Moscow after the congress."[11]

One thing is certain: Fischer rocketed to fame within the ranks of South African communism upon his return. In February 1953, shortly after his return, he was chairman of a meeting of the Society of Peace and Friendship with the USSR, and told those present of his trip and the Vienna Peace Congress. From this time on, Fischer was continually in meetings of various fronts, pushing the party line. Fischer has been described as "careful, clever and cunning" in his speeches and activities for the cause of communism.

In March 1953, the world received news of the death of Joseph Stalin. Few people in all human history have left such a mark as the former theological student turned communist. Guilty of the mass slaughter of millions of his own countrymen, death carried the "man of steel" into eternity. True to fashion, various communist party groups around the world, including the banned CPSA, lamented the death of their beloved comrade and leader.

THE BIRTH OF THE LIBERAL PARTY

The failure of the Defiance Campaign did not fully deter the leftist pseudo-liberals and communists in South Africa.

> "In July 1953, a number of whites who were concerned about the growing polarisation of whites and non-whites, founded the Liberal Party (LP). The members of this party... wanted a multi-racial society in which all would have the vote. In this regard, they were therefore in agreement with the communists, but in other aspects they differed radically from them."[12]

The Liberal Party was a classical example of the "unequal yoke". Mrs. Margaret Ballinger was the early president of this group and, though a bitter foe of the Nationalist Government, she was not a communist. However, like most confirmed liberals, she tolerated their presence and at times co-operated with them.

Drum

Patrick Duncan leads a vast crowd of Indians during the Defiance Campaign. Gandhi's son Manilal can be seen over his left shoulder

State Library - Pretoria

D. W. Bopape (left) and comrade J. G. Phillips (right) were both arrested during the police clean-up in the riots

Within the LP was a mixture of "conservatives, moderates and CPSA members". Such a combination of petrol and fire would not last long without the inevitable explosion. With a known communist like Jock Isakowitz working with the LP in the Johannesburg area, "moderates" like Mrs. Ballinger were seriously embarrassed. Further, the LP also had persons who described themselves as "ex-communists". Even the Black Sash had members within the organization.

Among the leading lights in the LP were Alan Paton (mitigator of the Rivonia Reds and their friends), Dr. O. Wollheim, Leo Marquard, Patrick Duncan and the black journalist Jordan Ngubane. Later the famous Senator Edward Brooks united with the group. Advocate Leslie Rubin at one stage served as chairman. The problem of this organization was that it openly advertised itself as being opposed to any form of dictatorship, whether fascist or communist, yet it carried within its ranks known communists, who worked for the grossest form of dictatorship found in all of human history.[13] Police counter-spy Gerard Ludi testified in court that he had been instructed in secret CPSA cell meetings that, in order to

> "prepare the ground for a violent national-democratic revolution (in South Africa), we (CPSA members) would have to work with the Congress Alliance and the Liberal Party of South Africa".[14]

It is imperative to remember that all liberals must not be tarred with the same brush. There is a vast difference between the pseudo-liberals who are freedom's enemies and true liberals who work and fight for genuine human rights, and for the establishment and maintenance of upright and moral standards, apart from any known co-operation with the Devil and his works.[15]

One writer put a burning question to the LP of that time:

> "Liberal churchmen and the LP must ask themselves why so many liberals, despite the Liberal Party's policy of non-violence, become criminals. Is it because members of the Liberal Party are not sufficiently influenced, while they are members, with the tenets of Christianity? Or are membership qualifications too lenient? Whatever the answer and despite the official protestations of the Liberal Party that it will have no part in violence, it remains a fact that liberals like (John) Harris are among South Africa's most dastardly murderers."

This writer adds

> "To the Liberal Party falls the unenviable but inescapable responsibility for having fostered (John) Harris, (Patrick) Duncan, (Randolph) Vigne and many others. In the climate of racial hatred cultivated by the Liberal Party, university students have been thrown into the clutches of the far left and many ... have directly or indirectly been to the benefit of the communist party."[16]

As time passed, the LP suffered one smashing defeat after another. Viewed by the whites as the furthest radical extreme, the LP limped along until May 1968. Finally, it was disbanded because of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, which prohibited multi-racial political parties. Specific communist interest in using the LP was minimal due to its inherent weakness and its inability to touch the masses and make any type of dent for their cause. Several writers have portrayed the LP as a "nest of communist conspirators" but have missed the mark with such a blanket description. Ultimately, it was a blessing when such a mixture of "communist chalk" and "liberal cheese" faded from the national scene.

THE NOBEL PRIZE WINNER WHO WORKED WITH COMMUNISTS

Albert John Luthuli (the name is given various spellings) was born in about 1898, near Bulawayo in Rhodesia. In 1935, he became chief of the Groutville Reserve. He travelled in

India and America during 1938 and 1948. In 1951, he became the Natal president of the ANC, as the militants schemed to remove the more conservative A.W.G. Champion from the position. During the Defiance Campaign, he was rocketed to fame through his open support of the rioters and demonstrators. He was dismissed from his position as chief in November 1952 due to his refusal to resign from the ANC. Taking advantage of the publicity about the dismissal by the government, he gained notoriety across the country, especially among the blacks.[17]

At the annual conference of the ANC in December 1952, Luthuli was elected ANC president-general, an office he held till his death. It was alleged that Luthuli became a tool in the hands of the left-wing and communists within the ANC. His rise in prestige upon receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961 simply added new lustre to the communist cause.[18] Luthuli was banned in 1952, and again in 1954 and 1959. Though not a communist himself, he openly admitted in his own book: "There are communists in the South African resistance, and I co-operate with them."[19]

> "Numerous officers and members of Luthuli's ANC have been identified as members of the... communist party and are known to be active participants in communist front causes and organizations."[20] Now the Reds had a Nobel Prize winner "working with them". (See note number 31 under documentation for chapter 29.)

Africana Museum

Albert Luthuli, the Nobel Prize winner who "worked with the communists" and called them his "neighbour"

When he took office as president-general of the ANC, he was "on the executive committee with five communists, including the former secretary-general of the CPSA, Moses Kotane". Luthuli was a member of the World Council of Peace, an international communist-dominated organization. He was also a member of the South African Peace Council, another front movement. His dealings with noted communist lawyers Rowley Arenstein and J.N. Singh, the latter being his personal attorney, are documented. When the mass murderer Joseph Stalin died in 1953, Luthuli sent a lengthy cable to Moscow, eulogizing the dead communist dictator.[21] Documents (captured by the police in the Rivonia raid) showed that Luthuli was consulted about the new policy of violence and sabotage, that he approved thereof and gave it his blessing and that he was kept in touch with the position.[22] One writer and friend of Luthuli quotes the chief as saying he was "a Christian socialist".[23] Luthuli was struck by a train and killed near his home in Natal on 21 July 1967. The rumour was spread that he was killed by the South African Government.

THE LIBERAL'S DILEMMA REFLECTED IN LUTHULI

The liberals' passion for "social justice" often blinds them to cold facts and historical realities. Some are so blind as to believe they may join forces with the Devil in an attempt to defeat the Devil. Albert Luthuli's own words reflect this pitiful attitude. When questioned by a "haughty American reporter" about communists in his organization and the other freedom movements, and his associations with them, he replied:

> "Let me make it clear at once that I do not feel in the least defensive or apologetic about the position as it actually... is often misrepresented, for I myself am not a communist. Communism seems to me to be a mixture of a false theory of society linked onto a false 'religion'."[24]

Luthuli's words reveal a complete mental blackout regarding the philosophy, purposes and machinations of Marxism-Leninism. No wonder he "could work with them".

The simplest and most fundamental fact about genuine communists is one of the hardest to grasp. They are not human, that is, in the selective and optimistic sense in which we habitually use the word. They neither think nor feel as we do. Communists do not see the world as we see it. They are not human because they have been subjected to a prolonged and intensive discipline, devised to purge them of all instincts and capacities that we regard as characteristic of man — self-respect, independent judgement, conscience, pity, faith in God and Christ, love for home, country, flag and every form of decency and morality. This death-discipline is designed to make certain that anyone in whom these human qualities are not totally extinct is finally eliminated from the party. A true communist must be a perfect tool, a thoroughly reliable weapon which will shoot at any mark at which it is aimed. This, Luthuli and his kind never learned.

After stating that he worked with communists in the movement, he continued with these words:

> "Nobody in the Congress (ANC) may use the organization to further the aims, but those of the Congress. When I co-operate with communists in Congress affairs, I am not co-operating with communism..."[25]

Then he concludes with this statement: "I do not find within myself a blind terror of the 'communist menace'."[26]

Over two decades later, Luthuli's words have proven to be like those of an Old Testament false prophet. The ANC today is a total instrument in the hands of the Soviet Communist Party. It has been guilty of cold-blooded, premeditated murder, sabotage, incitement and attempted revolution. Luthuli's philosophy that "communists are people and my neighbours" falls like a death stroke in view of communism's ugly and heinous

record. The "belief" of men like Luthuli is slow poison to all free, democratic societies, especially those engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the numerous attempts of communists and their dupes to subvert and overthrow.

WHAT COMMUNISTS SAY OF THE "NON-COMMUNIST" SYMPATHISERS

The Australian Communist Party tells it this way:

> "We must always remember that a sympathiser is generally worth more than a dozen communist militants. A university professor who, without being a party member, lends himself to the interest of the Soviet Union, is worth more than a hundred party members."[27]

V. I. Lenin, the grand patriarch of communism, wrote much of the non-communist liberals who see no harm in co-operating with communism on specific goals.

> "We welcome... the liberals... acquaint them with our movement... support them by exposing... all the despicable acts of the government and the local authorities, and try to induce them to support the revolution".[28]

The loyalty of Luthuli and other liberals over the years in giving support to the "liberation movements" was one that was shared in far more important circles. "The Soviet Union and other socialist countries regard the national liberation movements as their ally."[29] These were the words of the former leader of the Soviet Communist Party. Chairman Leonid I. Brezhnev spoke them 10 years before his death.

This "lending" process of liberals who make their speeches about being "non-communists" is obvious across the history of the CPSA. There are dozens of cases that could be cited. Even so-called "Christians" who "oppose communism" have swelled the ranks of those who assist the Red monster. Luthuli himself was regularly presented as a "Christian with deep convictions". To Christians, the Bible puts this question: "What part hath he that believeth with an infidel?" (II Cor. 6:15). One may see in the history of the CPSA "believing Christians" having part with "infidel and God-hating communists". Only the most elementary student will deny that basic communist doctrine calls for utter hatred of any notion of God.

A secret directive from the communist movement in Argentina reads:

> "Our comrades must infiltrate into the very heart of the church and develop there a great activity... appealing to the love of God and the cause of peace, they must divide the Christians..."[30]

Gus Hall, the top American communist for over thirty years, stated openly before a liberal church denomination: "The communist goals... are almost identical with those set forth by liberal churchmen."[31]

Across the history of the CPSA, those "Christians, churchmen and devoutly religious persons" who have chosen to identify themselves with any aspect of communist propaganda, orders or goals have, in fact, performed a service for the cause of the godless. Every such action is deeply appreciated by the Moscow Central Committee and its horrific KGB. These "fellow-travellers", knowingly or unknowingly, religious or secular, are of the greatest assistance to Marxism-Leninism. Their presence and voice gives the monster a "human face" and a "touch of respectability". The history of the CPSA reveals that there were scores of such people, allegedly described by Lenin and other party leaders as the expendable "cannon fodder, innocents and useful idiots".

The lack of understanding of the pseudo-liberal political and religious leaders regarding the machinations of communism is staggering. Most of them seem to be entangled in some death-web of mental stupor, unable in the face of cold facts and the established record of written history to break free. The Rev. Trevor Huddleston, a noted liberal clergyman,

could say without blush: "I'm convinced that communism is not a serious danger in South Africa ..."[32] Albert Luthuli could say in his day: "No, communism is not a serious menace to South Africa."[33] Mr. John Rees, former secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), stated: "It is my belief that communism is alien to the African continent."[34]

Similar to Rees, another secretary-general of the SACC, Bishop Tutu, said of Marxist Robert Mugabe's socialist rule in former Rhodesia:

> "We give thanks for the victory of Mr. Mugabe and even more for his magnanimity in working for reconciliation and national unity. We (the SACC leadership) already greeted him and his government ..."[35]

One is simply stunned at such statements. For another example of Tutu's stunning statements see number 31, under documentation for chapter 29.

Likewise, numerous political liberals have for years uttered the same nonsense which reflects their abysmal ignorance of Western society's powerful foe. In 1945 when the nation of Canada was rocked by a Soviet spy scandal, spilling into almost every free country of the world and involving the atomic bomb, what did the Prime Minister, elected and trusted leader and guardian of the security of his fellow-Canadians, say? When finally confronted and convinced that the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa was, in fact, the headquarters of the whole rotten mess, he replied: "It came as an astounding revelation."[36] Had the late Honourable Prime Minister of the nation of Canada taken time to read just a few books on Soviet history or Marxism-Leninism, or even the cheap spy thrillers, he would not have been thrown into a state of shock by what the Russians were doing right under his very nose.

At the other end of the spectrum, we see the extreme conservatives who find a "Red under every bed". They, by seeing a communist behind every act of opposition on the part of the downtrodden, in many cases contribute a service to the very system they are seeking to oppose. Truth flies with two wings. It must be kept in balance.

RENEWED GOVERNMENT OPPOSITION

When the dust of the Defiance Campaign was settling in early 1953 the government moved into Parliamentary action and passed several Bills designed to further restrict attempted subversion by the CPSA and its fellow-travellers. The government added to its arsenal the Public Safety Act, which permitted the Governor-General to proclaim emergencies of up to a year during which summary arrests could be made and detentions without trial or judicial review could be authorised. Then came the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which permitted imposition of heavy fines, long prison sentences and corporal punishment for individuals convicted of inciting others to violence or threatening breaches of the peace.[37]

Several writers have heaped scorn on the South African Government's big rush to build a formidable security system during these years. The fears of both the government and citizens of all race groups of a communist onslaught and of black defiance leading to nationwide, violent revolution have been described as "the communist bogey", the "Marxist mania", and "Red menace". One writer goes so far as to say that "anti-communism became a national phobia".[38] In the face of such explanations and definitions, there are literally millions across the earth who presently curse themselves and their former governments for not building a powerful system of security, designed to crush the beast of Marxism-Leninism. Locked by bayonet and bullet into vast slave states, they have learned

the need of such things too late. Up to the present time, South Africa cannot be classified with these former free nations. How long this will continue is a serious question.

A NEW CPSA DRIVE THROUGH FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

The demoralising impact of the government's crackdown on incitement and violence had a serious weakening effect on the CPSA and its friends. In order to continue with their plans for the revolution and destruction of capitalism, they were first obliged to train a whole new group of cadres, officials, organizers and professional agitators, as many of the "old guard" found themselves under house arrest, banned or restricted in travel and communication.[39]

It was impossible for many of the hard-core communist leaders to appear in public without fearing the power of the Suppression of Communism Act. However, plans were laid for the "experienced communist" to direct and counsel the new recruits from behind, as it were, closed curtains.[40]

The main channels for gaining new recruits into party service during these years were the created or captured front organizations and so-called youth leagues. Youth branches of the ANC and the SAIC swung into action. They became part of the communist-operated World Federation of Democratic Youth. Other fronts were also becoming more prominent during these years. The South African Peace Council (which was affiliated with the Moscow-operated World Peace Council) was a small but effective movement.

A women's front was formed called the Federation of South African Women (FSAW). It was part of the Women's International Democratic Federation, with headquarters in communist East Berlin. (These fronts have been previously mentioned.)

The FSAW was established in 1954 as a multi-racial organization. Two of its early leaders were Helen Joseph and Lilian Ngoyi.[41] Joseph also was part of the larger communist front, the COD, and later served as its national vice-chairman. She became the Transvaal and later the national secretary for the FSAW and helped to organise mass demonstrations in front of the Union Buildings in Pretoria in August 1956. Joseph was placed under house arrest in 1962 and this was renewed on numerous occasions.

This same Helen Joseph, presently almost 80 years of age, said that during her last few years (she has lived part of her 25 years of banning on a South African Government pension!) she would like to visit "one of her closest friends, Nelson Mandela, still in prison . . ."

Lilian Ngoyi, close friend of Solly Sachs, was also a member of his Garment Workers' Union. She was a president of the ANC's Women's League and was elected president of the FSAW in 1956. Just prior to this, she travelled to communist Russia, China and other socialist lands.[42]

Of Russia, Ngoyi said "she loved the hotels, the underground (transport service) and Lenin's tomb and was awed by the earnestness and thirst for learning of the Russian people . . ."[43] One is amazed that certain visitors to the Soviet Union were never "awed" by the fact that they were walking in the biggest slave camp (next to Red China) in the whole of human history, and also that the Soviets (again second to Red China)[44] were guilty of greater mass genocide than any nation ever to appear on the face of planet earth! But these facts provoked no "awe".

Ngoyi was arrested in 1956, imprisoned in 1960 for five months and jailed again in the mid-1960s, and spent 71 days in solitary confinement. Her banning was renewed for another five years in 1975.

State Library - Pretoria

Lilian Ngoyi of the FSAW, a communist-sponsored organisation

State Library - Pretoria

Gladys Smith (second from left) and Lilian Ngoyi (third), both from South Africa, have tea during the World Congress of Mothers in Switzerland. This was a communist-approved congress

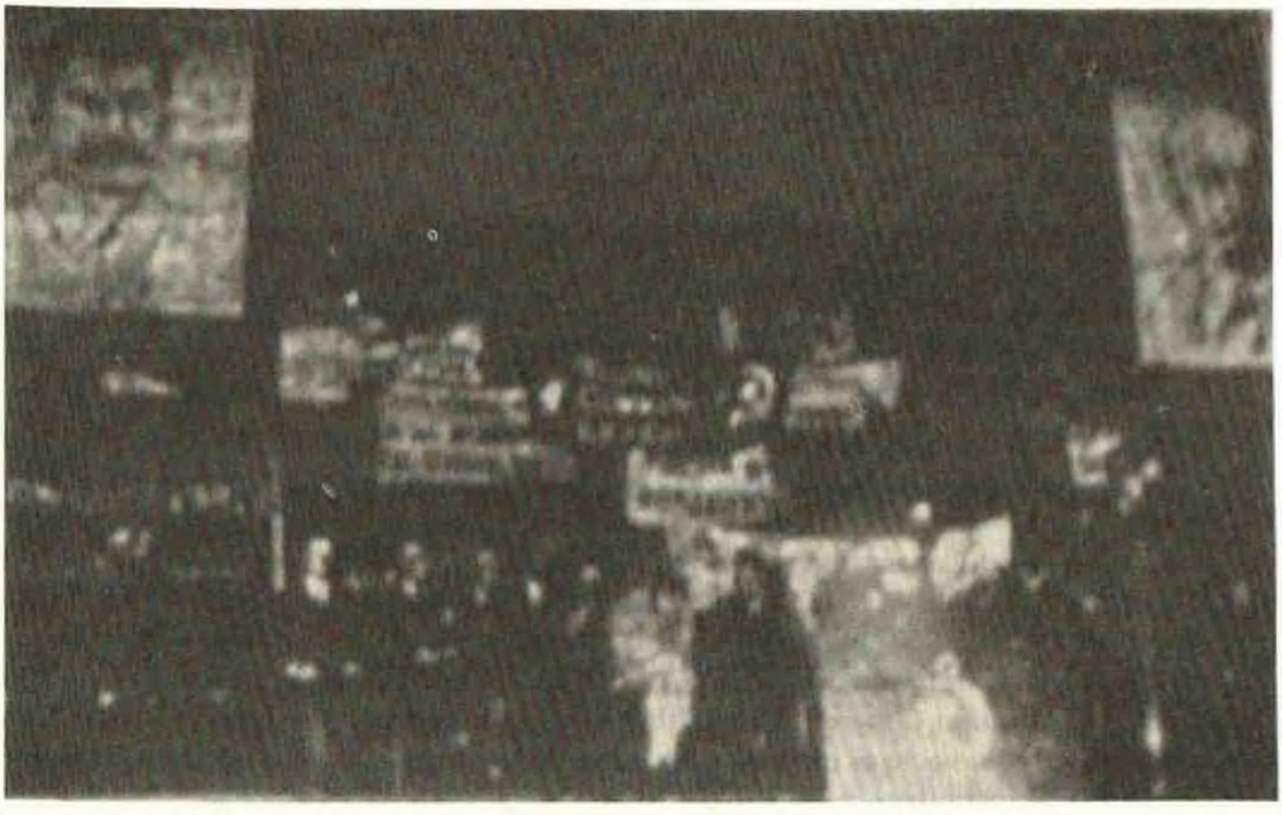
The Star

Helen Joseph receives flowers from a group of admirers as she reports at police headquarters at Marshall Square

Bishop Tutu of the South African Council of Churches praised Ngoyi along with Robert Sobukwe as "heroes of the Blacks".[45] Leading communists who were active in the FSAW meetings were Bram Fischer, Joe Slovo and Ruth First. Former top black communist B. Hlapane testified under oath that the "CPSA supplied funds for the support of FSAW".[46] Top female communist Ray Alexander was the first national secretary of the FSAW and Hilda Bernstein was a leading light in the organization.

Other groups operating in South Africa during those days were the Friends of China,

the Transvaal Peace Council, the Franchise Action Council, the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the USSR, the Trains Apartheid Resistance Committee, the Cape Passive Resistance Council, the Youth Forum, the National Action Council of the ANC, the Students Liberal Association, the Jewish Workers' Club, the Cape Peace Council, the Modern Youth Society and the many different Left clubs and Marxist clubs located in most major centres. From many of these the CPSA gained new recruits for their work.



Many South Africans find it difficult to believe that a parade such as this ever occurred in one of their main streets. This old, faded photo shows the Red front FSAW carrying portraits of Lenin and Stalin down a Cape Town street. Note the hammer and sickle

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

1. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, p. 37. Despite this document Cachalia was never listed, but was banned in July 1974 (*Government Gazette*, 26 July 1974, p. 10)
   One document describes his philosophy as being a "combination of Gandhism, Marxism and orthodox Islamic thought" (Number 17, p. 16). Also, Walter Sisulu was never listed as a communist.
2. First document Number 1, p. 37
3. First document Number 1, p. 37
4. *Traitor's End*
   Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
   By Nathaniel Weyl, p. 95
5. *Clenched Fist*, an American Opinion Publication by E. Gumaer, gives a comprehensive history of the Red salute, tracing its origin from the French Revolution of 1789 up to present-day Marxist revolutionary organizations and individuals. This invaluable booklet is available from American Opinion, Belmont, Mass. 02178, U.S.A. It should be carefully remembered that many persons who use the salute do so out of sheer ignorance of its meaning.
6. Duncan was one of the most controversial figures of this time. Born in Johannesburg in 1918 and later educated in England, supposedly known as an "emotional anti-communist", he worked and co-operated with them on many occasions. While working as editor of a publication called Contact, he was served with banning orders. Duncan resigned from the Liberal Party because he "could no longer accept its policy of non-violence". He fled to Basutoland in May 1962 and was declared a "prohibited immigrant" in June of the following year. Finally moving to London after being expelled from Algeria, he became a representative of the Pan Africanist Congress. Chief Kaizer Matanzima of the Transkei said of Duncan, in reference to the massacre of innocent people across the country, "If it had not been for people like Patrick Duncan there would have been no killings at the Bashee Bridge."
   (South Africa, a Skunk Among Nations, Tandem, London 1975.
   By Les de Villiers p. 95)
7. Number 4, p. 95
8. The full story of Dr. Quinlan's brutal murder is told in
   Trust Betrayed
   Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1963
   By J.L. McFall
9. First document Number 1, p. 38
10. First document Number 1, p. 38. Despite banning, the ANC devised a plan of playing recordings of their banned leaders. These were used until 1954.
11. *The Amazing Mr. Fischer*
    Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1966
    By G. Ludi and B. Grobbelaar, p. 17
12. *500 Years South African History*
    H.R. Academica, Pretoria 1969
    Edited by C.F.J. Muller, p. 496
13. The Liberal Party of Cape Town issued a pamphlet in 1955 which reads: "The party is opposed to all forms of totalitarianism such as communism and fascism."
    (South African Parties and Politics, 1910-1960, Human and Rousseau, Cape Town, 1960
    By D.W. Kruger, p. 104)

This was typical of the Liberal Party doubletalk. "Opposed... to communism" yet willing to work with them at every possible turn.

14. Ludi's story is recorded in
Operation Q-018
Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1969
By Gerard Ludi

15. For a clear explanation of the difference see
Masters of Deceit
Pocket Books, New York 1971
By J. Edgar Hoover, pp. 90-91

16. *Africa and Communism*
Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1967
By F.R. Metrowich, pp. 210-212

17. Edited mostly from
From Protest to Challenge Documents Vol. 4
Hoover Institution Press, California 1977
By Gail M. Gerhart and G.M. Carter, p. 60

18. Number 4, p. 94

19. *Let My People Go*
Collins, Fontana Books, London 1962
By Albert Luthuli, pp. 137-38

20. *Red Star Over Africa*
Nasionale Boekhandel Bpk., Cape Town 1964
By Anthony Harrigan, p. 49

21. Number 20, pp. 49-50

22. Edited from
Rivonia Unmasked
Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1965
By Lauritz Strydom, p. 3 of introduction

23. *The Treason Cage*
Heineman, London 1958
By Anthony Sampson, p. 194

24. Number 19, p. 137

25. Number 19, p. 138
Jordan K. Ngubane helped to found the Youth League of the ANC. He was bitterly opposed to the communist influence entering the League. In his book he candidly explains both the Youth League's and Luthuli's position: "The Youth had emerged as one of the strongest critics of the communist line, (but) the influence of the communist leader, Dr. Yussuf Dadoo, imposed severe strains inside the League. Walter Sisulu, Duma Nokwe and other Youth Leaguers visited Iron Curtain countries with disastrous effects on Youth League unity. The consequent tension led finally to the capture of the League by the communists. And that was its end". Regarding Luthuli he wrote: "Luthuli himself had not known who had drafted the (Freedom) Charter. The bosses of the underground Communist Party did the planning and made policy decisions. They approached men like Luthuli and other non-communist leaders... to acquaint them with what had already been decided. Luthuli might argue that he and his movement were not communist; but if his right-hand man (Moses Kotane) could go to Iron Curtain capitals without his knowledge, the world would ask Luthuli who was the real boss of the ANC... he said that he did not know who paid for these costly trips..." (*An African Explains Apartheid* Frederick

A. Prager, New York 1963. By Jordan K. Ngubane, pp. 162-166)

26. Number 19, p. 139. The official CPSA publication, *The African Communist*, 4th Quarter, 1967, carried a lengthy tribute to Albert Luthuli.

27. *September Moratorium*
Queensland branch of the Australian Communist Party
Brisbane, Australia 1970 pp. 1-2

28. *Collected Works of Lenin*
Moscow, undated
Vol. 5, p. 79

29. *International Affairs*
No. 1, January 1974
Moscow

30. Quoted from an English translation of *Roma*, Buenos Aires, May 1969

31. *Daily World* USA, 18 July 1968, and *Religious News Service*, New York, 12 July 1968

32. *Drum, A Venture into the New Africa*
Collins, London 1956
By Anthony Sampson, p. 169

33. Number 32, p. 142

34. *Kairos*, SACC Publication, July 1974
This is the same John Rees, "honorary life president of the SACC and its former general secretary" who was "convicted on 29 counts of fraud involving about R296 000". Rees was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment suspended for five years. (*The Citizen*, 23 May 1983.) During his trial Rees testified that he had sent money from the SACC's, Dependants' Conference Fund No. 2 to members of the banned ANC and PAC.

35. *Your Kingdom Come*
SACC, 1980
Edited by M. Nash, p. 20
Bishop Tutu and his SACC leadership have given thanks for the victory of Marxist Mugabe in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Note a few pointers about Mugabe: In a parliamentary debate, Mugabe succeeded in having "all mention of God" removed from the Constitution of Zimbabwe. (*Occasional Letters*, by Rev. A. Lewis, 1980, pp. 1-2.) He also warned that he would use "a mailed fist to build a socialist society" in Zimbabwe. (*The Star*, 28 January 1983.) Mugabe defined his brand of socialism as being "scientific socialism based on Marxist-Leninist principles". (*Signposts*, Arcadia, Pretoria, No. 1 1983 p. 5.) And finally, the SACC gave thanks for the Marxist who told his parliament in 1983 that "there is no dogma holier than communism". (*Africa Insight*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1984, p. 2.)
The puzzle of Bishop Tutu's openly expressed support of Mugabe's socialist society in former Rhodesia is cleared up when we read of the Bishop saying: "I am a socialist ... I detest capitalism. Capitalism is exploitative and I cannot stand that." (Quoted from special report issued in a *Signpost* letter, 26 November 1984, p. 4.)

Tutu told a large overseas audience: "I find capitalism quite horrendous and unacceptable. I am a socialist ... I want a society that is compassionate, sharing." (*CANVASS*, a WCC publication in Vancouver, August 8 1983, p. 2. On socialism see number 20 under documentation for chapter 32.)

Socialism is the most common political disease of pseudo-liberal ecumenicals. And they seriously suffer from its blinding effects. Along with the disease comes the inflexible hatred for capitalism. Zimbabwe's President, a leading liberal-ecumenical and SACC-WCC proponent, stated: "It was difficult for one to be a Christian and a capitalist at the same time, because capitalism ran counter to Christian principles." (*The Chronicle*, Bulawayo,

Zimbabwe, 8-14-81). This is the same President Canaan Banana who, like Tutu and the SACC, has called for the release of Nelson Mandela from life imprisonment (*Kairos*, July 1980).

For a complete investigation into the "revolutionary" pursuits of the SACC, its "links" with the murderous ANC, its support of strikers in various parts of South Africa, its spending of multiplied thousands of legal aid for people charged with arson, public violence, housebreaking, riotous assemblies, robbery, sabotage etc., see the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the South African Council of Churches*, Pretoria, 1983 pp. 324-345. (See also number 31 under documentation for chapter 29.)

The SACC is not alone in its "links" with the banned ANC. The CPSA also has embraced the ANC in the common front of liberation. (See, *The African Communist*, No. 87, 1981, p. 30)

36. *The Atom Bomb Spies*
Hamish Hamilton, London 1980
By H.M. Hyde, p. 47

37. *Towards a Certain Future*
David Phillip Publishing Company, Cape Town 1981
By Robert I. Rotberg, pp. 40-41

38. *Afrikaner Politics in South Africa*
University of California Press, 1974
By Newell M. Stultz, p. 177

39. The Suppression of Communism Act swept like a new broom. The Minister of Justice announced on 31 July 1953 that the names of 53 trade union leaders were on the liquidator's list. By 18 September, 33 of these had been removed from their posts and, soon after, a further 15 were removed. The trade union officers who had lost their positions included (up to that date) 9 national secretaries, a national organizer, a president and vice-president. They were forbidden from attending meetings for two years and, after 1 September 1953, they could no longer attend a religious, recreational or social function without securing special permission from the Minister. (*House of Assembly Debates*, 21 July 1953, col. 237 and 18 September, col. 3674.)

By the end of 1956, the names of 75 trade union officials (35 white, 12 coloured, 7 Asian and 21 black) had been listed. A total of 56 were ordered to resign their posts. Time has proved the accusation that "the government was out to destroy the trade unions" absolutely wrong. (*House of Assembly Debates*, January 1956, col. 182)

40. Number 1, p. 39

41. Profile on Joseph and Ngoyi basically edited from Number 17, pp. 44, 113

42. The special arrangements for Ngoyi's trip are enlightening. Travelling with her was Dora Tamana, a member of the CPSA. They were assisted by a British communist named Rosalynde Ainsley. "Miss Ainsley... in January 1955 and another European woman bought tickets and booked passage on board a ship to England. They did not embark. Instead, two African women attempted to take their place on the ship. These were Lilian Ngoyi of the Federation of South African Women, a communist front organization, and Dora Tamana, a prominent member of the CPSA. Later in the year, Miss Ainsley left South Africa for London." (Number 20, pp. 51-52.) Almost 30 years later Ainsley was listed under a prohibition of the Internal Security Act (of 1982) in the *Government Gazette*, 1 July 1983, p. 20.

43. Number 23, p. 145

44. *Guinness Book of World Records*
Sterling Publishers, New York 1976 edition, p. 397, described Cho En-lai and Mao Tse-tung's work in China as "the greatest massacre in human history..."

45. *The Star*, 25 February 1982

46. *The Role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in Fomenting Terrorism in Southern Africa. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the United States Senate*, March 1982, Washington D.C., Vol. 1, p. 532

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

FRONTS; TREASON TRIAL; TORCH COMMANDO; CANCER SOCIETY

VISITING THE SOCIALIST PARADISE

As in the previously mentioned case of Lilian Ngoyi, numerous so-called "delegates", mostly non-Europeans selected from the fronts, were, during the 1950s, sent overseas to attend the various youth meetings, festivals and congresses in Europe. When the meetings were over, the delegates were usually taken on tours through communist Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia and even Red China. As had been the case with former comrades such as S.P. Bunting and Bill Andrews, these delegates were treated like kings. As honoured guests, they were "shown" the manifold glories and benefits of socialism as well as the wonderful and prosperous blessings of a country under communist rule. Before the tour the delegates had been carefully screened by communist experts to determine their political loyalties and general attitude towards the system of capitalism. As then, so today the tours as a rule had their desired effects. The tours were also advertised in the leading leftist and Red newspapers of South Africa.[1]

These dupes returned to South Africa, and many of them were determined to bring about the same system they had "seen with their eyes" in communist lands. Communism was the "only true solution" to the many problems of South Africa.

Most of the delegates usually travelled abroad without passports and without the approval of the South African Government.[2] Through these channels, the CPSA soon had a new army of storm troopers ready to continue the fight for a Marxist-Leninist South Africa. As the old-timers were released from prison or their bannings expired, they again threw themselves into the fray.

THE CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS AND THE CPSA

In September 1953, a movement called the Coloured Peoples' Organization (CPO) was founded. It was later known as the Coloured Peoples' Congress.

One month later, in October, the Congress of Democrats (COD) was founded. When the CPSA was banned and its "dissolution" was announced by the national chairman I. O. Horvitch, the communists regrouped in a Joint Planning Council and later they moved into the Congress of Democrats.

The plan was for the ANC to provide a political home for the blacks, and the SAIC to provide a shelter for the Asians. Now the COD and CPO would absorb whites and coloureds. Each race group had its own front shelter. In order to understand the penetration of communists and their friends within these various bodies, one need only look at the first executive of the COD organization. The COD became the main shelter

for banned CPSA members and their friends. The following persons were on the executive:

"Chairman	— Advocate Bram Fischer (listed communist)
Vice-Chairman	— L. Lee-Warden (not listed)
Secretary	— P.J. Hodgson (listed communist)
Committee members	— Lionel Bernstein (listed communist)
	Joe Slovo (listed communist)
	Ruth (First) Slovo (listed communist)
	Mrs. S.J. Fischer (listed communist)
	Dr. Eddie Roux (listed communist)
	Dr. M.K.S. Hathorn (listed communist)
	Lewis Baker (listed communist)
	Julius Baker (suspected and later listed)
	Charles Feinstein (not listed)
	Beate Lipman (not listed)
	Y.A. Cachalia (not listed)
	Helen Joseph (not listed)"[3]

Meanwhile, in the United States, the American Congress had ordered an enquiry by its Committee on Foreign Affairs into the COD organization of faraway South Africa. Its official findings stated that among the COD's leadership were Lionel Bernstein, Brian Bunting and Michael Harmel, who were among the "leading communists outside of the Soviet Union".[4] Like all effective fronts, the COD instigated a vast propaganda effort. Some of their best-known publications with a wide circulation were: When the Devil Drives; Bantustan Bluff; The Threatened People; and, Educating for Ignorance. Years later, in 1962, this powerful Red front organization, serving as a cover for so many communist activities, was banned by the government.

The communists on the executive committee of the COD were immediately notified by the government to resign from the organization. A new executive was subsequently elected but the names were not published in order to avoid the same mistake. However, it was later discovered that a Mrs. Yettah Barenblatt, also a listed communist, served as secretary on the newly-elected executive of the COD.

Yettah Barenblatt, a listed communist, became secretary of the COD

Near the end of 1953, at the annual meeting of the ANC, Professor Z.K. Matthews, a very senior member, called for a mass representative gathering of men and women of all national groups across South Africa. The proposed "Congress of the People" was to draw up a "Freedom Charter for all the peoples of all groups in South Africa".[5]

This proposal was laid out in planned form at a meeting of the executives of the ANC, SAIC, CPO and the COD, presided over by Albert Luthuli in March 1954. They all agreed to convene a "Congress of the People", through which they could express their demands and wishes to the government. They created "their official emblem" called the Wheel of Freedom. It consisted of a large wheel with four spokes, representing a unity of Indians, coloureds, blacks and whites.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

Before the D-Day of 26 June 1955 for the "Congress of the People" to draw up a charter, a new communist front was born within the trade unions. The CPSA, now operating underground, continued distributing pamphlets printed in Britain, attempting to influence every innocent and ignorant mind who might happen to read them. The fact that all listed communists within the trade unions were forced to resign, caused the CPSA to lose their grip almost completely on the registered trade unions.

But as standard long-time communist directives had called for infiltrating and using the workers' organizations, the CPSA could not stand still. With a view to obtaining control over the workers of South Africa, the communists created another movement in March 1955. It was called the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). This multi-racial group was directed at the blacks, yet it offered a home for all leftists, socialists, Marxists and unregistered non-European trade unions in the country. Not long afterwards, they claimed a membership of 50 000! In time, it became a heated pipeline for vicious propaganda, agitation of the workers, Marxist and revolutionary oratory of all sorts.

SACTU was linked with the Moscow-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions. It is noteworthy that the first secretary of SACTU was Leslie Massina. He trained in communist Czechoslovakia from November 1954 to February 1955. "According to reliable information, he received intensive training in trade union organizations, with particular emphasis on the employment of strikes as a political weapon."[6] This is the same Leslie Massina (his name has different spellings) who wrote a personal letter in his capacity as general secretary of SACTU to the former Mayoress of Johannesburg, Mrs. Jessie McPherson, thanking her for filling in for Alexander Hepple as a speaker for and representative of, the Labour Party during SACTU's 4th Annual National Conference on 28 March 1959.[7] Alexander Hepple was the father of Bob Hepple who was captured in the Rivonia raid on 11 July 1963. Bob was a "well-known South African communist" who later fled the country and went to London.[8] He went to the Anti-Apartheid Centre set up to receive radical fugitives fleeing "wicked South Africa".

Other prominent figures working in SACTU were Leon Levy and his twin brother, Norman. Leon served as SACTU's first treasurer and, after 1956, as its national president. Levy was also a member of the front, the South African Peace Council. After being banned and detained, he left South Africa on an exit permit in 1963 and moved to London. Norman was among the 13 accused in the first Fischer trial. (See chapter 24.) He also went to London after serving a five-year prison sentence.

SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

PHONE 23-6501 Please address all correspondence to P.O. Box 6781, Johannesburg.
P.O. BOX 6781

30 PROGRESS BUILDINGS,
156, COMMISSIONER STREET,
JOHANNESBURG.

21st April, 1959.

Mrs. J. McPherson,
National Chairman,
S.A. Labour Party,
5 Trades Hall,
Kerk Street,
Johannesburg.

Dear Mrs. McPherson,

My Management Committee has asked me to thank you for attending the opening session of our Fourth Annual National Conference and addressing our delegates. We are particularly grateful that you did so at such short notice, when Mr. Hepple found that he was unable to attend.

Your address was extremely well received by our delegates and observers and we feel that your being there as the representative of the S.A. Labour Party was of the utmost importance. It helped our members to realise that they are not alone and not deserted.

Please convey to the S.A. Labour Party our appreciation of their acceptance of our invitation to send a representative to the Conference.

We enclose an interim Report on the Conference.

With many thanks again and with Trade Union Greetings,

Yours fraternally,

L. MASSINA.
General Secretary.

ENCL:

Strange Memorial Library

Massina, trained in communist Czechoslovakia, sent this letter to Jessie McPherson

State Library — Pretoria

Leslie Massina, first general secretary of the Red front SACTU

State Library — Pretoria

Listed Stephen Dhlamini, with eyes closed, addresses a SACTU meeting. Face of other man blacked out to comply with "Section 44 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959), as amended"

Vuyisile Mini was SACTU's secretary for the Eastern Cape in 1960. Like many of his SACTU comrades, he was guilty of various crimes. In 1963, Mini was charged with sabotage and murder. He was convicted and hanged in November 1964.

In this listing of SACTU leaders should be included Wilton Z. Mkwayi, also a former treasurer of SACTU who served in the Umkhonto we Sizwe. He was sentenced to prison on Robben Island. Billy Nair, an Indian trade unionist, also worked with Umkhonto we Sizwe and was active in the Defiance Campaign and the Natal Indian Congress. Nair was a member of the national executive of SACTU and regional secretary for Natal. He was sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment in 1964. One other noted member of SACTU was Stephen Dhlamini, the Durban trade unionist arrested and convicted in 1963 of furthering the aims of the ANC. He was sentenced to Robben Island prison for eight years. While on the Island, he was elected "honorary" president of SACTU.[9] After being released, he was banished to an African reserve.

Many other names could be added to this list of members and friends of SACTU. And like other organizations of this nature, there were thousands of innocents amid its ranks who knew nothing of the secret aims and policies of its leadership.

It is beyond question (despite fierce objections from certain "churchmen" and trade unionists) that SACTU was riddled with communists and their fellow-travellers and became another channel for CPSA activities in South Africa. This is the same SACTU to which the apostate World Council of Churches (WCC), a Marxist-thinking and policy-pushing organization, has sent thousands of dollars over a period of many years.[10]

The Star

Agents for the Congress of the People are seen passing out leaflets at the Vrededorp station. Note the Wheel of Freedom painted on the wall

At the time of this writing, SACTU operates from England and is a tool of Soviet communism through the CPSA and ANC. Its official history, Organize or Starve, published in 1980, reveals this control. The African Communist (banned in South Africa) continually carries articles showing SACTU is dominated by the CPSA and its largest black front, the ANC. SACTU officials run in and out of Moscow and receive their directives from Soviet KGB officials. This identification with Soviet communism and its call to overthrow and destroy capitalism is the major reason for the continual support they receive from the WCC.

"The 1962 Amendment to the Suppression of Communism Act enabled the government to serve restrictive orders on all SACTU executives. These orders prohibited them from any future trade union participation. By this action, the government effectively curtailed all 'undermining activities' connected with the SACTU."[11]

By 1968, the organization ceased to function within the South African trade union context. It supposedly went into exile.

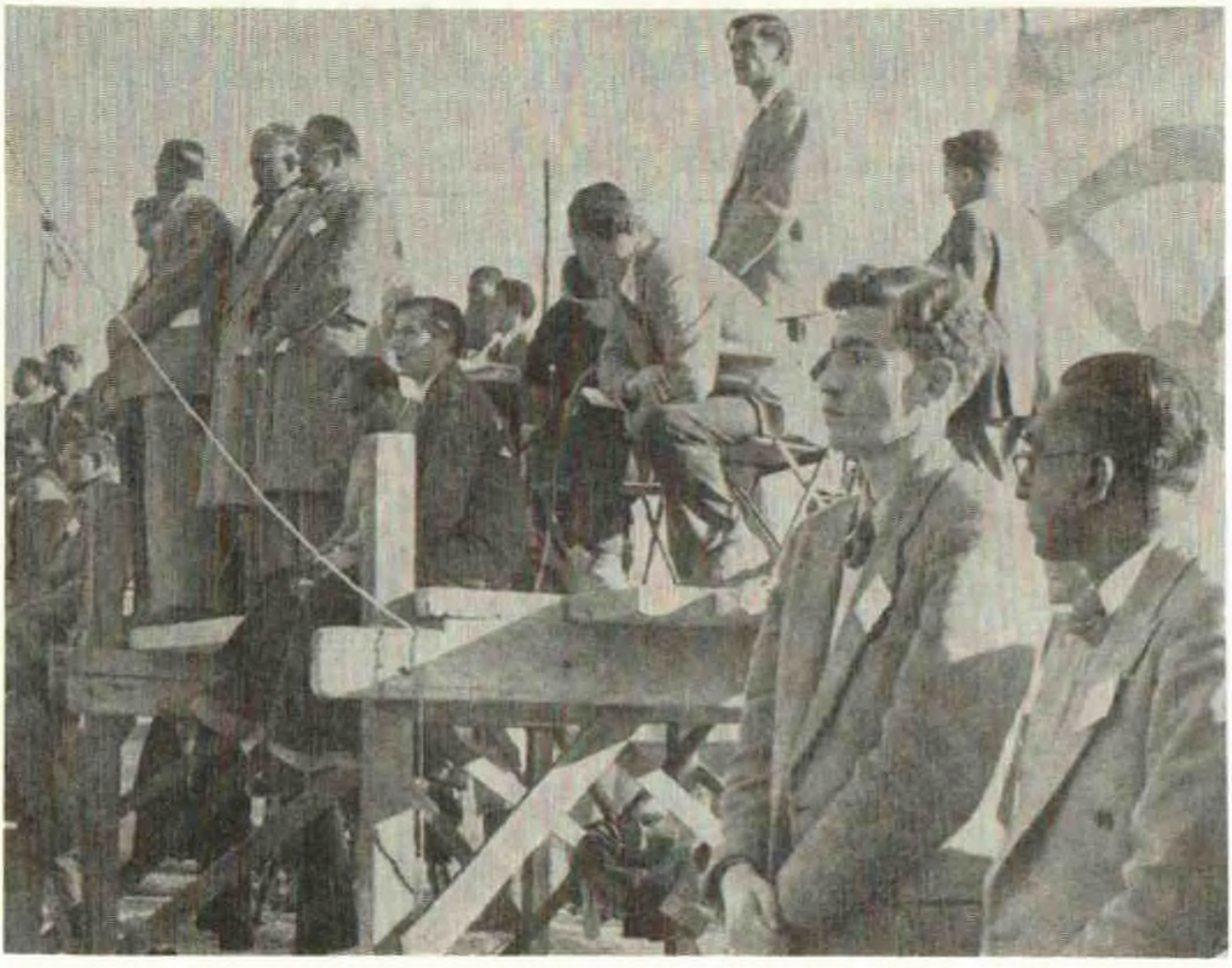
SACTU was one of the movements which threw in its lot with the COD, ANC, the SAIC and the CPO in preparing for the big "Congress of the People" on 26 June 1955. The CPSA was also represented within this nationalistic, unionistic, Marxist mixture, but only in a clandestine way.

Norman Levy (left), a listed communist, and his twin brother, Leon, who served in the SACTU front. Norman was sentenced to five years imprisonment in the first Fischer trial. (See chapter 24)

KLIPTOWN AND THE "FREEDOM CHARTER"

After months of tireless preparation and organization, the big day arrived. The "Congress of the People" was held in Kliptown, near Johannesburg, on the pre-arranged date. Instead of the anticipated "200 000, only about 2 844 delegates showed up from across South Africa".[12] In the absence of Albert Luthuli and Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, both under banning orders, the meeting elected a white man as chairman. He was Piet Beyleveld of the COD. Beyleveld was a top South African communist, chairman of the COD and a founder of the Springbok Legion.[13]

At this meeting, a "socialist democracy" with equal rights for all races was demanded and adopted. This so-called Freedom Charter was cleverly Marxist-socialistic in content. Typical of communist hypocrisy, the Charter called for things not allowed in any communist country on the face of the earth. Several of these were listed under the headings of the Charter as: "The people shall govern; all National groups shall have equal rights; the people shall share the country's wealth; the land shall be shared among those who work it; equal human rights, work and security." In line with standard communist doctrine, the Charter also called for the mineral wealth and banks to be nationalized.



Drum

The Kliptown meeting took place from this platform, 26 June 1955. Note Wheel of Freedom banner in background

Though the Freedom Charter was drawn up almost thirty years ago, it is still a valid document in the eyes of Moscow and its CPSA-ANC tools. A black South African, Jeffery M. Bosigo, left South Africa in December 1976. He eventually ended up in Russia and after receiving intensive terrorist and military training, he returned to South Africa. Three years later in December 1979, he surrendered to the police and later gave his testimony before an American Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. Regarding the Freedom Charter, Bosigo said: "Every recruit was required to know the Freedom Charter which was adopted by the ANC and the SACTU and the CPSA in 1955." (Bosigo's testimony complete with photographs is recorded in the second documentation of number 15.) Thus, even today the Freedom Charter is still viewed by the communists as a valid document and its contents are a part of terrorist training in the Soviet Union.

In view of its contents it is no wonder that the CPSA and Professor Potekhin, head of the Africa Institute in Moscow, bestowed on it their whole-hearted approval.[14] It is not correct that "the Freedom Charter was free of communist terminology and concepts."[15] Religious liberalism was also represented at Kliptown in the person of the Rev. Trevor Huddleston. Though the police were present in vast numbers, there were no major skirmishes. However, many armed white and black policemen took the names and addresses of some of those present and seized numerous documents.

Liberal clergymen, the Rev. Ambrose Reeves (left) and the Rev. Pinnock, led the screaming Africans in expressing opposition to the Treason Trial. Reeves fled South Africa in 1960 via Swaziland

THE PARTY RENAMED: THE SEPTEMBER POLICE RAIDS

While these events were occurring, the CPSA was busy building secret cells and enforcing strict party discipline particularly in the major centres of the nation. It was digging in for the battle with the South African Government. A few years previously in 1953, the party had held a national conference and "restructured" all illegal movements. During this meeting the communists "rededicated themselves" to the cause of Marxism-Leninism. About six years later in 1959, the CPSA met and reconstituted itself as the South African Communist Party (SACP). (See chapter 16 and context of note 3.)

For the sake of convenience the original name of the party, the CPSA, is retained throughout most of this writing. The new name SACP was not officially used until early 1959.

The written propagation of Marxist socialistic concepts at the Kliptown rally did not find favour with the government. Consequently a few months later, on 17 September 1955, the Security Police launched mass raids across the nation. Homes and offices of about 400 persons or organizations suspected of treasonable activity or subversion were visited.[16] Hundreds of papers and documents, letters and books were taken.

"After studying the material for over a year, the government then proceeded in December 1956, to

arrest 156 people, most of whom had been prominent either in the CPSA or in the ANC, or both. Those arrested were brought to Johannesburg to stand trial for treason."[17]

This event gained world attention under the name, the South African Treason Trial.

Drum

A "Stand by Your Leaders" demonstration directed by the Rev. Ambrose Reeves. It opposed the Treason Trial

THE TREASON TRIAL IS A FAILURE

Some famous names were among those arrested during this period: Chief Albert Luthuli; Professor Z.K. Matthews; Jacqueline Arenstein, wife of Rowley, the communist lawyer in Durban; Billy Nair, the popular Indian trade unionist; L.B. Lee-Warden, a Member of Parliament; Joseph Matthews; Walter Sisulu; Joe Slovo; Helen Joseph; Nelson Mandela; Leslie Massina; Dr. G.M. Naicker; Piet Beyleveld; Lionel Bernstein; Jack Hodgson; Norman Levy; and Moses Kotane. Among the 156 were a white bookmaker, three clergymen, eight lawyers and seven doctors. (The book listed under number 18 below gives the names, ages and occupations of all 156 persons arrested; see pp. 225-234.)

One writer present at the Treason Trial (who was not friendly to the South African Government) later wrote of those charged: "Most of (them) gave indications of being Marxists or fellow-travellers."[18] During the trial, the government attempted to prove the allegation that the ANC and its Freedom Charter, in particular, were revolutionary attempts to bring about political, social and economic change in South Africa. The defence was led by Advocate Bram Fischer himself! Suddenly the government dropped its case against 61 of the accused. Of the original 156 arrested and charged, there were 23 Europeans, 21 Indians, 8 coloureds and 104 blacks. "Twenty-five of them were members of the outlawed communist party, whilst a large number of the remainder were also well-known communists."[19]

Like most efforts to base a treason or sedition trial primarily on interpretation of various political writings, it ended in abject failure for the South African Government. The evidence was considered "insufficient".

Mr. Justice Rumpff passed judgment.

> "He found that only a small percentage of the ANC documents urged violence and that while the congress had strong left-wing tendencies, the government had not proved that it was communist-controlled..."[20]

TREASON TRIAL AND COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA

The entire aftermath of the Treason Trial ideally suited the communists and became hot propaganda for their cause. Dr. Z.K. Matthews was made to stand trial after card-carrying Reds were released. His trial lasted for many months and the CPSA propagandists made every use of the event. The persons standing trial were presented as peace-loving individuals fighting racial oppression and social injustices. With the judgment of Mr. Justice Rumpff being given in late March 1961, the whole effort became a miserable flop on the part of the government. From the point of view of a few years, the CPSA had gained the victory.

Over twenty years later many of the "innocent victims" of the Treason Trial now sit in South Africa's prisons serving sentences ranging from murder, sabotage and treason to sedition. Others fled the country and have plunged their entire lives into the service of Marxism-Leninism. Still others left the country on exit visas and may be found running in and out of Moscow, East Berlin, Peking, Washington, London, Paris, Lusaka, Maputo and of course that long-time rat-hole for political screwballs and clever devils, the United Nations.

THE WAR VETERANS' TORCH COMMANDO AND COMMUNISM

> "In May 1951, a large popular demonstration was staged in Cape Town. Thousands of ex-servicemen formed a torch-light procession in protest against what they considered a breach of the constitution of the government. The demonstration was sponsored by the War Veterans' Association and the Springbok Legion, a communist-inspired movement."[21]

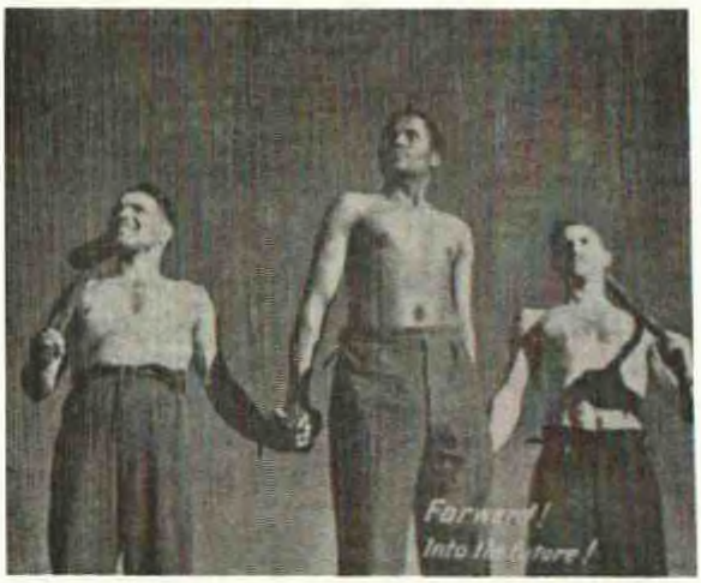
Other protests broke out across the country and there were violent clashes with the police. The government contended that the communists were basically responsible for causing the trouble, while the Opposition accused the government of being fascist.

A new organization was formed as a result of the torch-light march in Cape Town. It was named the War Veterans' Torch Commando. Later, it was shortened and called the Torch Commando (TC). Groups representing the TC toured the country trying to whip up support for their cause. They were led by A.G. "Sailor" Malan, a former airman famous for his exploits as a fighter pilot. Malan tried to make it clear that his organization was not a political party, but only a pressure group working to bring about reform. Many Afrikaners viewed the newly-founded TC as the English equivalent of the former Ossewa-Brandwag (OB). This brought too many bitter memories for them and they stood aloof from the movement. (See chapter 13 for a discussion of the OB.)

The available documentation shows no valid evidence that the TC was a communist front movement. It gained itself a bad name among informed South Africans when it shared in various marches and public events with the Springbok Legion, which was controlled by members of the CPSA. In April 1952, the TC joined with the United

Advert for a Youth Festival held in Warsaw in 1955

Advert for a May Day march in 1942



Advert for a CPSA rally held in the Gandhi Hall in Johannesburg during 1941

This propaganda ad in 1955 shows the "unity" that communism brings

All of these propaganda ads appeared in South African newspapers

Party and the Labour Party in forming the United Democratic Front. This effort failed and in the passing years the TC disappeared from the political scene.[22]

THE CPSA AND THE KOREAN WAR

Whatever military action the murders in the Soviet Communist Party choose to initiate, automatically brings a reaction from affiliated communist groups around the world. Such reaction is usually a defence of what the Soviet communists are attempting to do. Any neutral nation or government brave enough to rise in opposition to Soviet moves is quickly branded as "a fascist aggressor" which is "interfering in the course of peace".

With the surprise attack by the North Korean communist forces on South Korea on 25 June 1950, the world was again shocked. Immediately the CPSA went into action to justify the rape of South Korea and to condemn the South African Government for its part in helping to resist communist aggression in that country. The South African Government "sent 60 airmen to help with the Berlin airlift and in the Korean War a squadron of South African Mustangs and Sabres" took part in the conflict.[23] Even though threatened by the Suppression of Communism Act, the CPSA rallied and made a desperate attempt to defend Mother Russia for her part in the attack on the small land of South Korea and its quiet people.

UPI

Bram Fischer spoke of "American germ bombs dropped on North Korea." Here are a few of the American prisoners of war who were shot to death by the Reds. Over 5,000 Pows suffered this fate under the North Korean "liberators"

Various Red fronts in South Africa also rallied in support of Moscow. During the early stages of the Korean War, when things were going well for the communists, little noise was made. With the counter-attack by the forces of General Douglas MacArthur and the sudden "sweeping back of the communist invaders", things took a new turn for the CPSA and its friends. On 28 April 1951, the recently established Transvaal Peace Council held a two-day conference in the Johannesburg Trades' Hall. Supporting the communists were the ANC, the APO, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the notorious front called the South African Peace Council. The communists and their friends "adopted a unanimous resolution urging the South African Government to recall all South African Air Force pilots from Korea". Bram Fischer said: "God help (South Africa) if they want to fight Russia."[24]

UPI

An open mass grave in Korea, left by fleeing communist "liberators". These innocent men, women and children were murdered in cold blood

Communist Fred Carneson declared similar curses against the South African Government at a meeting on 12 December 1951 at Kaya Mandi location near Stellenbosch.

In the Cape area, at a meeting of the front, the Franchise Action Council, Brian Bunting uttered similar condemnations, but not a word against Russia. Still later, Fischer attacked the government again for its part in the Korean War during a meeting of the Transvaal Peace Council in Johannesburg on 2 February 1953. He said that American and South African pilots "killed no less than 48 000 innocent women and children by dropping petrol bombs over one North Korean town". A week later he lied again for his communist masters in stating that "the Americans had dropped germ bombs in North Korea during 1952".

Finally the communist advocate, speaking at the Vrede Hall in Orange Grove on 7 October 1952, was brazen enough to say: "The West are the war-mongers."[25]

As the war came to an end and the Soviets lost the cause, the wild lies and stupid accusations of the CPSA soon faded out. Fischer and his comrades focused their attention on other party activities.

J.G. STRIJDOM BECOMES PRIME MINISTER IN 1954

Against the background of the previously mentioned events, the Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Malan, had reached the age of 80. In November 1954 he announced his retirement. After much typical political manoeuvring, he was succeeded by Advocate J.G. Strijdom. He was a determined Afrikaner, ardent supporter of full apartheid and dedicated patriot of a white South Africa.

In dealing with the turmoil and strife created by the CPSA and various revolutionary organizations he displayed a firm hand and was fearless. In his thinking, communism was a curse of the Devil himself and he had little mercy to offer the dupes and adherents of the system. However, Strijdom was not destined to hold office for long. After a term of little more than three years, he died in August 1958.

DR. H.F. VERWOERD, TARGET OF ASSASSINATION

When the votes were counted, Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, 57 years of age, became the sixth Prime Minister of South Africa. He was a Hollander by birth and had emigrated to South Africa with his parents. Under his leadership the National Party grew by leaps and bounds. Like most of his predecessors he was a firm believer in the system of apartheid or separate development and the implacable foe of the CPSA and its friends. He ruled South Africa from 1958 until 1966, and was assassinated while sitting in Parliament. There were widespread rumours that his assassin was "hired by the communists" to murder this firm foe of Marxism-Leninism. This aspect is discussed in chapter 27.

COMMUNISM AND THE CANCER SOCIETY

During this period another organization was noticed by the CPSA. In 1955 the South African Cancer Association had in the bank the staggering "amount of £1 854 171"![26] Word of this vast amount spread to the ranks of certain leaders in the CPSA. At once a conspiracy was created to capture control of the organization for the purpose of getting hold of this money. The plot was to infiltrate communist medical personnel into the Association's committee at its 1955 annual meeting. Had they succeeded — and they came very close to success — the Association and the anti-cancer campaign in South Africa would have suffered a disastrous, if not fatal, set-back.

Backed by their legal adviser, a Red lawyer, the move was spearheaded by a medical professor (who probably later fled to Accra, Ghana) and others with communist sympathies. The communists secretly canvassed members in an effort to outvote the established committee and thus capture control. Had this been accomplished, the executive would have had a communist-dominated majority.

However, the plan was detected in time and, in a clever counter-move, certain individuals launched an independent campaign to canvass enough members to obtain a majority during the election of office-bearers. The confidence of the Reds was

exploded when they were outvoted and their plans collapsed.[27] Thanks again to top police work and expert intelligence, this plot of the CPSA failed.

During this same period, Radio Moscow was blasting South Africa with broadcasts calling on the blacks to rise up in opposition to the Union Government and to "resist" it at every opportunity.

THE CPSA AND THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

The year of 1956 was one of great turmoil for the comrades of the CPSA. During the latter portion of October and early November of that year, events in faraway Hungary shook the world. On 23 October, a mass meeting occurred in Budapest. The people wanted to get the Soviets out of their country. Members of the Soviet NKVD opened fire on the crowds, and with this the Hungarian Revolution was born.[28]

In 1956, Soviet tanks occupied every strategic bridge in the city of Budapest during the communist takeover. It was approved by the CPSA

This bullet-blasted building was the location of the underground radio that sent out a final plea for help. With this, Hungary fell to the Soviets

Khrushchev ordered 5 000 tanks and a quarter of a million Russian soldiers to control the uprisings. On Sunday, 4 November 1956, the underground radio operated

Communist revolutionary justice is the same across the world. Here, in Red China, Zang Zhong is publicly executed for helping his friends escape to Hong Kong

by the Hungarians trying to drive the Soviets out of their country sent out this message to the free world:

> "People of the world, listen to our call! Help us... Please do not forget that this wild attack of Bolshevism will not stop. You may be the next victim. Save us! SOS. SOS."

A short time later the same trembling voice called out to the free world these final words of deep pathos:

> "People of the civilized world, in the name of liberty and solidarity, we are asking you to help. Our ship is sinking. The light vanishes. The shadows grow darker from hour to hour. Listen to our cry ... God be with you — and with us."[29]

With this heart-touching plea, freedom died in Hungary. Such dramatic events moved millions to anger, but (as always) not into practical action. As in similar previous cases, the CPSA and other groups announced their support of the decision of the Soviet Union to "restore peace" to the troubled country of Hungary.

Whatever tune Moscow calls, the CPSA dances faithfully to the music. When Soviet tanks and troops invaded and murdered countless thousands of people in the little country of Afghanistan in 1979-1980, again the CPSA from its London headquarters announced its approval.[30]

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

1. The Minister of the Interior said that during 1954 alone, over 120 000 South Africans travelled overseas. Many of these were communists and their dupes on CPSA business. (*House of Assembly Debates*, 23 March 1955, col. 3128)

   The New Age, 28 July 1955, carried a large ad showing smiling Soviet youth inviting South Africans to the Soviet Union.

2. Edited from unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, p. 39

3. Number 2, p. 40
   Both Helen Joseph and L. Lee-Warden were listed as part of the banned COD. (See *Government Gazette*, 25 August 1967, p. 17.) They were both named again in a "consolidated list" under the Internal Security Act 1982. (See *Government Gazette*, 1 July 1983, p. 19)

4. *House of Assembly Debates*, 24 April 1963, col. 4642

5. *Traitor's End*
   Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
   By Nathaniel Weyl, p. 96

6. Number 2, p. 41

7. Original copy of the letter in Strange Memorial Library, Johannesburg, S. Store 920. It is photographically reproduced in this chapter.

8. *The Puppeteers*
   Tandem Books Ltd., London 1965
   By H. Soref and Ian Creig, pp. 93-94

9. Profiles of Dhlamini, Levy, Mini, Mkwayi and Nair are basically edited from
   From Protest to Challenge Documents, Vol. 4
   Hoover Institution Press, California 1977
   By Gail M. Gerhart and G.M. Carter, pp. 77, 59, 89, 90 and 100

10. Dozens of WCC documents confirm this fact.

11. *Industrial Relations in South Africa*
    Juta and Company Ltd., Cape Town 1976
    By J.A. Grey Coetzee, p. 71

12. *500 Years South African History*
    H.R. Academica, Pretoria 1969
    Edited by C.F.J. Muller, p. 497

13. Beyleveld was jailed in 1964, and turned State Witness against his former comrades. Discussed in detail in the section dealing with the Rivonia trial in chapter 23.

14. "The Freedom Charter was, in fact, drafted at a secret meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSA and sent to the Moscow Africa Institute for approval." (Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, November 1975, pages not numbered. (See also number 15 below)

    The complete text of the Freedom Charter is reproduced in
    Let My People Go
    Fontana Books, London 1963, Appendix B
    By Albert Luthuli

15. Number 12, p. 497. Bartholomew Hlapane, a former member of the CPSA central committee, testified under oath before an American subcommittee on terrorism these words regarding the so-called Freedom Charter: "The Freedom Charter was however drawn up by Joe Slovo on instructions from the central committee of the CPSA and approved by the South African communist party before it was submitted to the ANC and

other members of the Congress Alliance." *(Hearings before the Sub-Committee on Security and Terrorism of the Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate*, March 1982, Washington, D.C. Vol. 1, p. 552.) It is clear that the Freedom Charter was a communist creation. (See number 14 above)

16. *The Star*, 14 December 1956, carries a list of 50 organizations visited by the police during these mass raids. Many on this list later proved to be communist front organizations.
17. Number 5, p. 100
18. *The Treason Cage*
    Heinemann, London 1958
    By Anthony Sampson, p. 167
19. Number 2, p. 43
20. Number 5, p. 102
21. *The Making of a Nation – A History of the Union of South Africa 1910-1961*
    MacMillan, Johannesburg 1969
    By D.W. Krüger, p. 264
22. Number 12, pp. 470-472
23. *South African Panorama*
    Department of Information,
    Vol. 15, No. 5, May 1970, p. 8
    Pretoria
24. *The Amazing Mr. Fischer*
    Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1966
    By G. Ludi and B. Grobbelaar, pp. 14-17
25. Number 24, p. 17
26. From *Annual Report of the Cancer Association of South Africa* for the year ended 31 December 1955, Annexure A.
27. *The Red Trap*
    A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
    By Chris Vermaak, pp. 57-58
28. *The Naked Communist*
    The Ensign Publishing Co., Salt Lake City, Utah. USA, 1962
    By W. Cleon Skousen, pp. 215-216
29. *U.S. News & World Report*, 16 November 1956
    Also, *The Hungarian Revolution*
    Ernest Benn Ltd., London 1969
    By David Pryce-Jones
30. The CPSA's full approval was recorded in various issues of *The African Communist* during 1980.

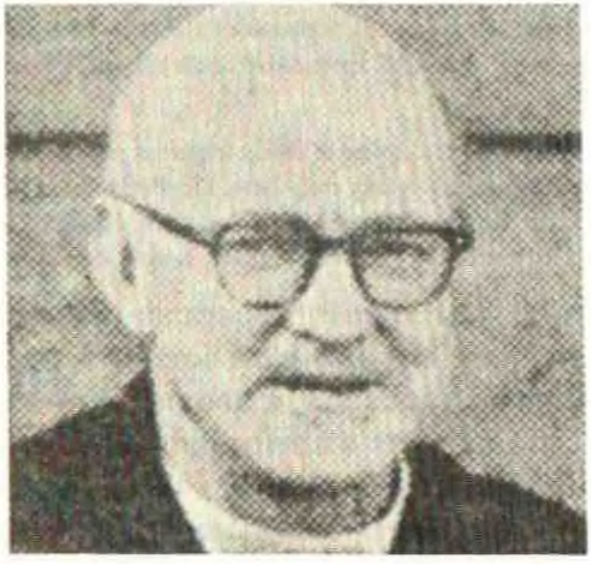
CHAPTER NINETEEN

SOVIET DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND CPSA FINANCIAL SUPPORT

THE DIPLOMATIC AGREEMENT

An agreement between the Government of the Union of South Africa and the Government of the USSR for exchange of consular officers was signed in London on 21 February 1942. It reads as follows: "The exchange of Consular Representatives, the number and the residence of which will be decided by subsequent negotiations between them . . ."[1]

A year before the Smuts Government opted for diplomatic relations with the Soviets, word of this possibility had spread in underground circles. Dupes and fellow-travellers of Moscow were busy preparing the way for this advantageous move. The Medical Aid for Russia organization went into action publishing and distributing pamphlets and making public speeches, demanding the "Smuts Government establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union". One such speech was given in the Johannesburg City Hall on 8 September 1941. It was reproduced in a booklet edited by Ruth First and introduced by Rev. D.C. Thompson. The CPSA pushed for this union between South Africa and the Soviet Union.



The Rev. Douglas C. Thompson, a noted leftist clergyman and personal friend of Bram Fischer and Joe Slovo

After the war, two of the early Soviet personnel stationed in South Africa in 1948 were named as "Consul-General P.S. Atroschenkov located in Pretoria and Consul-Agent S. Bengunkov stationed at Cape Town". The following year, 1949, Stalin's

NKVD agents were listed as (acting) "Consul-General for Pretoria A.R. Hripunov and Consul-Agent for Cape Town ... M. Lysenkov."[2]

The Soviet Consulate headquarters in Cape Town and Pretoria were under casual surveillance by the Smuts Government. Later, when Smuts went out of office, the National Government kept regular observation of the various and strange activities occurring at the Soviet Consulate, 721 Government Ave., Pretoria. The author located a senior citizen who has lived for over 30 years across the street from the consulate building. In a lengthy telephonic interview with this person some interesting information came to light. She spoke of the "hostilities occurring across the street, drunken parties, constant stream of mysterious persons entering the consulate day and night, continual police watch, cries for help coming from the room with iron bars, located near the back of the building" (see documentation number 12 at end of chapter), and finally "the fire that gutted the premises".

It was later discovered that in the early 1950s, the Soviet government had produced a political history of South Africa, described as being "fully up-to-date". Also, it produced a map covering the whole of South Africa with careful and minute details, and said that certain African languages such as Zulu were being taught at Leningrad University. This sudden interest in the little country of South Africa created serious questions in the minds of security observers.

The Dutch Reformed Church was continually pressing the government to close the Soviet Consulate in Pretoria, saying it was a "centre for communist propaganda throughout Africa".[3]

Until the Suppression of Communism Act was passed in 1950, it was easy for the NKVD[4] to pass sums of money, literature, intelligence and information of any kind back and forth from South Africa. A major increase in activities in and out of the consulate headquarters in Pretoria caught the attention of the police and surveillance teams. For example:

> "On 6 November 1949, the thirty-second anniversary of the Soviet October Revolution was celebrated at (Bram) Fischer's home. It was under the direction of the Soviet Consul (Comrade Hripunov), the Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union and the Jewish Workers' Club."[5]

> "The Soviet Consulate itself was the scene of fairly frequent parties attended by South Africans of all races, including known communist party members. Dr. Peter Tsele, in a letter of accusation against the ANC Secretary, Oliver Tambo, accuses leaders of the Defiance Campaign of receiving financial support from the Russian Embassy (correctly it was only a consular service) in Pretoria."[6]

As previously mentioned, communist propaganda was being pumped into South Africa during these years. Russian ships were coming into the ports of Durban and Cape Town. Trained communist agents were aboard many of these. Sailors coming to land made regular "social" contacts with various South Africans of "like political thinking" but the main pipeline for contact was the consulate in Pretoria. They did their evil work freely under the cover of diplomatic immunity.[7]

THE SOVIETS ARE ORDERED TO LEAVE SOUTH AFRICA

On Wednesday 1 February 1956, the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Eric H. Louw, had the following letter delivered to the Soviet Consul-General:

> "Sir,
>
> I have by direction ... to inform you that the Union Government has come to the conclusion that it is

Department of Information

The man who ordered the Soviets to leave South Africa, the Minister of External Affairs, Mr Eric Louw

in the interests of the Union and its people, that the consular representations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the Union of South Africa should be discontinued.

The reasons which have led to this decision are the following

(only a few major points are given)

(2) The Union Government has evidence that the Consulate-General through members of its staff, has cultivated and maintained contact with subversive elements in the Union, particularly among the Bantu and Indian population, and that it has served as a channel of communication between such elements and the authorities of Soviet Russia. Furthermore, the same channel has been used for the diffusion of communistic propaganda directed particularly at the Bantu population in transgression of the laws of the land which proscribe communistic propaganda in any form.

(3) Confirmation of the above is provided by a recent broadcast of Radio Moscow controlled by the Soviet Government, and which serves as a propaganda medium of, and expressing the views of that Government. The broadcast referred to was in effect an incitement of the Bantu and non-European population, and more particularly the African and Indian National Congress respectively to resist the Government of the Union of South Africa.

(The fourth point listed below is interesting in view of the 'wild drinking parties' held at the Soviet Consulate in which many well-known South African communists of various race groups took part.)

(4) You are aware of course that the provisions of the Liquor Act have not been observed on the premises of the Consulate-General, and that recently a serious infringement of the Act was committed on those premises, notwithstanding a previous warning."[8]

Mr. Louw concluded his letter with these words: "The closure of offices and agencies

mentioned and the withdrawal from the Union of the members of the staffs thereof, their families and dependants, should be effected by 1 March 1956."

This produced the expected reactions from communists, socialists and their kind across South Africa. Now a major contact point for Moscow with the CPSA and its friends had been destroyed.

One author writing about these days in South Africa makes the following comments:

> "The Government's fears of communist subversion led to a break in diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1956. The Russians were told to close the Embassy (actually consular service) and the South African representatives were recalled from Moscow."[9]

A party held in Pretoria for the Soviet Consul-General, Ivan Ziabkin's return to Russia. Left to right: Mr and Mrs Ziabkin, Mr. J.H. Hofmeyer, and the Cape Town Soviet Consul-General and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Brachikov

The building once used by Stalin's agents as a Soviet Consulate. It is located in Government Avenue, Pretoria

THE SOVIETS BURN THE CONSULATE IN PRETORIA

Following Louw's announcement, things began to happen.

> "Detectives are guarding the Soviet Consulate... in Government Avenue around the clock. This

move is believed to follow a telephone call to the Commissioner of Police from someone... who threatened that not one member of the Soviet staff would leave the country alive."[10]

The Soviet Consul-General at this time was N.V. Ivanov, beyond any doubt a member of Moscow's NKVD. The Consular-Agent in Cape Town was Vassili Dozhdalev, under strict control of his Pretoria commander. The Soviet staff in Pretoria at this time totalled eight persons. It is noteworthy that the COD sent a sharp note of protest to Louw for closing down the consulate offices in Pretoria.[11] The COD had become a mecca for members of the now banned CPSA. In contrast to the reaction of the COD, we read that the announcement given by Louw of the closing of the Soviet offices was received with cheers by members in government benches.

The Soviet Consulate in Pretoria was not altogether unfamiliar with fires. On 3 September 1949, there had been a fire, "probably caused from an electrical short...", but on 27 February 1956, another fire broke out. One reporter put it this way:

"After 14 years of Russian occupation, the doors of the USSR's Consulate in Pretoria at last have been opened to the Press. By the time the fire engine had arrived, the fire had almost gutted both back storeys of the house and was rapidly spreading..."[12]

Once the fire had subsided and the heat lifted, the other side of the mysterious and forbidden Soviet Consulate came to light. Fire inspectors and reporters discovered an

"elaborate telephone system... with about 10 telephone connections, (plus) secret doors hidden behind a false wooden door, ingeniously constructed into an innocent-looking part of the wall and a secret door concealed behind a coat rack. The floors were polished red... with heavy red curtains hanging... from the windows."[13]

The Pretoria News

Part of the remains of the mysterious fire that ripped through the Soviet Consulate building

The Star

A member of the Soviet staff, Comrade A. R. Hripunov, pretends to express dismay at the orders to leave South Africa. Hripunov was a close friend of Bram Fischer and often visited his home in Oaklands, Johannesburg

Leaving the country, Ivanov had only praise for the South African Government. He described the charges of Mr. Eric Louw as "rubbish", and his final words were to remind the reporters that "Russia is a free country".[14] His typical dialectical message was clear.

About seven years later it was reported: "The Czechs were joining the Yugoslavians and were closing their South African Consulates."[15] With this, the last remaining links with countries behind the Iron Curtain were broken. The Reds have never been allowed to return. Will this wise decision continue to be enforced by future politicians? With bitterness, Bram Fischer and his comrades in the CPSA accepted the decision. They reorganized and continued their work underground.

The Star

The Soviet Consul-General, N. V. Ivanov (right), shakes hands with N. J. Best, assistant to the Department of External Affairs, as Ivanov leaves Pretoria by train for Cape Town

Rand Daily Mail

Other members of the Soviet party with their children are seen aboard the train leaving Pretoria in 1956

WHERE THE CPSA AND FRIENDS GOT THEIR MONEY

One of the overshadowing mysteries of the CPSA, particularly during the period from about 1950 onwards, has been that of its financial support. Where did it come from? During the lifetime of communist S.P. Bunting (died 1936), the organization continually limped along in a state of abject poverty. As previously mentioned, Bunting had to sell the party's printing press in order to pay "pressing debts". Under such conditions, one cannot see the powerful, hidden hand of the "bankers" or the "illuminati" reaching out to financially save their Marxists counterparts. But from

1950 onwards this all changed. (In connection with this change, see the whole of chapter 32.)

During various trials of CPSA members, pieces of information were revealed that throw some light on this problem. The Christian Action Group was started at Oxford in 1946. It was under the direction of the notorious "socialist Christian", Canon John Collins, that this body was formed. By 1953, the organization had moved to the "left in the political field". Collins himself admitted this in words and deeds. In 1954, the group united with the Movement for Colonial Freedom, which was a shelter for Reds of every shade and description. In 1952, Christian Action began to collect funds for the "families of passive resisters in South Africa". Then their "branch", called the "Defence and Aid fund", stepped forward with its eyes set on South Africa. The Johannesburg administrator of the Fund was a Miss Doreen Tucker. She was listed as a communist in 1967.[16] (See note number 4, under documentation for chapter 25.)

SUPPORT AND BEING SUPPORTED

The 1957 Johannesburg Treason Trial provided Christian Action with the opportunity to gain prominence. Thousands of dollars were spent on defence and publicity (of the trial), and the eventful dismissal of the 156 accused was hailed as a major victory for Canon Collins and his group. In a letter written by Collins to Walter Sisulu, the latter was informed that Solly Sachs, a listed South African communist, was in charge of fund-raising for Defence and Aid. Collins said: "We (the organization) shall certainly do anything we can to go on helping until the liberation movement succeeds in its purposes."[17] In England the sum of £173 000 was collected for the Defence and Aid Fund to pay the legal expenses of those accused in the Treason Trial. During the first eight months of 1963, Defence and Aid assisted in over 500 cases, mostly involving Poqo terrorists. (See chapter 21, under heading, The Founding of Poqo.)

For years Christian Action's Defence and Aid Fund has been supported from behind the Iron Curtain. "On 25 October 1973 the United Nations (UN) noted with pleasure that 'direct contributions' have been made to the group by organizations within the Soviet Union."[18]

Rosalynde Ainsley, Vellay Pillay, Abdul Minty and that army of long-haired greaseballs calling themselves "Ban-the-Bomb" movement were all represented in Christian Action. Characters such as John Lang, Ronald Segal, Oliver Tambo and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo were often present with the happy little band of "peacemakers".

About four months before the police swoop at Rivonia, communist Cecil Williams (who was arrested with Mandela and later fled the country) received R10 000 from Defence and Aid and paid it into the firm of James Kantor and Partners in Johannesburg. In the earlier stages, money collected in Africa was sent to London; from there it went to the ANC treasurer stationed in Basutoland. This information comes from a letter written in Mandela's own hand.

Ruth First's father received large amounts of money paid into the account of his firm called RURON, formed in about 1959, in Johannesburg. Julius First also received money in his Allied Building Society account and in his Amateur Photography Magazine account. A microfilm of the entire Rivonia proceedings revealed the large amounts of money received by Julius First between 5 December 1961 and 16 April 1963, a period of about 15 months. The total received from overseas sources amounts

Vellay Pillay was involved in both the Christian Action movement and the CPSA

Sunday Times

The "clergyman" Canon Collins, noted for his religious-political nonsense and support of leftists and communists

to R20 577. First had the funds slowly transferred to the Kantor and Partners account. He in turn wrote cheques from these amounts. On 20 August 1962, Kantor received R8 000 from Albert Luthuli. This was listed as "paid out in cash". Later, Harold Wolpe took amounts from the Kantor account to provide money for the Rivonia conspiracy. He eventually fled South Africa for safer pastures. Kantor was found innocent during the trial, released and went to London.

Another document that came to light in the Fischer trial was one in the handwriting of Govan Mbeki which reads: "We must formulate a new conspiracy. Money for the ANC must be collected through the Defence and Aid Fund."[19] It could not be clearer! Bram Fischer often corresponded with Collins regarding the funds passing into South Africa. Clever Fischer even used Bible words carrying coded messages. Canon Collins had visited South Africa on 3 July 1954 and attended meetings with Walter Sisulu.[20] Writing of this visit in his book, Faith Under Fire, Collins says:

> "On my request, Bishop Ambrose Reeves with whom I stayed called a conference of Anglican priests. Forty priests were present and . . . I cautiously asked whether any of them were members of the ANC. All the priests — bar one — produced their membership cards . . ."[21]

This reveals the condition of the Anglican clergy in those days.

Numerous world leaders opted to support the terrorists and Marxist-Leninists in their attempts to overthrow the South African Government. During May of 1963, about thirty heads of state gathered in Addis Ababa for a "Summit Conference". After pledging themselves to "eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa", they agreed to send a delegation to the UN regarding the problems in South Africa.

During the meeting, it was agreed that an office would be set up in Dar-es-Salaam for an African Liberation Committee. Each country would send one percent of its budget in support. This explains why so many communists and their friends fleeing South Africa headed for Dar-es-Salaam. Present at the meeting to make suggestions and "explain the facts about South Africa" were Oliver Tambo, Duma Nokwe, Joe Matthews, Robert Resha, Tennyson Makiwane, Peter Molotsi and Nelson Mahomo.[22] It should be noted that every person here was over 20 years later listed

under the Internal Security Act 1982, except Mahomo. One can rest assured that the participants in the Addis Ababa meeting heard nothing but the typical communist lies and distorted half-truths regarding South Africa.

The government of Norway also voted to send R25 000 to "help the young Africans who for political reasons had been prevented from returning to South Africa".[23] Later, the African Liberation Committee voted to send support to both the ANC and the PAC.[24]

SECRET MONEY CHANNELLED INTO SOUTH AFRICA

> "In June 1964, the Central Committee held a meeting at Twickenham Hall, a Berea flat. Present at the meeting were Bram Fischer, an Indian known as 'Mac', Ivan Schermbrucker, Piet Beyleveld, Hilda Bernstein and Bartholomew Hlapane. Fischer told the meeting that CPSA money was at that stage being kept in London and Basutoland. Joe Matthews had R40 000 for them in Basutoland."[25]

During the Fischer trial, Beyleveld testified regarding the source of CPSA money. He said:

> "A telephone number was given to me by Hilda Bernstein which I had to dial. I had to ask for Dave and enquire about 3000 tissues. Consequently R16 000 was handed to me..."[26]

Who Dave was, and where he received the money, is unknown. In the course of the Rivonia trial, Dr. Percy Yutar remarked:

> "Large sums of money varying from R4 000 to R240 000 were promised, accepted and received not only from here but from supporters in Algeria, Ethiopia, Liberia, Nigeria, Tunisia and other countries. Some of the money was sent to Oliver Tambo in London but much was spent in South Africa to help defray ever-increasing local expenditure. This money was used to finance the conspiracy against the Republican Government."[27]

When one remembers that Fischer was the treasurer of the CPSA at the time, the deep secrecy that shrouds the CPSA money is better understandable.

When Bartholomew Hlapane testified in court, he said that some funds came from London, others from the Defence and Aid Fund in the Republic of South Africa and monies were also received from Moscow and Peking.[28] Listed communist Issy Heyman acted as one of the delivery boys, secretly passing out the large sums of money to fellow communists.

Hlapane also testified that:

> "The Defence and Aid... was used on a wide scale by the communist party. In August 1964 a person who, by his own confession, was a member of the CPSA took over control of the Fund. Since then only a small fraction of these funds really were given to dependants of prisoners. The largest portion was used for the political activities of the banned ANC and the communist party. Salaries of communist party workers were also paid by this fund..."[29]

Consequently, on 18 March 1966, the South African Government banned the Defence and Aid Fund. With this wise action, a pipeline for hundreds of thousands of rands being used by leftists, terrorists and the CPSA was cut off. Nevertheless, the Defence and Aid front has continued its battle against South Africa through the faithful support of a host of anti-Western and anti-South African organizations. Jealousy has been detected among the recipients of the funds. A case in point was

> "in 1978, when a communist front group operating in Amsterdam charged that the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund...was controlled by members of the South African Communist Party..."[30]

The question of modern-day financial support being smuggled into South Africa to

support certain radical Marxist groups and other revolutionary and anti-South African organizations, as well as the financial conspiracy, is dealt with in chapter 32.

Thus over the years some of the channels of support for the CPSA and its friends are seen. During several decades, many thousands of rands entered the country by varied and multiple channels. The Soviet Consulate in Pretoria was a main source for the reception of financial aid to South African communists. One can rest assured that half the story has not yet been told and never will be.

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER NINETEEN

1. *From South Africa Treaties and Treaty Series 1940-1946*
   Library of South African Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, n.d.
   A detailed outline of the procedures in appointing the Soviet Consul-General to South Africa is found in the Institute of Contemporary History files, number 8 below.
2. *Official Yearbook Union of South Africa*, 1948-1949, p. 1226
3. *Dagbreek*, 8 January 1950 and *Die Vaderland*, 2 August 1949
4. NKVD denoted Stalin's horrific secret police. This was later changed to the KGB.
5. Edited from
   The Amazing Mr. Fischer
   Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1966
   By G. Ludi and B. Grobbelaar, pp. 13-14
6. Edited from
   Communist Activity in South Africa
   American University Field Staff, New York 8-58
   By E.S. Munger, pp. 38-40
7. It is an established fact that every form of "contact" made by any communist government has hidden motives.The staff of every communist embassy and all lower levels of diplomatic service are under the complete control of the KGB and the GRU (Soviet Military Intelligence). Public libraries carry scores of documentations to this effect.
8. *House of Assembly Debates*, 1 February 1956, cols. 733-734

   The closing of the Soviet Consulate caused something of an international stir. Research reveals that the following newspapers carried the story as major news: At least nine German newspapers, four major French newspapers, the major newspapers in Nairobi, Mombasa, Dar-es-Salaam plus the Brazil Herald and several in Spain, not to mention the hundreds carrying the story in America and England. (Copies and English translations of part of the above are found in the files of the Institute of Contemporary History, University of Orange Free State, Bloemfontein. File 100, PV4 E.H. Louw)

   Seven years before Louw ordered the Soviets to leave, he had attacked them for secret activities and undiplomatic conduct. (*Inkululeko*, 26 March 1949)
9. *South African Foreign Policy 1945-1970*
   Oxford University Press, Cape Town 1973
   By J. Barber, p. 57
10. *The Pretoria News*, 2 February 1956 and *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 February 1956
11. *The Pretoria News*, 2 and 3 February 1956 and *Die Vaderland*, 3 February 1956
12. *The Pretoria News*, 2 February 1956. In a telephonic interview with Mr V.W. Woodward, official station officer at the Hatfield, Pretoria, fire station during 1956, the author learned that the building was not completely gutted, but experienced "extensive damage". Mr Woodward further related the story of a mysterious room, with iron bars at the windows in which a prisoner of the Soviets was locked, of the fire brigade's work to saw the bars before the man perished in the smoke and flames, of his release and sudden "disappearance" from the scene! Who he was remains a mystery.
13. *The Pretoria News*, 27 February 1956
14. *The Pretoria News*, 28 February 1956 and *The Star*, 16 February 1956
15. *The Star*, 30 July 1963 and *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 July 1963
16. *Government Gazette*, 25 August 1967, p. 14

17. Edited from
South Africa, A Skunk Among Nations
Tandem, London 1975
By Les de Villiers, p. 91

18. Number 17, pp. 91-93 and number 30, pp. 27-28

19. *Red Trap*
A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
By Chris Vermaak, p. 71

20. One visitor to Sisulu's home wrote: "In Sisulu's house in Orlando hung a photograph of 'our beloved Chairman Mao Tse-tung'."
(The Treason Cage, Heinemann, London 1958
By Anthony Sampson, p. 155)

21. Quoted in number 19, p. 73

22. *Action, Reaction and Counteraction*
South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg 1963
By Muriel Horrell, p. 103

23. *The Star,* 18 June 1963
For years the government of Norway has supported South Africa's enemies."Norway is to increase its donations to 'freedom' movements fighting apartheid in South Africa and in Namibia to nearly R5 million." (*The Star,* 31 March 1983)

24. *Sunday Times,* 26 August 1963

25. Number 5, p. 46. This is the same Joe Matthews who, in 1976, suddenly experienced a "change of heart" about his wild revolutionary ideals. In a special interview from his Gaborone headquarters, he made a passionate plea for understanding, peace and reconciliation of all groups within South Africa. Some of his suggested conditions for this to become reality were: "secure the release of Nelson Mandela and his colleagues and the lifting of bans on such organizations as the ANC..." Matthews also said: "The ANC is not and should not be identified with socialism and communism. The ANC is a national movement fighting to obtain freedom for all black people..." (see *Sunday Times,* 18 April 1976)

26. Number 5, p. 52

27. *Bram Fischer, The Man With Two Faces*
A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
By Chris Vermaak, p. 226

28. Edited from number 27, p. 226

29. Number 5, p. 132

30. *Red Locusts*
Western Goals Publishers, Alexander, Va. USA 1981
By L.P. McDonald, p. 27

CHAPTER TWENTY

LESOTHO, PAC, SHARPEVILLE AND DR. VERWOERD

THE FLIGHT TO BASUTOLAND

With the government crackdown on communist activities across South Africa during the late 1950s and early 1960s, dozens of communists, fellow travellers, socialists and revolutionaries fled the country into neighbouring Basutoland (now Lesotho).

In 1962, a communist source in London announced that John Motloheloa (a former ANC member just returned from a three-month visit to Moscow) had established the Basutoland Communist Party and was its first secretary-general.[1] Over the years the communists of Lesotho have been a continual thorn in the flesh to both the government and simple people of this backward and impoverished country. As previously mentioned, during various riots and political and racial upheavals across South Africa, numerous communists and their friends fled across the border into Lesotho for protection. This could only bring fresh troubles for this land and its people.

By August 1963, the communists sheltered in Lesotho had launched a publication called Tokoloho (Freedom), and had four full-time paid organizers on the road by May of that year. Motloheloa confessed that "mass amounts of literature from Red China and the Soviet Union was pouring into the country".[2]

Lesotho is looked upon as a staging post for communists and their agents seeking to enter South Africa. Communist propaganda of a wide variety, personnel, terrorists and even arms and battle equipment are smuggled across its isolated borders into South Africa. They are delivered to pre-arranged locations and persons and then concealed. Selected quantities are later smuggled internally across South Africa. A question of serious importance is how this equipment reaches Lesotho before being brought into the Republic of South Africa?

Towards the end of 1982, South African soldiers went into Lesotho and raided an ANC terrorist camp which was concealed amongst civilians.[3] Numerous terrorists were killed along with several innocent civilians. A large supply of arms, ammunition and communist propaganda of a wide variety was captured. Also discovered were plans to commit sabotage, assassinations and blow up the Bloemfontein railway station. Some of the books and papers captured carried photographs of Nelson Mandela, Bram Fischer, Samora Machel and communist leaders or sympathisers. One may rest assured that this is not the last that will be heard from the country of Lesotho. The communists have not finished with this land. The future holds every possibility that it will become a beehive of subversive and revolutionary activity aimed at South Africa.

If the present and future governments of Lesotho establish serious diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, or any of its captive nations, or Red China, they may expect, in time, their land to be turned into a centre of espionage and spying of every fashion — not only against South Africa, but against Lesotho itself. Similar remarks can be made regarding the Independent Homelands and other bordering states such as Swaziland and Botswana. It is a well-known fact that Botswana is already a haven for terrorists, CPSA, ANC and leftist personnel.

THE 1950s CLOSE IN TROUBLE AND UNREST

The closing years of 1950 were marked by strikes, riots, demonstrations and loss of property and life. Without fail, communists or their friends were omnipresent in almost every situation, stirring up strife and hatred among the masses, then blaming the government and its racial policies and the system for all the troubles.

It is grossly unjust (as various writers have done) to portray all the "masses" and "mobs" as a "gang of wild communists out to destroy the system and overthrow the government". The mobs were usually the tools being used by the superbrains standing in the background controlling the action. From the viewpoint of national security the mobs must be checked and brought under control. This inevitably did result in great physical injury and death. Sadly, there was no other option in order to maintain some form of peace and stability. The "tools" were often wounded, seriously injured and even killed, while those using them were the ones who should have endured the bullets, cracked skulls, broken bones and bleeding bodies. Unfortunately they usually escaped.

Large demonstrations occurred (against the pass laws) in towns and villages across the nation in 1957 and 1958. A giant demonstration occurred in Johannesburg in October 1958, in which about 2000 women were arrested, of whom about 1 300 were convicted on various charges. In early 1959, the police broke up a meeting of women in Lady Selborne, Pretoria, in which several were injured.[4]

In a secret Soviet document released in the late 1950s in London, there is specific mention made of South Africa and direct reference to the chaos occurring in the country during this time. It relates that during the winter of 1958-1959 Moscow's undercover subverters in South Africa managed to stop vital production by:

"1. Calling the workers out to strike.
2. Causing rioting and armed clashes with the police following demonstrations.
3. Dislocation of traffic and transport.
4. De-railing trains.
5. Practising revolutionary acts which cause the class enemy economic problems."

This report proves the close contact between the Red "subverters" operating within South Africa and the Kremlin bosses. It reveals that Soviet communist leaders recognised those causing the problems and uproars in South Africa as "our undercover subverters". The relationship is too obvious to ignore. The Soviet document carrying this revelation was thought to have been a party statement issued to cadres connected with South Africa.

RIOTS SPREAD OVER MUCH OF THE COUNTRY

At a reserve at Zeerust, trouble occurred in September 1957. Hundreds of reference books were burned and a faction fight broke out among the black tribes. One group

supported the government and police and the other bitterly opposed them. For about 12 months trouble flared. Huts were burned; numerous cases of assault were reported, resulting in open warfare during the Christmas period. Hundreds of otherwise innocent blacks fled over the border into the neighbouring country of Botswana. Others took refuge on various white farms. Several hundred were charged in court and leaders of the dissident factions were banished. It is beyond doubt that ANC leaders inspired the situations. They were banned from the entire area. During the actual hostilities, the leading leftist newspapers and publications kept the fires burning with their hate messages, presenting the government and police as beasts and the lawbreakers as innocent people. Banned communist publications later, in 1962 and 1966, actually confessed that party members were leaders in these riots.

During this period the ANC was busy holding regional meetings trying to keep the "fires of rebellion alive". A National Workers' Conference was held in Johannesburg on 16 March 1958. Albert Luthuli was a leading spokesman during several of these meetings. Within the ranks of the ANC, hard-core revolutionaries were being formed. They were tired of the "soft policies of the organization and clamoured for more 'militant action'". All of these events were developing in the background of a vast "bus boycott" affecting Pretoria, Johannesburg and Alexandra Township. The government ordered all members of the Defence Force to stand by.

Further rioting occurred in Natal in mid-1959, at a place called Cato Manor, in Durban. In this, several people were killed and much property was destroyed. In some farming areas, houses were set alight, dipping tanks were destroyed and general panic broke loose. In January 1960, a wild mob broke loose again in Cato Manor township and murdered nine policemen and injured six others.[5]

During 1960, more incidents took place. These events were preparing the way for the State of Emergency soon to be proclaimed over much of South Africa. The CPSA was delighted with the national turmoil. According to standard communist doctrine, it was a sure sign of the decay and soon-coming collapse of the hated system of capitalism.[6]

THE CPSA'S UNDERGROUND PAPER

Before the middle of 1959, the banned CPSA was busy attempting to produce its own party publication. Finally, in October of 1959, somewhere in Johannesburg, the first illegal leaflets of The African Communist were produced. These were secretly smuggled over various parts of South Africa and distribution was attempted in the larger industrial sections of the nation. Later the publication was moved to London. From this new location it has become one of the main voices for communism in South Africa.

It continues to be published and has wide distribution, particularly in the so-called Third World nations. Copies may normally be purchased in communist and leftist bookshops across most of Asia. It carries the regular Marxist-Leninist lines and blames the South African Government, capitalism and the conservatives of all race groups for the nation's problems. The leftists and communists are the heroes. Various articles found in The African Communist appear in leading communist publications in America, England, Australia and other countries. It faithfully follows the Moscow Party line. A leading light in assisting to establish the CPSA's publication in England was the South African Indian fugitive, Vellay Pillay, who has served as a prominent friend of the Communist Party of Britain. He has also filled various posts in the Anti-

Apartheid Movement of England. The African Communist is a banned publication within the Republic of South Africa.

Rapport

Wild mobs from the PAC roamed the country, burning buildings and cars, felling trees across roads and defying law and order. This scene occurred near Johannesburg in March 1961

ORIGIN OF THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS

In April 1958, the so-called Congress Movement once again commenced a new campaign, this time in union with SACTU acting as its "spearhead". The plan was for blacks to press their employers to pay them a minimum wage of £1 per day. If these terms were not granted, the Congress would call for a nationwide strike. This plan failed in the face of strong government opposition and due to the fact that the workers were simply not interested in the big strike! This proved a great embarrassment for both the CPSA and their cadres working within SACTU.

Then a group of Black Power advocates tried to wrest complete control of the ANC into their own hands. These dissidents were led and inspired by a lecturer in Bantu languages at the University of the Witwatersrand, Robert Sobukwe. His career in militancy went back to his days as a student at Fort Hare. There he joined the ANC's Youth League in 1948. He spoke out publicly for the Defiance Campaign and gave his support. During the year 1954 he was appointed to a teaching post at the University of the Witwatersrand and here he plunged into revolutionary politics. He then formed the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), usually referred to as the Pan African Congress. Even

though a "founding conference" of the organization was held in April 1959 somewhere in Orlando Township, this was only a facade to deceive the general public. The PAC went so far as to advertise that "some 300 delegates were present for the occasion". In actual fact the PAC had been formed earlier in the offices of the United States Information Service in Johannesburg! It was a strictly secret affair. The American State Department-CIA combination had their finger in the PAC pie and it was created with their knowledge. (See chapter 29 under heading, The United States Information Service And Soweto, for details.)

Sobukwe's crowd clamoured for militancy after breaking with the traditional black organization, the ANC. A short time later he was elected president of the PAC and was the undisputed leader. As an eloquent and powerful public speaker, he was able to rally the black masses to any cause.[7]

Originally, Sobukwe only allowed black membership in the PAC, but this was finally waived to allow such white radicals as the mentally deranged Patrick Duncan into the movement.[8] Soon Potlako Leballo, a former ANC organizer from Orlando, became the secretary-general of the PAC.[9] (See chapter 21, under heading, The Founding of Poqo.)

One writer said of Sobukwe that "he and his supporters wanted to use any and all means to wrest power from the whites..."[10]

The aim of the PAC, according to Sobukwe, should be a government of Africans, run by Africans for the Africans. However, his career came to an end when, during a PAC anti-pass campaign on 21 March 1960, he actually went to the Orlando police station and surrendered himself! Seemingly, he was seeking some sort of jailbird martyr's status in this action. He remained in a Transvaal prison until 1963; then he was detained again and sent to Robben Island for six years. He died in March 1978. After Sobukwe broke away from the ANC and formed his radical PAC,[11] its military wing called Poqo came into being. It was responsible for death and suffering in various parts of South Africa. Leballo led this killer group. (See chapter 21, under heading, The Night Of God's Mercy on South Africa.)

GROWTH AND POWER OF THE PAC

Under the dynamic leadership of Sobukwe, the PAC in a year's time was almost as popular and powerful as the ANC. This was especially true in places like Orlando, Sharpeville and areas near Vereeniging and in the Western Cape. Because of the sharp rivalry between the two organizations, one would not be outdone by the other. The PAC openly accused the ANC of deviation from a pure Bantu organization, of being controlled by European and Indian communists and of being used to promote the aims of the Congress Alliance.[12] The PAC slogan became "Africa for the Africans".

> "When in December 1959, the ANC decided to start a campaign of resistance against the pass laws on 31 March 1960, the PAC decided to begin a similar protest campaign ten days earlier, on 21 March 1960."[13]

On direct instructions from the PAC, blacks in various parts of the land burnt their passes and on 21 March 1960 went to the nearest police station and asked to be arrested. Sobukwe and his PAC had a method in their madness. This campaign was designed to reach a peak in about 1963, when the government would collapse and an African Socialist Democratic type of state would be established in its place. In most places the efforts were peaceful. There was one serious exception.

P.O.C.

The Pan Africanist Congress national executive committee (incomplete) in September 1959. Front row, left to right: A. B. Ngcobo, Robert Sobukwe, A. P. Mda (not a member), P. K. Leballo, H. S. Ngcobo. Back row: J. D. Nyaose, E. Mfaxa, Z. B. Molete, P. Molotsi, S. T. Ngendane, H. Hlatswayo

Anne Nicholson, with a black comrade, opposes the banning of the ANC

A deputation from the Workers' Solidarity Committee directed by communist Sylvia Neame (arrow) demonstrate outside Kohler Industries in 1962

THE SHARPEVILLE SHOOTINGS

In Sharpeville, near Vereeniging, the planned protest campaign did not go as peacefully.

The atmosphere was explosive and strong outbursts of hatred mixed with hot emotion were inevitable. During the afternoon of 21 March, death struck!

Professional agitators of the CPSA and its friends, along with ANC and PAC cadres, were frantically trying to whip up every possible incident into physical provocation and conflict. Finally it came. Vast mobs of blacks assembled at Sharpeville — an estimated 10 000 shouting, screaming wild-eyed Africans marched on the local police station. They were armed with sticks, clubs, bottles, knives, iron pipes, assegais, pangas, needle swords and other weapons. There was, at that time, a standing order that police were permitted to open fire when the safety of police stations were threatened. The handful of officers in charge panicked and opened fire. Pandemonium broke loose! When the shooting stopped, about 69 Africans lay dead and approximately 178 were wounded (these figures vary but this is a balanced estimate).[14]

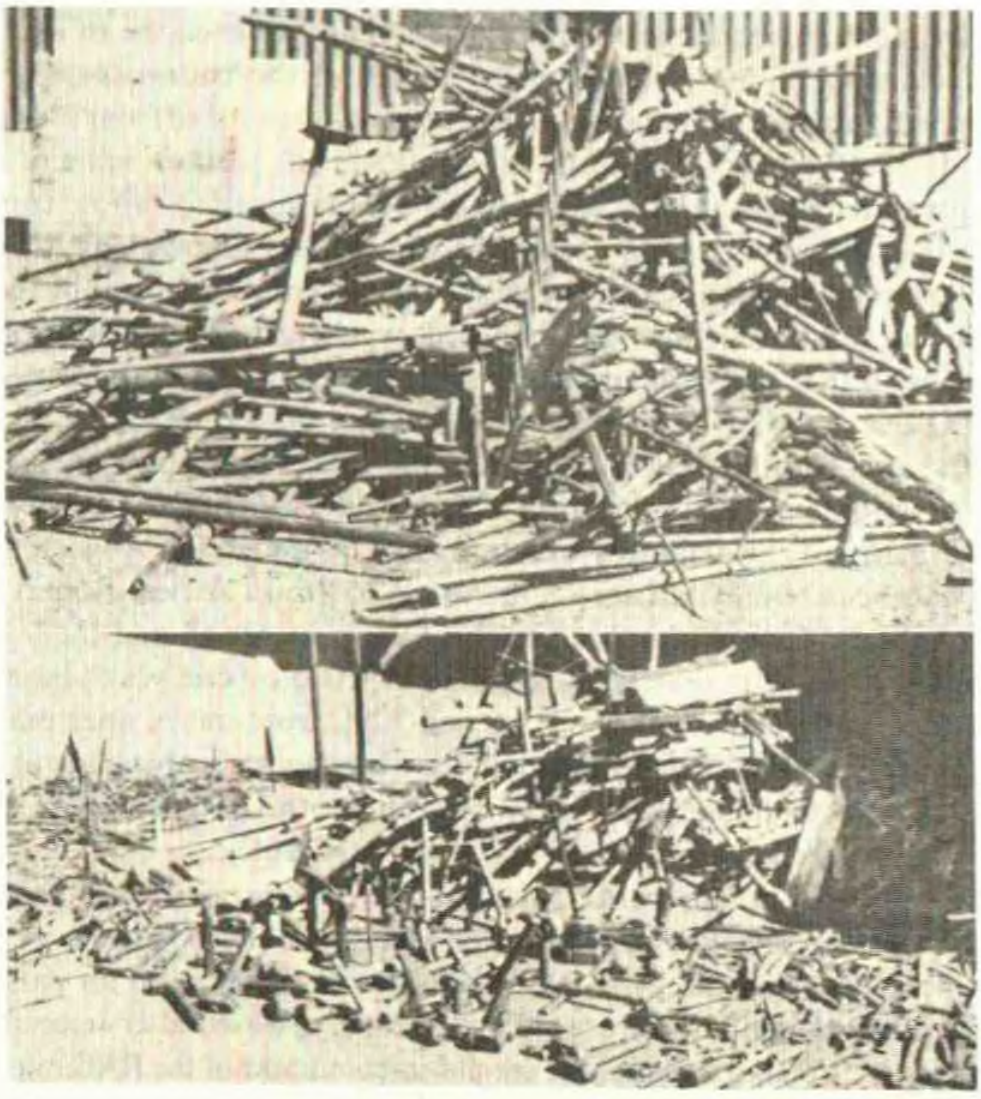
News of the shooting flashed over the nation and around the world. Black mobs went on a rampage in Soweto, Langa and other areas. From the battlefield at Sharpeville two truckloads of corpses were hauled to the morgue. The police maintained that they were going to be attacked. Mr. Justice P.J. Wessels, director of the "one-man commission of enquiry", concluded that there had been no "organized" attempt to seize the station. Little was said regarding the hundreds of deadly weapons in the hands of the "peaceful demonstrators".(See photographs in this chapter.)

The CPSA, its friends and dupes made great propaganda out of the Sharpeville tragedy. They did everything within their power to further discredit the name of South Africa.

Both the ANC and PAC leadership seized on the Sharpeville event to make their own propaganda. They called for a Day of Mourning on 28 March and urged Africans to stay away from work. The PAC in particular gained great prestige among the politically active blacks from the event. On 31 March the PAC was able to mobilise 25 000 Blacks in Cape Town to protest against more mass arrests. "Sharpeville was the

direct result of Robert Sobukwe's anti-pass campaign and the PAC's open proclamation of a policy of violence."[15] To this present day, communist organizations around the world still "remember" 21 March 1960. Marxist publications faithfully reprint the story without ever telling who the original instigators were. Naturally, the government of South Africa, its police and the capitalist system are the culprits, but never the crazed so-called freedom fighters, the Marxist-Leninists and their breed. Again, dozens of innocents died or suffered while the original instigators remained in the shadows.

The cold-blooded murders of many innocents by the incited mobs elsewhere in South Africa were described as "incidents" by the liberals, revolutionists and socialists of South Africa and the controlled mass media. Annually, Sharpeville is waved before the world as a "massacre" performed by the South African police. There is no annual mention of the countless millions slaughtered like pigs in Russia, China, North Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia and Afghanistan. Continually, little South Africa becomes the "whipping boy" for the biggest political and religious cowards ever to disgrace the stage of human society with their selective fury and indignation.



The Star

Weapons collected by the police after the Sharpeville shootings. These were wielded by the "innocent and peaceful" blacks who marched on the police station

Rand Daily Mail

Armoured cars patrol the streets of Vereeniging after the Sharpeville unrest

GOVERNMENT ACTION IS TAKEN: THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

The government immediately swung into action and resisted the threat to law and order. It declared a "State of Emergency" in 120 of the country's 200 magisterial districts (these figures vary) including all large towns. This lasted from 30 March to the latter part of 1960. About 11 500 blacks were arrested. Certain units of the Active Citizen Force were put on standby while others were assigned to various trouble spots. The Nationalist government then passed the Unlawful Organizations Act (No. 34 of 1960) which slapped a ban on both the ANC and the chief instigator of the riots, the PAC. A ban on public meetings was imposed, which lasted from 24 March until 30 June. Along with this, the Permanent Force Reserve, the Citizen Force Reserve, the Reserve of Officers and all of the Commandos were placed on alert.

These measures had the desired effect and the resistance campaign began to lose speed. By the middle of April, the state of emergency was lifted in twenty-odd rural districts and many of the detainees were released. By the end of August, the state of emergency had been terminated across the whole of South Africa. Robert Sobukwe, the leader of the PAC, was sentenced to three years in prison and the leader of the ANC, Albert Luthuli, was sentenced to a fine of R200 or one year's imprisonment.

Being banned on 8 April 1960, the PAC and ANC were out of open public action. Then the communists and their friends hurried about to reorganize, but at every turn they were thwarted by police opposition. Banning of the PAC and ANC resulted in severe criticism of the government from round the world.

Amid the hostilities of this period, the Minister of Justice stated that 98 Whites (including 35 women), 36 coloured persons, 90 Asians and 11 279 Africans were detained under the emergency regulations. At least 6 800 Africans were jailed for pass and other offences and many thousands more were arrested but released after screening or after acquittal in court.[16] Potlako Leballo, the second-in-command of the PAC, was sentenced to two years.[17] On his release in 1962 he went to Maseru and continued on his way of death and destruction. (See chapter 21 under the heading, The Night Of God's Mercy On South Africa, for more on Leballo.)

Rapport

The wounded waiting to be transported to the hospital

The Star

Loading the dead at Sharpeville

During the big police sweep to clean out the communists and their friends, numerous non-white political militants, communists, leftists and "freedom fighters" fled South Africa and went overseas or took refuge in other African States. These included ANC

leader Oliver Tambo and top communist Dr. Y.M. Dadoo. (See chapter 32 under heading, Segal, The Delivery Boy, for details of the escape of Tambo and Dadoo.) Others were Joe Matthews, Tennyson Makiwane, V. Make, Nelson Mahomo and Peter Molotsi. Later, Robert Resha and Philip Kgosana and numerous others followed.[18]

The Minister of Justice, on 5 April 1960, ordered the publications The Torch and New Age to suspend operations until the state of emergency was ended. The editors of the left-wing publications Contact, New Age and Evening Post were prosecuted for publishing what were considered as subversive statements as laid out in the government regulations. These counter-actions had the desired effect and the open hostilities of the communists and various revolutionary bodies cooled across the nation.[19]

Meanwhile, that mass political zoo called the United Nations attempted to impose sanctions against South Africa. This was basically directed by a new group called the "South African United Front". It soon faded into insignificance.

This woman was wounded by the stone-throwing mobs during the Sharpeville riots in March 1960.

Rand Daily Mail

Police in armoured cars and on foot wait near Sharpeville for possible further unrest in early 1960

THE FIRST ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF DR. VERWOERD

During the opening of the Union Exhibition at the Milner Park showgrounds in honour of the South African Union Festival, a near tragedy occurred. The date was 9 April 1960. After the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, had completed his speech and returned to his seat, a "gentleman farmer", David Beresford Pratt, suddenly rushed up to him, drew a firearm and shot him twice in the presence of a horrified Mrs. Verwoerd. The Prime Minister's bodyguard fainted on the spot![20]

Argus

The first attempt on the life of Dr. Verwoerd in April 1960 by the "gentleman farmer" David Pratt

Rumours swept through the nation that it was the "work of communists", who obviously hated the Prime Minister. Pratt was captured by Colonel Harrison, assisted by several others, and his light automatic pistol was seized. The Prime Minister experienced what was described as a "miraculous recovery" and was back at work within seven weeks.

Pratt (who was an epileptic) was brought to trial before Justice Rumpff in the Supreme Court. He was found mentally disturbed and unfit to plead. He was placed in a mental institution where he later committed suicide. There is no genuine evidence that Pratt was involved in a communist plot to kill Dr. Verwoerd. The murder of Dr. Verwoerd is discussed in chapter 27.

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWENTY

1. *The Puppeteers*
   Tandem Books, London 1965
   By H. Soref and I. Greig, pp. 104-105
2. *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 August 1963
3. In December 1982, South African Defence Forces raided the ANC command structure, "deliberately located in civilian houses spread throughout the residential suburbs of Maseru" designed to prevent action against them. One of the buildings was named "Moscow House". Captured were documents proving that the ANC terrorists were "influenced by the PLO and had selected such targets as trade unions, student organizations and church bodies for infiltration". This same group had been responsible for the attempted murder of a member of the Ciskei police force at Mdantsane on 15 June 1982, the sabotage of a railway line and the sabotage of a South African police office in Port Elizabeth.
   Killed in the battle that ensued was ANC and former Robben Island prisoner Jackson Balisani Tayo along with Zola S. Nquini, former worker for the CPSA publication New Age and secretary of the ANC. Also killed was Adolph J.P. Mpongoshe, who had fled South Africa illegally in 1975 and later received military training in Russia.
   Limpho Sekamane, a female Marxist, was killed. She had received training in Angola, and in 1978, was a secret courier of the ANC. In 1980, she visited Russia and studied in Belgrade. She was secretary of the ANC Women's Section in Lesotho.
   Other top ANC personalities killed were C.M.L. Moloisane, who was trained in East Germany and returned to Lesotho in 1981, and L.G. Mdlankomo, also trained in East Germany, who was attached to the "Intelligence section of the ANC". (Edited from *Paratus*, official periodical of the SA Defence Force, January 1983 pp. 18-22, *Sunday Times*, 12 December 1982 and *The Star*, 10 December 1982 and other sources.)
   Radio Moscow on 13 and 19 January 1983 bitterly attacked South Africa for the move into Lesotho. The following day the *Cape Times*, 20 January, attacked the government and used the same terms in its attack as the South African hater speaking over Radio Moscow! *(House of Assembly Debates*, 28 January to 4 February 1983, cols. 314-315.) For the (typical) SACC's condemnation of this action see *Ecunews*, January, 1983.
4. Portions of this section edited from
   Action, Reaction and Counteraction
   South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg 1963
   By Muriel Horrel, pp. 18-27
5. Number 4, pp. 18-22
6. *The Politics of Inequality*
   Thames and Hudson, London 1958
   By G.M. Carter, pp. 377-378
7. Profile of Sobukwe edited basically from
   From Protest to Challenge Documents, Vol. 4
   Hoover Institution Press, California 1977
   By Gail M. Gerhart and G.M. Carter, p. 147
8. *Africa and Communism*
   Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1967
   By F.R. Metrowich, pp. 203-204 and
   Traitor's End
   Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
   By N. Weyl, pp. 102-103
9. Number 7, pp. 54-55

10. *Towards a Certain Future*
David Philip Publishing Company, Cape Town 1981
By David I. Rotberg, pp. 69-70
Another report reads: "Sobukwe was a trained Marxist-Leninist revolutionary... sympathetic to the Peking style of communism..." (From unpublished document on CPSA by Gerard Ludi, November 1975, pages not numbered)

The SACC sent the following amounts to Sobukwe a few years before his death in 1978: "November 1975, R984; December 1975, R2000; January 1976, R2444; November 1977, R600 and they covered his funeral expenses and hired a funeral bus, to the amount of R2360." (See *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into South African Council of Churches*, Pretoria, 1983 pp. 333-340)

11. Moscow keenly followed the ANC and PAC at this time. *Pravda*, 22 May 1961, carried an article by former ANC personality A.M. Makiwane. He fiercely denounced the "diversionaries and gangsters and former members of the now moribund PAC and the liberal party..."

12. Edited from unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, p. 44

13. *500 Years South African History*
H.R. Academica, Pretoria 1969
Edited by C.F.J. Muller, p. 499

14. The author, having checked several different sources, found all slightly varied in figures given. See, *The Star* and *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 March 1961 and *House of Assembly Debates*, April 1961, col. 4837.
Figures of the total original marchers range from 3000 to 20000

15. *Red Trap*
A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
By Chris Vermaak, p. 40

16. *House of Assembly Debates*, 6 May 1960, col. 6818 and 3 February 1961, cols. 698-699

17. Number 4, pp. 32-33

18. Number 4, pp. 32-33

19. Number 4, pp. 33-34

20. Edited from
The Johannesburg Saga
Published by J.R. Shorten (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg 1979
By John R. Shorten, p. 402

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

MANDELA, THE REPUBLIC, UMKHONTO AND POQO

THE ALL-AFRICAN CONFERENCE: MANDELA'S DISAPPEARANCE

During December 1960 some leaders of the outlawed ANC assembled in Johannesburg and a new body, known as the Continuation Committee of African Leaders, was created. The Continuation Committee of African Leaders sent letters to a large number of people inviting them to attend an important "All-African Conference" in Pietermaritzburg on 25 and 26 March 1961. This conference was under the leadership of Nelson Mandela as honorary secretary. The group called for something similar to a National Convention to decide on a new constitution for South Africa.[1] If this did not succeed, a general strike would be called. The strike was timed to clash with the declaration of the Republic on 31 May 1961.

This rare, faded photo shows the All-African Conference in Pietermaritzburg, March 1961

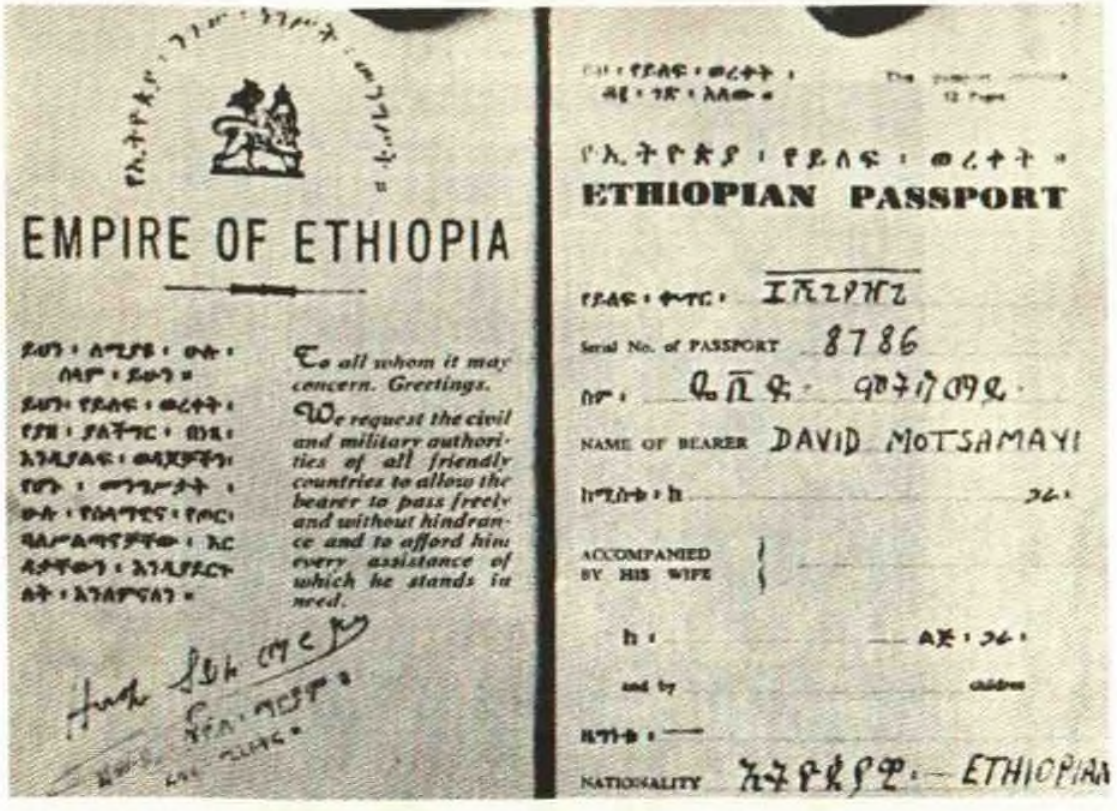
In order to give the National Convention a respectable face, and make it appear to be representative of all political groups including the Congress Alliance, invitations were sent to groups of people all over South Africa, including the Liberal Party and even the

PAC. At the meeting Mandela was ably assisted by a fellow ANC personality, Stephen Segale.

On 22 April 1961, Mandela sent a letter to the Prime Minister in which he repeated his demands laid down during the Pietermaritzburg conference. He received no favourable reply.[2]

A National Action Council, directed by Mandela, then distributed thousands of leaflets calling on blacks to remain at home from 29 to 31 May 1961. This was the time when South Africa was to become a Republic. Suddenly, to the utter surprise of the leaders, the government swung into action. A warrant was issued for Mandela's arrest but for over twelve months he evaded the police. He hid in Rivonia before leaving the country. It was later discovered that during the time when Mandela was missing he had slipped (via Botswana) out of South Africa and was conducting very extensive tours of different African states. This tour was carried out under orders and its execution required careful and expert planning. It was not a one-man job.

Mandela was chosen to do special work for the cause of "liberation". He was faithfully projected by the liberal mass media, as a "freedom fighter" who had no communistic associations but was only a true "African nationalist" fighting for his people.[3] As would be expected, many people swallowed the bait. At the very least Mandela was a co-conspirator. What he was at the most came out in the Rivonia trial.


EMPIRE OF ETHIOPIA

To all whom it may concern. Greetings.

We request the civil and military authorities of all friendly countries to allow the bearer to pass freely and without hindrance and to afford him every assistance of which he stands in need.

ETHIOPIAN PASSPORT

Serial No. of PASSPORT 8786

NAME OF BEARER DAVID MOTSAMAYI

ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE

NATIONALITY ኢትዮጵያዊ - ETHIOPIAN

Afrikaanse Pers Publikasies

Nelson Mandela's forged passport used in his secret travels. It was issued by Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia

MANDELA RETURNS WITH PROMISES OF HELP

Later, the truth of Mandela's foreign crusades emerged. He returned sometime before July 1962. Again his secret re-entry into South Africa required detailed and professional supervision.

In the very early 1960s, the CPSA established a secret "Regional Command" in Durban. Some of its figures were Brian Chaitow, a chemist, Curnick Ndhlovu, Billy Nair and Ronnie Kasrils.

The chief business of the "Regional Command" was to promote the interest of the Sabotage Division. A technical committee was to manufacture the bombs to be used on various targets and cities.[4] Comrade Harold Strachan went to Durban personally to supervise this work. He went from Durban to Port Elizabeth to train others.

In mid-1962, the members of this Durban branch of the Regional Command were ordered to a secret meeting held at an Indian's house on Reservoir Hill. To the surprise of those present, the speaker at this occasion was Mandela himself! He had returned from his trip and was reporting to the comrades. "He collected R65 000 to aid in the struggle for South Africa." He had spoken to various heads of African states. All were sympathetic towards the freedom fighters of South Africa and bitterly opposed to the Verwoerd Government. Mandela told them that the "recruits undergoing training must never reveal the fact that they were communists". In Dar-es-Salaam he had met one of the first recruits being sent abroad for training. His name was Eric Mtshali, and Mandela told how "recruits from South Africa could be sent to camps (in Algeria) to train as guerrillas". Haile Selassie had offered to pay the way for recruits to come to Ethiopia and train. Cuba would help and candidates who possessed a matriculation certificate could be sent to East Germany to train.[5]

A short time later, Mandela was arrested near Pietermaritzburg. He was disguised as a chauffeur and accompanied by a white communist, Cecil Williams, who later fled the country upon hearing the police were looking for him. When Mandela's trial concluded he was sentenced to five years in prison, but he was put on trial again during the Rivonia case. On this occasion, he was sentenced to life imprisonment.[6] (Chapter 23 covers the Rivonia trial.)

THE AFRIKANER WINS THE ANGLO-BOER WAR

There is a unique sense in which it can be stated that the Afrikaner did win the Anglo-Boer war. The victory was long-range and did not occur on the field of battle, but that of diplomatic decision and action. It started in 1949 with the passing of the South African Citizenship Act (No. 44 of 1949), which freed South Africans from being British subjects and gave them the right to have their own citizenship. Then the right of appeal to the Privy Council in London was abolished in 1950. The battle continued in 1957 when it was decided that the Union Jack would no longer be one of South Africa's flags and that the Union flag would be the only official flag. In the same year, God Save the Queen was discarded and replaced with Die Stem van Suid-Afrika, which was declared as the only national anthem. In 1957, South Africa took over Simonstown naval base, and, in 1961, the British monetary system was replaced by the decimal system and the head of the British Queen no longer appeared on South African coinage. Following a referendum on 5 October 1960, the popular vote gave the Verwoerd Government power to create a Republic of South Africa. Despite all the protests from the press and liberals, on 31 May 1961 the Republic of South Africa came into being. With this act, Afrikaner nationalism[7] finally triumphed over British imperialism and won the 'Boer War'. The CPSA and most liberals in general were violently opposed to the Republic Day occasion. Prior to the foreign adventures of Mandela, the government received word about planned riots and demonstrations against the Republic Day celebrations. Fearing more bloodshed and

violence, a General Law Amendment Act of 1961 was passed. This provided the Attorney-General, if he considered it necessary in the interest of public safety or maintenance of public order, to direct that a person who had been arrested would not be released on bail, or otherwise, for twelve days. The government made an announcement that no gathering could be held anywhere in the Republic during the period 19 May to 26 June, unless it had been specially authorized by a magistrate.

The Citizen Force, Commandos and others were also put on standby and raids were launched on homes and offices of those thought to have had part in the plot to disrupt the Republic Day celebrations. Many were arrested and others fled the country. The whole thing was one grand failure. Mandela had left word as he disappeared that the next stage of the struggle would be a project called the "Non-Collaboration Campaign".[8] This was subsequently never heard of.

It is interesting to peruse one of the pamphlets issued during those days. It reads:

> "The present capitalist South African state must be completely destroyed and a people's state must be built up. Our comrades will want that we wrest the country from our oppressors with armed force and that after victory, we march on to establish the South African People's Republic."[9]

OPEN VIOLENCE AND FOUNDING OF UMKHONTO WE SIZWE

With the failure of the communists and their friends to "completely destroy" the state and come into power, a new era dawned for South Africa. The communists and their friends abandoned all "peaceful, non-violent" means to bring about the changes they wanted. The CPSA went deep underground in 1961 and were busy organizing violent actions against the South African Government.

> "In mid-1961 Joe Slovo, the contact between the Johannesburg District and the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party, announced that the Centre (code name for the CPSA Central Committee) had decided on a policy of violence. In future the major communist fronts would not rely on their tactics of so-called passive resistance to create a revolutionary situation, but would resort to sabotage."[10]

> "Slovo informed the other district members, Ben Turok, Bob Hepple, Ahmed Kathrada, Esther Barsel and Bartholomew Hlapane, that sabotage would be conducted by a new terrorist organization named Umkhonto we Sizwe — The Spear of the Nation. The Spear, Slovo said, was the military wing of the ANC and the CPSA."[11]

Slovo's announcement proves secret liaison between the CPSA and ANC and its new military wing. "At approximately the same time, Nelson Mandela, one of the most able Bantu... in South Africa, met with other leaders of the ANC and formed a new illegal organization named Umkhonto we Sizwe."[12] In the Rivonia trial the court "established beyond doubt that Nelson Mandela had been the leading spirit behind the creation of Umkhonto we Sizwe".[13] The movement was a secret terrorist group set up to commit terror and acts of sabotage across South Africa. To the privileged insider in the High Command, Umkhonto was codenamed MK. Later in 1964, most of the entire leadership of this killer mob was captured by the police along with their plans for seizing South Africa through sabotage and destruction. Later, Hlapane testified that all funds for Umkhonto we Sizwe support came from the CPSA.

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE CONTROLLED BY THE CPSA

The CPSA's full control of the organization Umkhonto is an undeniable fact. CPSA publications from overseas praised it and spoke of the organization being approved by the people; that the era of non-violence was over and that Umkhonto we Sizwe would

The late Michael Harmel, top South African communist

Vivian Ezra, who shared in the Rivonia plot

Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel

The Travallyn farm purchased by the CPSA to serve as a hiding place for new recruits and explosives

organize an army of national liberation that would enable patriots to struggle to obtain their freedom. The same CPSA propaganda spoke of training fighters to use the skill of military science.[14] Bartholomew Hlapane, former member of the CPSA, stated: "Umkhonto we Sizwe's policy was formulated by the communist party and the organization received its instructions from this party."[15] During the police raid on Umkhonto headquarters (discussed in chapter 23), hundreds of documents were captured.

> "One document, Exhibit 12, contained a warning that the involvement of the Soviet Union in ANC and its Umkhonto terrorists should not become public knowledge because of international repercussions."[16]

Afrikaanse Pers Publikasies

The famous Rivonia property, the secret headquarters of the CPSA. The radio masts were used for secret ANC broadcasts given by Walter Sisulu

This African was one of the many who was seriously beaten by the communists and their thugs when he refused to heed the order to "stay home" issued in May 1961

After the official founding of Umkhonto, the next step was to locate secluded and secret premises from which it could direct its underground activities. Communist Michael Harmel, using the fictitious name of "Jacobson", approached an estate agent. His story was that he needed a place for his "sick brother-in-law who needed peace and quiet". The location was found in July 1961 at Rivonia, not far from Johannesburg. It consisted of a large house with suitable outbuildings, standing in a large area of more than twenty-eight acres.

A purchase price of R25 000 was agreed upon, R10 000 to be paid forthwith, and the balance in three equal instalments of R5 000 each. Harmel's "sick brother-in-law" was actually his fellow party member, Vivian Ezra, himself an able communist. This newly-acquired secret location for the CPSA and its terrorist wing Umkhonto would in time become the very setting for its partial destruction.

Dennis Goldberg, a member of Umkhonto and its Logistics Committee, under the fictitious name of Charles Barnard, purchased another farm at a place called Travallyn, located outside Johannesburg. This was to serve as a hiding place for new recruits and for the secret manufacture of all sorts of explosives to be used in the revolution. During a police raid there, dozens of other documents were discovered, further proving the CPSA-ANC-Umkhonto union was working towards the goals of destruction and death across South Africa.

A third property was purchased by the CPSA at Mountain View, a southern suburb of Johannesburg. This was intended to be used as a hideout, and for the publishing, printing and distribution of propaganda and other party literature. It was used by Goldreich and Wolpe after their escape from police custody. The police raid on the Rivonia headquarters and the escape are discussed in chapter 22.

THE SABOTAGE CAMPAIGN IS LAUNCHED

The 16th of December 1961 was selected as the date for attack. Umkhonto's bombs and multiple acts of sabotage were unleashed over South Africa. Electrical installations, government offices and various municipal offices were attacked in an attempt to create a wave of terror. At the same time, placards and posters began to appear on walls and poles in many black townships, publicizing the so-called Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe, announcing that the Spear of the Nation (Umkhonto) was a new organization, formed by blacks but admitting persons of other races. Its aim was to pursue the struggle for freedom and democracy by violent means, inter alia, acts of sabotage directed against government property. This caused a new alert to be sounded by police and security personnel across South Africa. Word spread over the land and a feeling of "unrest" was paramount among the population. Now another terror movement had to be hunted down and dealt with. On 11 July 1963 police raided Umkhonto's security headquarters in Rivonia.

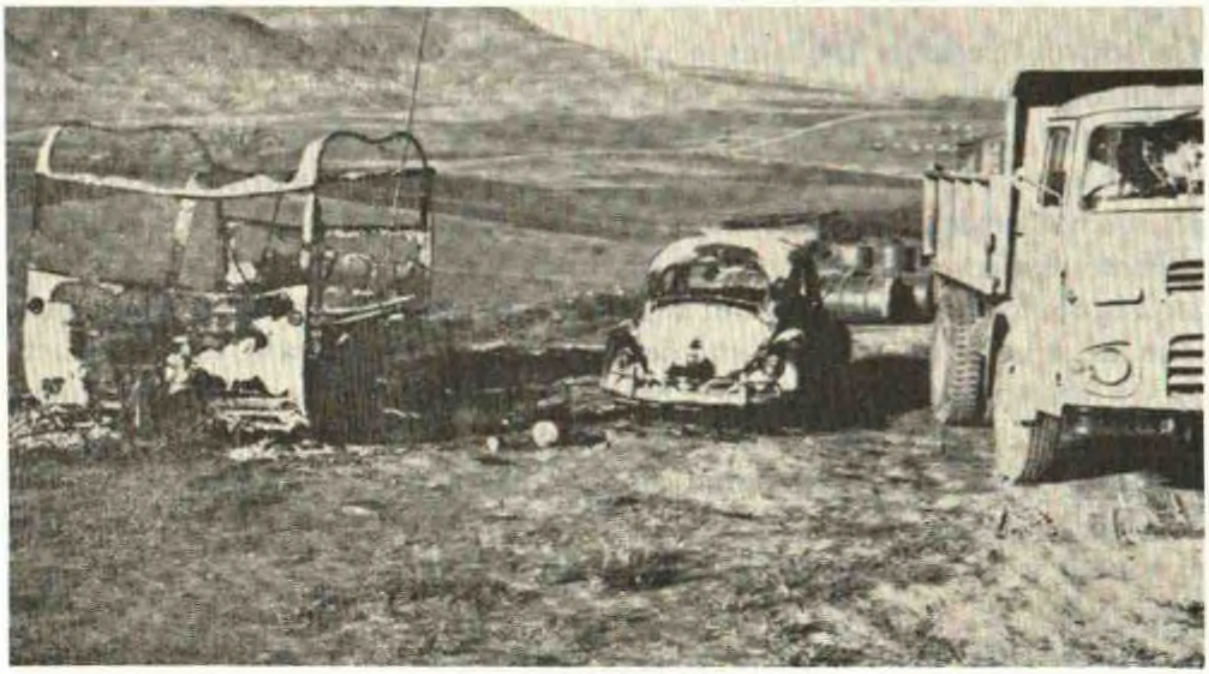
THE FOUNDING OF POQO AND ITS MURDER CAMPAIGNS

Following a similar pattern to the ANC (in founding its military wing Umkhonto), the PAC hurried to work and produced its own killer division. This terrorist wing was founded in the winter of 1961 in Cape Town's Langa and Njanga townships. Its existence was discovered when police uncovered a plot to murder farmers and their families living in certain Western Cape country districts, especially near the Stellenbosch area.[17]

This organization was named Poqo, meaning "Pure", probably having reference to pure black nationalism. Like its competition Umkhonto, it aimed at overthrowing the government of South Africa. While Umkhonto allowed other races into its movement, Poqo was strictly for blacks only. There is great secrecy over the details of the founding of Poqo. Scores of innocent blacks were intimidated and physically forced to join the movement. Soon it became the most powerful black underground movement known in South African history. Poqo was structured along the lines of a traditional communist party cell. In the cells of Poqo, members were not allowed to learn the identity of members in other cell groups. Death was the price paid for revealing any of Poqo's secrets. It is known that almost a dozen Poqo members were killed by their fellows for "revealing Poqo secrets". Later, a few white radicals were allowed to join the movement.

In the Paarl district of Western Cape, a Poqo cell had been established since late 1961. Poqo managed to control almost the entire Langa township by a series of brutal murders. Some of the black victims of these killers were tortured and murdered, having their heads cut off while they were still alive.[18] (See chapter 20 for more details on PAC.)

Towards the end of 1962, Poqo struck again in Paarl. They marched on the area in the early hours of 22 November 1962. Looting, burning and stealing, the crazed mobs hacked to death two young whites, a Miss Rencia Vermeulen, 19, and Mr Frans Richard, 22. Police arrived and shot dead five of the killers. A fierce battle followed, resulting in further deaths. In more battles in these areas, others were killed and wounded and over 300 were arrested.



Galaxie Press

The charred ruins of the caravan belonging to the Grobbelaars, destroyed at Bashee River bridge in February 1963

POQO TERROR MOVES TO THE TRANSKEI

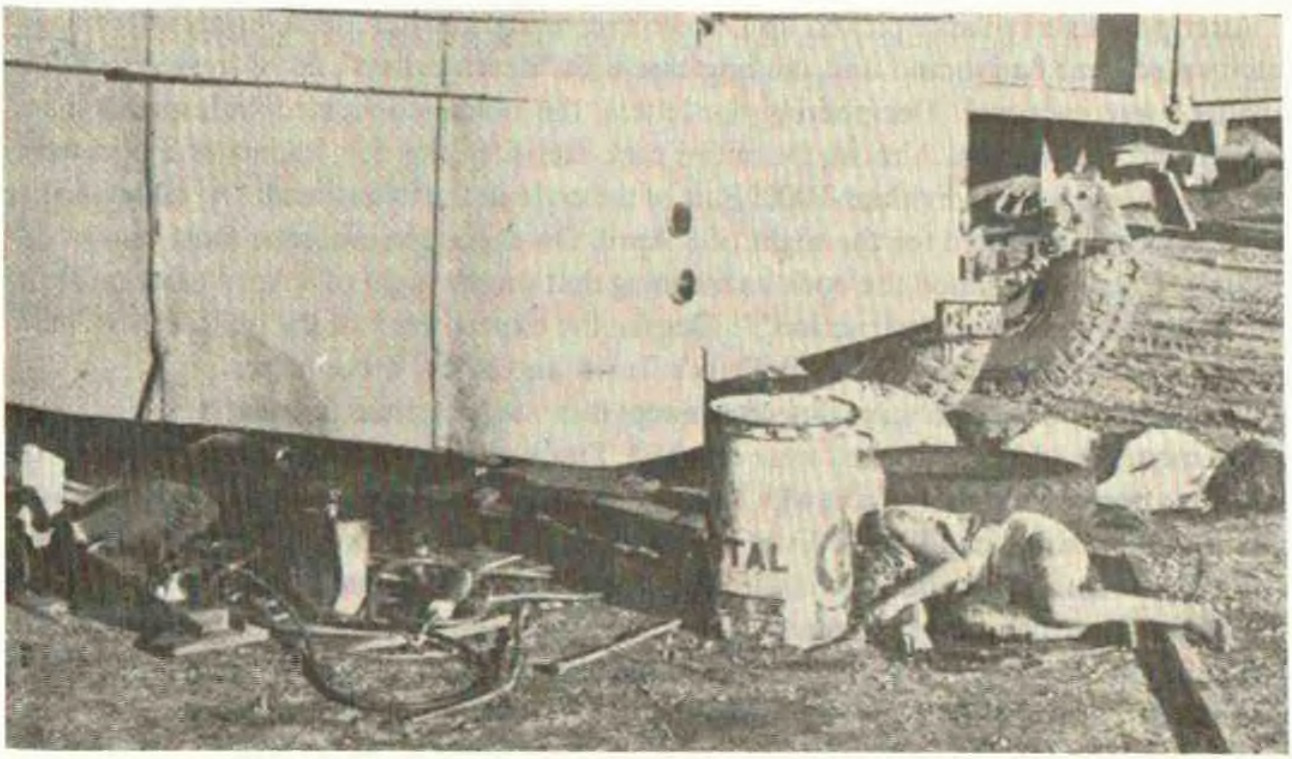
By the end of 1962, Poqo had shifted its full emphasis into the Transkei.

On 19 October 1962 a headman was murdered in the St. Mark's district. Then a

death squad travelled from Langa to Transkei to kill Chief Kaiser Matanzima. Police got wind of the plot and in a deadly shootout on 12 December 1962, seven terrorists were killed and over a dozen arrested. Then followed a fight at the Queenstown railway station with a group of 24 armed Poqo killers.[19] One policeman, Sergeant Manie Maritz, was hacked to death. This resulted in two Poqo members being sentenced to death and 18 others jailed. Poqo was sending death squads into the Transkei and the police intercepted several of them at various railway stations. In January-February of 1963, death squads were to "murder all whites in the Transkei". This plot was foiled by the police and 200 were arrested.

On 2 February 1963, 50 Poqo killers swooped on two caravans camped near the Bashee River bridge. Petrol bombs were thrown into the caravans and as the whites fled, they were beaten and hacked to death by the "liberators". Murdered were Mr. Herman Grobbelaar, a road builder, his wife Elizabeth, their two daughters, Norma, aged 14, Dawn, 10, and a young friend, Mr Derek Thompson. Twenty-three Poqo killers were later sentenced to death for these crimes.

During these attacks the founder of Poqo, Robert Sobukwe, was sitting in prison. His second-in-command, Potlako Leballo, was running the murder show. Leballo left South Africa after serving a term in prison just before the Sharpeville killings. Upon leaving the country, he established headquarters in Maseru. There was a secret connection between his office in Maseru and a place called the "National House" located in Johannesburg.



Al Venter

Two of the victims of Poqo at Bashee bridge

THE NIGHT OF GOD'S MERCY ON SOUTH AFRICA

Leballo summoned his African female secretary into his office at Maseru and after giving her specific instructions, handed her a briefcase packed with letters. Her orders were that she and a companion were to travel to Bloemfontein and from there post the

letters addressed to 150 secret Poqo cell leaders across the whole of South Africa. Each letter carried instructions that on the night of 8 April 1963, there would be a mass uprising across the nation with death and destruction. Leballo had previously made numerous threatening statements to kill men, women and children in South Africa. Now he planned to carry them out.

Several nights before the date of 8 April, rain was pouring in the city of Maseru. A tall blue-eyed South African policeman was visiting the capital city that night. While making his way down the soaking wet main street, he suddenly came face-to-face with a "man whom he knew was working as a foreign agent in Maseru". In the conversation that followed, this agent related to the South African how "his team" had secretly entered the headquarters of Leballo's Poqo a few nights previously and photographed many documents, some containing hundreds of names and addresses in South Africa! After a stand-up heated argument, the South African forced the agent to give him copies of the film.

Flying out of Maseru at midnight and arriving in Pretoria in the early hours of the morning, he summoned his men and in a few hours the developed film lay on his desk. The copies before him revealed that 8 April was set aside as the night of terror and death across South Africa. Poqo would kill thousands on that night. Leballo would send orders from his office in Maseru.

All the tall policeman needed was the South African addresses of the Poqo murder squads. As time was running out, he despatched orders for every crossing point from Lesotho to be placed under strict surveillance. The next morning two of his men spotted Leballo's two women couriers crossing the border carrying a briefcase.

After police surveillance picked up Leballo's secretary and her friend,[20] they were finally intercepted near Ladybrand and the briefcase with "death orders", all addressed to Poqo squads, were captured. Deciphering the letters, the police conducted widespread mass arrests over the nation. Almost the entire rank-and-file, plus top leaders of Poqo were arrested. There were more than 3 000! Part of the code in the letters read: "A wild dancing spree has been arranged for the night of 8 April. On this night everyone must dance..." Security Police recognised the code as meaning that on the night of 8 April there must be the "dance of death and destruction".[21] Despite the expert work of the police, there were incidents in Johannesburg, King William's Town and a few other places.

Meanwhile, police with mine detectors swept over suspect areas for weapons. Factories where members of Poqo worked were checked. Truckloads of crudely fashioned weapons were discovered: Pangas, tomahawks, axes, knives, assegais, needle swords, lead pipes and hand-made firearms of all sorts. Even specially made two-edged swords were found. The Police Museum in Pretoria has hundreds of these weapons on public exhibit. With this, one of the most primitively planned revolutions in South African history failed. South Africa, by the mercy of God, avoided a national bloodbath on the night of 8 April 1963.

In the early part of 1963, the Reds and their dupes had launched a campaign to terrorise both whites and blacks psychologically. Their channel for this was the ANC. Scare leaflets were put in post boxes and other conspicuous places. These were spread over large areas and carried the following message:

> "LISTEN WHITE MAN!
>
> Five Whites were murdered in the Transkei, another hacked to death at Langa... Sabotage erupts every week throughout the country, now here, now there. The Whites are turning vicious and panicky... At this rate, within a year or two South Africa will be embroiled in the second, bloodier and more furious Algerian war.

SABOTAGE AND MURDER MULTIPLIED LAST YEAR
SABOTAGE AND MURDER WILL NOT CEASE.

You now face an indefinitely long future of terror, uncertainty and steadily eroding power. You will keep a gun at your side, not knowing whom to trust. Perhaps the street-cleaner is a saboteur, perhaps the man who makes your tea at the office has a gun... You will never be safe and you will never be sure.

YOU WILL HAVE LAUNCHED A WAR YOU CANNOT WIN."[22]

However, national panic did not break out as predicted by the leaders of the CPSA-ANC and Umkhonto killers.

LEBALLO'S HEADQUARTERS RAIDED

In April 1963, the Maseru headquarters of Leballo were raided by the British Basutoland police. They discovered a gold mine of information. Personal files carrying the names and addresses of about 15 000 were captured. Many arrests were made in Basutoland but Leballo managed to escape. It is thought that the names were also turned over to the South African police. It was during this time that the notorious Patrick Duncan, living in Basutoland, was working hand-in-glove with Leballo. Though partly crushed, Poqo continued to operate on a weak basis. From exile, Poqo issued a publication called Black Star, in which the above-listed facts were denied. Poqo has lied about its communist connections again and again. Leballo visited Red China in July 1964 and received at least $10 000 with a promise of more to follow. He was in Peking again in February 1965 as a special guest of the communist Institute of Foreign Affairs. He gave lectures and reviews and troops assembled in his honour. Many PAC members have been trained in Red China. PAC has offices in various African cities, London and secretly in South Africa.

The Soviet Communist Party gave its official approval to the deeds of Poqo. It declared that "passive resistance was past" and placed its blessing on the "spontaneous outbreaks of (such groups as) Poqo".[23]

PAC CONTINUES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Though banned, the PAC still continues in South Africa on an underground basis. Even neighbouring states are not free from the curse of this group.

Numerous black youths, who fled South Africa during the Soweto riots of 1976, went into Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) and united with the PAC operating in that land. The Citizen, 5 May 1982, announced that "at least 15 members of the South African banned PAC movement were rounded up by the Lesotho Security Police and detained..." Among this number were N. Sidzamba, a PAC exile who came into the country in 1965 after serving a sentence on Robben Island, Ntlabathi Mbuli, part of the Lesotho Christian Council dealing with the welfare of South African refugees, Masaka Booi, refugee from South Africa in the early 1960s, Mawethu Vitshima, exile from detention in the Transkei, and Frank Sukwana, suspected of having secret contacts with the banned Lesotho Liberation Army. The rest were youths from the Soweto riots of 1976.

In August 1973, the South African Security Police announced a PAC plot to create national panic by abducting the children of prominent whites and holding them as hostages in the neighbouring states. This plot was to be part of the national night of death and terror of 8 April 1963. News of this plot was not released until 1973 by

Lieutenant-Colonel J.A. du Preez during a national criminological symposium held in Pretoria.[24]

For years the ANC has enjoyed the favour of the Kremlin while the PAC and Poqo are counted as only toys in the hands of the KGB. Red China has shown interest in both groups, especially the PAC.

CPSA AGENTS AND SABOTAGE

On 19 February 1962, an incendiary bomb was discovered in a drawer of the Judges' bench in the Native Divorce Court in Johannesburg's Rissik Street post office. It had caused only a minor explosion due to a fault in the device. The brown paper wrapping was turned over to officer Gerhard Retief, an expert in fingerprints. The police had suspected communist Ben Turok, thought to have been a leader in many sabotage efforts occurring over the past months, but proof was lacking. After obtaining copies of Turok's fingerprints, they were matched with those on the brown wrapping. There were 31 points on which to identify him and Turok was arrested.

CPSA lawyers rushed about trying to obtain Turok's bail, for they had already planned his escape from South Africa. Bail was refused. Later he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. After his release he was placed under house arrest, but escaped to Botswana. Later he moved to London.

Meanwhile, his wife Mary, a prominent member of COD and a defiant comrade, was involved in serious activities. She was arrested along with Eve Hall, Pixie O. Benjamin and her husband, John M. Benjamin. Also arrested at this time were Diana Mary Schoon, Constantinos Gazides, Ann D. Nicholson, Molly Anderson and Gerard Ludi. Charges against Schoon, Nicholson, Gazides and Ludi were dropped. But on 5 October 1962, Mary Turok, John Benjamin and his wife Pixie, Eve Hall and Molly Anderson were each sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. Then they appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court. The whole of John Benjamin's sentence was suspended. Twelve months of each of the women's sentences were suspended for three years. The four women appealed against their convictions and were released on bail.

Ben and Mary Turok. Both were involved in subversive communist activities during the early 1960s

Later, Mary Turok with her children left South Africa on an exit permit.

Prior to these comrades being dealt with, Harold Strachan and Govan Mbeki were arrested in Port Elizabeth on charges of sabotage. Strachan was sentenced to six years in prison with three years suspended.[25] Mbeki was finally acquitted on a technicality. Ben Turok, hearing the news, quickly sent a telegram of congratulation to Mbeki. Unfortunately for them, it was intercepted by the police. Turok's passion for sabotage was inflamed by the release of comrade Mbeki. Hence, part of the inspiration for his activities listed above, which led to his subsequent 3 years' imprisonment. Then Mbeki went underground and was arrested in the Rivonia raid and sentenced to life imprisonment. (See chapter 22.)

Later evidence proved that Harold Strachan and Percy John Hodgson were sent across South Africa by the Umkhonto wing of the CPSA to train blacks in the art of using explosives. Like comrade Strachan, Hodgson fled South Africa with his wife Rica in mid-1963. Both men had helped to create the Springbok Legion and the COD. (See chapter 14 for the Springbok Legion and chapter 18 for the COD.)

The Star

Some of the many slogans displayed in Johannesburg calling for support of Albert Luthuli and Ben Turok. These were painted by young recruits training for CPSA service

SMUGGLING RECRUITS OUT OF SOUTH AFRICA

During the early 1960s, the CPSA was recruiting young men and sending them out of the country for military and political training. Their final aim was to return to the Republic and work for the overthrow of the government.

Youthful Alfred Jantjies was recruited for special training in Cape Town in 1962

after joining the African Youth League. He was smuggled out of the country and taken to Ethiopia where he took part in military training for three months.

He was subsequently arrested in Bulawayo, Rhodesia, and turned over to the South African police.[26]

During January 1962, 46 Africans were arrested as prohibited immigrants in Rhodesia and handed over to the South African police. Isak Rani was captured whilst attempting to cross the Zambesi and confessed that he had been recruited by the ANC to go to Ethiopia and study military warfare. A senior police officer stated that the ANC was sending its recruits to Ethiopia, North Korea, Red China, Czechoslovakia, Algeria and Egypt for training.[27] Many were arrested under similar circumstances during the period 1961 to 1963. The clandestine work of smuggling Africans out of South Africa for military training continues to the present time and will continue for years to come. (See number 15 under documentation for chapter 23.)

Another case was that of Essop A. Suliman, a Johannesburg taxi driver arrested by the police. He confessed that during 1962, while in the office of Walter Sisulu in Commissioner Street, he was hired to carry three loads of delegates to a conference being held in Lobatsi. He was to be paid R25 a load. As they were approaching the border neer Zeerust, his passengers jumped from the truck and crossed the border into Botswana on foot. He was told that the youths were leaving South Africa to receive military training.[28] Suliman transported over 300 youths to the border between 1962 and 1963. He worked for Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and Andrew Mlangeni. During this period and for several years, scores of youths were sent out of the country for training to overthrow the government. As always, the CPSA and ANC were involved in each case.

The Star

Pixie O. Benjamin. Her husband's "shop" was a delivery point for R10 000 used in party work. The money was passed on to Violet Weinberg in a cloakroom at John Orr's store

The Star

Youthful Eve Hall, arrested along with a group of communists and their friends in 1962

Young Albie Sachs was active in the secret training school for guerrillas along with Dennis Goldberg

Percy Jack Hodgson fled South Africa during the Rivonia trial

Kairos

Bishop Tutu and the SACC office workers "chain dance" to celebrate the birthday of prisoner Nelson Mandela. (See documentation note number 6)

Julia Ferguson

Ex-communist Bartholomeu Hlapane takes the oath before the American Senate Sub-Committee in March 1982. His evidence was devastating to the underground communist movement. A few months following this, he was ruthlessly murdered by the CPSA-ANC in his Soweto home

THE GUERRILLA CAMP IN MAMRE

Near the end of 1962, Dennis Goldberg was employed as an engineer by a firm in Cape Town. While working in this area, Goldberg conducted a training camp for young communist guerrillas in a place known as Mamre. The first batch of recruits left for

Mamre on 26 December. Goldberg was the chief instructor at the camp, assisted by comrade Looksmart Ngudle.

The twenty-odd young men were given training in radio, telephone communications and first aid; they listened to news about the revolution in Cuba, sang freedom songs and studied a manual on guerrilla warfare. Goldberg spoke of the "revolution coming to South Africa" and the part his youthful audience could play. Many other forms of military and political instructions were given.

After a few days, a white lawyer named Albie Sachs arrived at the camp and lectured on economics and politics. Sachs pushed the standard communist line about the evils of capitalism and the blessings of a socialist state. He gave them a stern lecture about the presence of the South African police.[29] This lawyer was the son of Solly Sachs mentioned in the previous pages of this writing. He, following his father's footsteps, was detained in South Africa in 1965. Albie Sachs also turned up in London a while later along with the ARM refugees Stephanie Kemp, Lynette van der Riet and Alan Brooks.[30] (ARM stood for the African Resistance Movement. It is discussed in chapter 23.)

Comrade Goldberg, the camp instructor, was later brought to court during the Rivonia trial. His career in communism was traced back to his parents, who themselves were life-long Reds. He was the only white person convicted in the Rivonia trial and was sentenced to life imprisonment.

During the period of 1960 to 1963, hundreds of people, particularly youths, were brought under various communistic influences. However, with the Rivonia trial, much of the "intrigue" and "excitement" of Marxism-Leninism took a drastic nosedive.

S.A. Navy

This Soviet Foxtrot-class submarine surfaced off the coast of South Africa

MYSTERY SUBMARINES OFF SOUTH AFRICAN COASTS

During the period from 1961 through most of 1965, an unusual number of strange things were occurring along a portion of the South African coastline.

> "On April 10 1965 it was reported from Salisbury that there had been more than 40 sightings of unidentified submarines off the South African and South West African coasts in the last four years, and about 20 off the Mozambique coast. This has been confirmed by the South African authorities."[31]

Most of the submarines sighted were of what was called the Z-Class, Soviet submarines noted for their long-range travel capabilities. Further, on February 19 1965, the Minister of Defence, Mr. J. Fouche, announced that unidentified submarines were sighted off the Transkei coast on seven days during the last fortnight.[32] Both whites and blacks had reported the sightings. One newspaper reported that "a 80 mile sea chase between South African warships and an unidentified submarine off the Transkei coast occurred".[33] Another carried the story of Russian subs being sighted off the Walvis Bay area in November 1964.[34] The publication Paratus carried an article about "Red spy ship rounds Cape". It is the story of a "sophisticated Soviet spy ship, bristling with electronic eavesdropping equipment" recently spotted off the Cape. Scores of similar incidents could be given.[35] There seems little doubt that these strange appearances of unusual numbers of Soviet subs were somehow connected with the violence being created by the CPSA and its friends during that time.

Dana le Roux — The Argus

A Soviet spy ship loaded with surveillance equipment rounds the Cape of Good Hope

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

1. This was simply an attempt to re-create the ill-fated "Congress of the People" movement of 1955. It also flopped.

2. Unpublished document on CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, p. 46
Following this rejection Mandela "using false identities prepared by the KGB... travelled to African and Iron Curtain countries".
(Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, November 1975, pages not numbered)

3. Edited from first document of number 2, pp. 46-47. For a scathing exposure of Mandela's work see, *The Silent War*, Galaxie Press, Rhodesia 1971
By Reg Shay and Chris Vermaak, pp. 118-123

4. Edited from
Rivonia Unmasked
Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1965
By Lauritz Strydom, pp. 84-85

5. This paragraph edited from number 4, pp. 84-87
Many details from Mandela's own diary are recorded in number 4, pp. 104-111 and came to light during his trial.

6. During Mandela's first imprisonment, communist Ahmed Kathrada, who had been active in party affairs since the age of eleven, was handed a cheque for R295 from the legal firm of Kantor and Partners. It was to help in the Free Mandela Campaign. Kathrada started the campaign. Almost twenty years later, certain personalities were still clamouring for the release of Mandela.
The South African Council of Churches (SACC) joins the call with Kathrada. Rev. Sam Buti says of Mandela: "He is a silent leader, loved and respected by several million people inside and outside of South Africa... statesmanship demands his release from Robben Island." (*Your Kingdom Come*, by SACC 1980, edited by M. Nash, pp. 9-10.)
Bishop Tutu, head of the SACC, "predicted that Robben Island longtime prisoner Mandela would almost certainly be the country's next Prime Minister within five to ten years" (*Kairos*, June 1980). Similar to Kathrada of years gone by, Tutu preached "let us support the 'Free Mandela campaign' as your (SACC) Executive has already done" (see *Your Kingdom Come*, 1980, p. 23). This support to the amount of R2 000 was given in March 1980. (See *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into South African Council of Churches*, Pretoria 1983, p. 334)

   Finally, on Mandela's birthday, who celebrates it by "chain dancing around the office"? None other than the workers of the SACC headquarters in Braamfontein (*Kairos*, August 1980). The photograph is reproduced in this chapter.

   Tutu and the SACC are not alone in their praises for Mandela and his comrades. The Kremlin speaks in similar tones of them. *The Bulletin of Novosti Press Agency*, May 1975, APN Special Issue, carries four full pages dripping with praises for Mandela, Sisulu, Fischer, Govan Mbeki and others, complete with photographs. (See number 19 under documentation for chapter 23.)

   If the present South African Government continues in its shift towards appeasement with the "international community", there is no doubt that various "political prisoners" will be released. A similar pattern was followed by Prime Minister Ian Smith of former Rhodesia, before that country fell into the grip of the Marxist-Leninists. (Regarding the "international community" see chapter 33.)

7. Afrikaner nationalism consisted in their sense of deep devotion to God and religious beliefs, their peculiar loyalty to country and national sentiments. All these cemented together

would, in coming years, form a powerful barrier against attempted communist revolution in South Africa.

Hundreds of sympathetic Englishmen and loyal South Africans from other race groups joined hands with the staunch Afrikaner in an effort to stamp out the Red monster that reared its ugly head over the nation. These Afrikaner peculiarities are slowly dying out.

8. See under number 3, *The Silent War*, p. 117
9. *South Africa, A Skunk Among Nations*
   Tandem, London 1975
   By Les de Villiers, p. 65
10. *The Amazing Mr. Fischer*
    Nasionale Boekhandel, Johannesburg 1966
    By G. Ludi and B. Grobbelaar, p. 36
11. Number 10, p. 36
12. *Traitor's End*
    Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
    By N. Weyl, p. 118
13. Number 4, p. 140
14. First document of number 2, p. 48
    Joe Slovo and J.B. Marks were sent by the CPSA to Moscow to organize arms and ammunition and raise money for Umkhonto.
15. *The Communist Strategy*
    Department of Information, Pretoria 1975
    By De Villiers, Metrowich and Du Plessis, p. 61

    Now we read that the ANC-CPSA have forever silenced Hlapane many years after his defection. "An ANC survivor of the Maseru raid (previously mentioned in documentation for chapter 20 note 3) entered South Africa and gunned down Mr Bartholomew Hlapane, defector from the organization in his Soweto home.

    Mr. Hlapane, 64, was one of the several former ANC, CPSA and Swapo members who testified in March 1982 before the US Senate Sub-Committee on terrorism hearings..." *(The Citizen*, 17 December 1982)

    Hlapane, who deserted the CPSA because of the dirty way he was treated by the white leadership, turned State's witness against his former comrades. In the attack by the ANC escapee from the Maseru raid, his wife was killed and his teenage daughter shot in the neck and is paralysed — yet another example of the "liberating fruits" produced by the ANC.

    (For the story of Miss Nokonono Delphine, who testified with Hlapane, see number 33 under documentation for chapter 29)
16. *Red Locusts*
    Western Goals Publishers, Alexandria Va. USA 1981
    By L.P. McDonald, p. 11
17. *Red Trap*
    A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
    By Chris Vermaak, p. 46
18. Number 17, pp. 46-48
19. *The Star*, 9 April 1963
20. The two women were Cynthia Liehaba and Patricia Lethala. Both were sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment.
21. *The Star*, 17 and 18 July 1963 carried the full story. In de-coding the secret letters, the police

discovered that "guitar" meant "knives", "fruit" meant "sharp weapons", "dance" meant the "PAC" and "jive session" had reference to the "Special Branch Police".

22. Number 4, p. 12
23. *The World Marxist Review*, June 1963, p. 4
24. *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 August 1973
25. Strachan, after being released, wrote articles about prison conditions which were published in the Rand Daily Mail. He was tried and sentenced to two and a half years' imprisonment under the Prisons Act. He later fled South Africa for London. *(The Star*, 18 November 1965.) (See number 33 under documentation for chapter 28, for more about Strachan's articles)
26. *Bram Fischer, The Man with Two Faces*
    A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
    By Chris Vermaak, p. 74
27. *Action, Reaction and Counteraction*
    South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg 1963
    By Muriel Horrell, p. 92
28. Number 26, p. 74
29. Number 4, pp. 101-102
30. Number 9, pp. 95-96
31. Number 17, p. 109
32. Number 17, pp. 109-110
33. *The Star*, 29 February 1965
34. *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 November 1964
35. *Paratus*
    Official Periodical of the South African Defence Force
    November 1982, p. 17

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

AGENT Q-018, RIVONIA AND THE BIG ESCAPE

RECRUITED BY THE POLICE

Against the background of the terrorist activities of Umkhonto, ARM and Poqo, other events were occurring that involved the CPSA, its many friends and the South African Police. Even though officially banned, the police knew the CPSA was operating from somewhere. The big questions were: Who were its leaders and from where was it operating? Suspected and listed communists were spotted in and out of the secret meetings of Umkhonto, Poqo, ARM and the ANC. Advocate Bram Fischer, one of the defending counsel at the mammoth treason trials during the late 1950s and early 1960s, was carefully watched along with numerous other comrades. However, the Security Police needed someone within these circles to supply the badly needed intelligence. Finally the big break came. It occurred in the most unlikely place in the whole of South Africa, the liberal University of the Witwatersrand, a hotbed of unrest, subversion and communist activities. As always, this was the work of a very small minority. Over the years the radical activities of such minority groups have given (unjustifiably so) this university a bad name in the minds of many people.

A young man studying at Wits made friends with an engineering student named Barry Strachan. Barry's father was a member of the police group known in those days as the Special Branch. Visiting many hours at Barry's home, young Gerard Ludi was fully converted to an anti-communism stance, owing to the wisdom and knowledge of Detective Strachan.[1] Ludi was actually persuaded to join the police, and to find and infiltrate the underground CPSA. His code name was Agent Q-018 and the date on which he joined the Special Branch was 10 December 1960. The police had no genuine evidence that the party existed, no copy of its constitution, no list of members. Soon young Ludi found himself being invited into the plush houses of Advocate Fischer, Joe Slovo and others, mixing with top South African communists, but always only on a social basis. It would be some three years before he was officially invited to join the underground CPSA.

AGENT Q-018 AND THE CPSA HOUSE PARTIES

During the years of "parties and social contacts", Ludi was introduced to the country's top communists, leftists and their kind. Multi-racial parties were the in-thing at that time. Ludi's eyes were opened to the conduct of the peace-loving comrades who frequented these "outings".

> "Some parties were nothing but sex orgies where married white women made overtures to non-white men. People swam and walked about naked."[2] "Cross-colour adultery was so common-place that nobody ever bothered to raise their eyebrows over it. At some of the wilder parties this would be followed by a wild, drunken bout of naked swimming by the multi-racial crowd."[3]

Ludi spoke of the "wife beatings" after the adulterous affairs between white, coloured and black. These were the type of people working to bring "liberation" to South Africa. Many of them did not possess the morals of most rats sleeping in the city sewers.

There were only three ways of infiltrating the party. The first, and easiest, was through relatives who were already party members. The second was by taking part in party activities overseas, then entering South Africa secretly. The third was by moving among the various front organizations. Ludi took the third route. Three years later it paid off. Secret agent Ludi attended dozens of parties held in and around Johannesburg. He travelled to Swaziland and made contact with clergymen working for the CPSA in sending blacks out of South Africa to be trained as terrorists. They were the Reverends Bush and Hooper.

His social contacts with numerous communists continued for months on this eye-opening level. The parties were a revelation. Many visitors from overseas were invited to these functions, resulting in dozens of Americans, Germans, Britons, Scandinavians and others being abundantly present. Some were recruited into various levels of communism, or front sympathies, during the discussions that always followed. They returned to their own countries usually sympathetic towards and verbal supporters of the CPSA. Most of the parties were held for fund-raising purposes and the money collected went to dozens of fronts and communist-sponsored causes, both in South Africa and abroad.

G. Ludi

These Anglican priests, Bush and Hooper, organized secret routes to smuggle terrorists to communist countries for military training in 1961. They operated from their mission school in Swaziland

AGENT Q-018 JOINS THE CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS

After playing cat and mouse for almost a year, agent Ludi decided, in December 1961, to make an attempt to get into the main stronghold for South African communism, the

COD. During another multi-racial party in Parktown, he announced to a female communist present, "I want to join the COD." To his utter surprise, he was accepted! The next day Ludi walked into COD headquarters located in a building in Fox Street, Johannesburg. He observed that a "lookout" was posted along the way to sound the alarm should police be sighted. This "lookout", Ludi was informed, was a "person knowing most of the members of the Security Branch by sight . . ." Here, he was drilled over and over in the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism. The first part of his early career was spent in various demonstrations and protests, all engineered by the CPSA and its friends.

In October 1962, Ludi reported on a secret meeting during which Bram Fischer acted as chairman. It was actually a meeting of the central committee. Present in the luxurious Parktown mansion were Michael Harmel, Rusty Bernstein, Joe Slovo, Moses Kotane, Duma Nokwe, Walter Sisulu and B. Hlapane. During this secret meeting it was decided to hold a national conference in November of the same year.

During the November meeting, comrade Woolfie Kodesh (his name is frequently spelled Wolfie) transported most of the members and friends to the conference in the back of his dry-cleaning van. Present were such top Reds and their friends as Fred Carneson, Rusty and Hilda Bernstein, Ruth and Joe Slovo, Michael Harmel, Bob Hepple, Walter Sisulu, Joe Matthews, Duma Nokwe, Govan Mbeki and Bartholomew Hlapane. (Some documents spell his name as Bartholomew, others as Barthlomeu and Bartolmeu. All are used in this writing. Please refer to Hlapane in Index.) The chairman was veteran communist J. B. Marks. Bram Fischer and Nelson Mandela were absent from this meeting. At this conference the comrades agreed to adopt a new programme for action in South Africa.[4] This meeting was held in Greenside, in Johannesburg.

COD leaders arrested during street protests were C. Gazides, A. Nicholson, G. Ludi (arrow) and Mary Turok. Unbeknown to these "comrades", Ludi was a police counter-intelligence spy

THE CPSA'S NEW "ROAD TO FREEDOM PROGRAMME"

In the background of Umkhonto and Poqo terrorist raids and killings, this top-secret

meeting laid out its new programme. It was contained in a 63-page document later captured by the police. Portions of its contents are very enlightening. It reads in part:

> "... the historic task of the communist party is the abolition of the capitalist system and, through socialist transformation of the economy of the country, to attain a classless communist society. The party will strive continuously for the building and strengthening of a united front of national liberation, the unity of communists and non-communists.
>
> The Nationalist (Party) are forcing a solution upon South Africa in which patriots and democrats will take up arms to defend themselves, organise guerrilla armies and undertake various acts of armed resistance, culminating in a mass insurrection against white domination.
>
> The South African communist party is a part of the world communist movement. It participates in meetings of fraternal communist and worker's parties and abides loyally by their common decisions."[5]

It is abundantly clear that the CPSA had not moved one inch from its original course of the destruction of the system of capitalism and the bringing in of a Marxist-Leninist social order. Their regular co-operation with anyone willing to work with them (including non-communists) is lucid in this secret document.

At this Greenside meeting a new "Centre" was elected to direct the banned and underground CPSA. Those involved were Michael Harmel,[6] Rusty Bernstein, Joe Slovo, J. B. Marks, Duma Nokwe, Moses Kotane, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and B. Hlapane. A short while later, Fred Carneson, from Cape Town, Bram Fischer, Ruth First, Bob Hepple, Mark Shope and Raymond Mhlaba were co-opted into the "Centre". It was at this meeting that the plans were laid to purchase the Rivonia and Travallyn properties. Secret agent Ludi got wind of this plan.

THE WITS CAMPUS FRONT AND A VISIT TO RUSSIA

After joining the COD, Ludi was appointed to do the work of "leader in charge of university affairs" on the Wits campus. A group of senior recruits had been working at Wits to create a front organization, and their "groundwork" was handed over to Ludi. The newly formed front was named the "Students' Society for Human Rights". This front created periodical unrest on the campus and at other venues in Johannesburg.

At a secret meeting of the Youth Branch of the CPSA in May 1962, Ludi was informed that he could attend a youth festival for peace and friendship if he could pay his own way. At this meeting, held in a Norwood home, other youths present were encouraged to attend this meeting arranged and controlled by the World Federation of Democratic Youth. The meeting was to be held in Helsinki, Finland, during July 1962 and was under the direction of Moscow. Needless to say, within a week Ludi "found" the money to attend the festival!

En route to the festival, whilst in London, Ludi met the contact man for the occasion, Julius Baker, brother of Lewis Baker, the Benoni attorney later to be convicted in the Fischer trial. Another contact man in London was the Indian fugitive from South Africa, Vellay Pillay. Ludi also met two other delegates heading for the meeting. One was Toni, the daughter of Lionel Bernstein, and the other was the popular stage, screen and radio actress, Valerie Phillips. (Photograph of Toni and Valerie appear in this chapter.)

Following a very hectic trip to Moscow and various tours, Ludi returned to South Africa in August 1962. He was loaded with information and photographs. Agent Q-018 was invited to share his experiences in front meetings across Johannesburg. From these "experiences" he was now ready for the big step — membership of the underground CPSA. The Marxists suffered another setback when the COD was banned on 14 September 1962. Towards the end of 1962, Ludi felt that he was being groomed for party membership. Publications filled with Marxist-Leninist propaganda began to pour into his

post-box. Invitations to join Marxist study groups were numerous. He became involved in a new COD front called Club 77 and another front group called the New African Youth Forum. Killer John Harris, of ARM, asked Ludi to serve on the executive of the sports front named the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC). Hugh Levin, a journalist, was also involved in SANROC, along with Dennis Brutus and numerous other radicals.[7]

G. Ludi

Some of the comrades Ludi met in Moscow in 1962 pose for a Kremlin photograph. The girl is Toni Bernstein, a Wits student. Third from the left is M. Paliso, the ANC representative. The fifth from left is probably Vellay Pillay from Durban. The others are unknown Japanese communists

Later, Ludi joined the Left Tennis Club and had contact with a wide assortment of Marxists and leftists. He met a black named Joe Nqgabi, who had just returned from Red China. He had been in a guerrilla training camp near Nanking. Nqgabi then offered to pay large sums of money for information regarding the strength of the South African armed forces, especially information about the new anti-guerrilla troops that were being trained at the time.[8]

Ludi knew something was up and that it pertained to guerrilla warfare. This was at the beginning of 1963. In a few more months, the big break would come — a South African counter-intelligence agent would be asked to join the underground CPSA!

AGENT Q-018 IS INVITED TO JOIN THE CPSA

It had been almost three years since Ludi had ventured into the intriguing world of the underground movements of South Africa. Then it happened: On 12 May 1963, Jean Strachan summoned him to her Ockerse Street, Hillbrow, flat. After preliminary

discussions, she invited him to join the banned and underground CPSA. She immediately gave him a stiff lecture on conditions of membership. He would belong to the cell of which she was the leader. After a hammering about "secrecy, strictness, party discipline", Ludi was informed that he must pay party dues comparable with taxes levied by the South African Government. He was informed as the lecture ended: "There will be a cell meeting in two nights. Be present and be sure that no one follows you."

Valerie Phillips (arrow), the once well-known South African actress whom Ludi met in Moscow in 1962. She frolics on a Durban beach with friends

AGENT Q-018 ATTENDS HIS FIRST PARTY MEETING

Here was the break that the South African Police had worked for over the years. Now the door was opening for a counter-intelligence officer to penetrate the CPSA. In time, this step would lead to the temporary destruction of the party.

On the night of 14 May 1963, counter-spy Ludi knocked on the door of 305 Santa Barbara in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. Jean Strachan opened the door and Ludi walked in. Present were two other women. They waited for two men who never showed up. Ludi was

instructed to choose a code name. Now he was officially "Harry". One of the two men who never arrived was codenamed "Jan", who was in fact Bram Fischer. The other was "Henri", who was a Johannesburg businessman. He operated a shop in an exclusive Johannesburg suburb. He was never brought to court. Ludi learned from chairman "Clara" (code name of Jean) that all members of the CPSA were classified into four groups and that they were required to pay dues according to the following scale:

The four groups:
"A members — People listed as communists who are not in jail.
B members — Listed communists who are in jail.
C members — People known to the police as leftists.
D members — People completely unknown to the police.
(The latter were considered the most valuable.)
Scale for party dues:

Monthly income	**Monthly party dues**
R50-100	R1.00
R100-150	R4.00
R150-200	R8.00
R200-400	5% of income
over R400	10% of income."[9]

In the following months, Ludi collected a wide assortment of intelligence covering everything from party plans, personnel, new recruits, publications, overseas contacts, finance, a Russian-built secret radio transmitter and box numbers. It was a goldmine of information for the South African Police.

By the middle of 1963 agent Ludi knew the CPSA was organised on a large scale and was operating from secret headquarters located somewhere on the Reef. He gathered this when he overheard a party member requesting assistance from a party sympathiser (who was actually another counter-intelligence spy for the South African Police) in installing a secret radio transmitter in a hidden location. The secret police agent refused when he was informed he would have to be blindfolded, have his hands tied behind his back and driven to the place in the back of a kombi. Ludi actually heard a broadcast from the communist station in the middle of June while sitting in on a secret meeting of the COD. The voice over the radio was that of Walter Sisulu, wanted by the police for jumping R6 000 bail.[10] In the following months, the police knew full well that there was a secret headquarters from which the banned CPSA was operating. But where?

Rand Daily Mail

An outstanding display of communist propaganda power. Fischer gave orders for these precise type signs to be used in front of Marshall Square police station in May 1963

THE CPSA'S USE OF CHILDREN AND INNOCENTS

Six days before the police raid on party headquarters at the Rivonia farm (11 July 1963), a CPSA cell meeting was called at Jean Strachan's Hillbrow flat.[11] Members present on this occasion were Gerard Ludi, Jean Strachan, Flo Duncan, Sylvia Neame and Fischer, acting as chairman. Fischer was rabid about the 90-day detention law. He ordered cell members to stir up all the trouble possible regarding this government security measure. Fischer knew full well that this emergency preventive measure had wrought havoc for "the movement" or "the family" (code names for the CPSA). He had become obsessed with the urgent need to fully discredit this law in the eyes of the unsuspecting general public.

Orders were given at this meeting for members to organize demonstrations and include the relatives of various persons detained under the law. Children were to swarm the courts and effective public places at the most convenient hours and plead for the "release of their parents". Placards were to be carried with the words, "I want my daddy", "I want my mummy back", "Free my son", "Husbands detained" and "Our children suffer", and were to be publicly displayed. The press jumped at this. An example of this action was on 28 May 1963 when Mosey Moolla was detained at the Marshall Square police station. Mrs. Moolla generously displayed the placard reading, "Free my son" (illustrated in this chapter).[12] This was the same Moolla who escaped from prison with Goldreich and Wolpe. Fischer gave adamant orders about "drawing such groups into the protest band as the Liberal Party, the Progressive Party, the Black Sash and the Witwatersrand University and overseas organizations". He demanded that more political work be done at the university. "Fischer gave orders to burn maize and sugar fields."[13]

Realizing the value of the media, he gave these orders to Ludi (working as a reporter) and others during a cell meeting:

> "Newspapermen should try to give the 90-day detainees as much publicity as possible. How can this be done? You, Paul Trewhela, Margaret Smith of the *Sunday Times*, and Hazel Fine should do your collective best to get one story a day into the newspapers advertising the plight of the 90-day detainees."[14]

Someone on the staff of both the Rand Daily Mail and the Star did a good job for Fischer and the CPSA in publishing the photos of small children carrying placards and of "tearful reunions of detainees with their families after being released".[15] CPSA members were directed to harass the police and judges, to beat their shoes on the doors of their cells and to shout police brutality into the ears of questioning reporters.[16] This standard communist tactic had been employed with amazing success for years across the Western non-communist world.

In a secret document captured by the Security Police, dated 10 July 1963 and issued as a directive by the CPSA, the following instructions were listed for detainees:

> "The police want to smash the resistance of those they have detained by keeping them in solitary confinement. We must defeat this move:
>
> (a) By getting relations of detainees to pester the police and with demands to see them to take them clothes and food.
>
> (b) By organizing meetings of the wives to go to the Chief Magistrate demanding the release of the men and women.
>
> (c) By holding protest meetings.
>
> (d) By using all means (newspapers) to keep the minds of the public thinking about those unjust arrests. This will strengthen those inside."[17]

In another document seized by the Security Police, Red directives read as follows:

> "Members, their wives and children must do everything in their power to occupy the time of the police so

that they can be adequately hampered in the execution of their tasks, particularly security work. We must keep them busy, split their forces. Criminal charges, civil actions must be brought against them. All this will keep them occupied. They must be kept busy with long arguments about trifles. Anything must be fabricated to keep them occupied."[18]

CPSA'S SECRET HEADQUARTERS ARE DISCOVERED

The method used by the leader of the Security Police to locate CPSA headquarters is cloaked in mystery and intrigue. Acting on what he described as "divine intuition", the head of the Security requested from the Commissioner of Police the amount of R6000. His request was granted on the spot. Through unknown channels this money was offered to a certain individual for information that would lead the police to CPSA headquarters. The person was stunned by the offer of such a large sum of money and agreed to assist the police. Together they spent several days driving around the suburb called Rivonia. They were searching for a place with a sign reading "Ivon" and a very large farmhouse not far from a church building. The church turned out to be a gabled house, and "Ivon" to be the blurred, but still legible, letters of a sign reading "Rivonia".[19] CPSA headquarters was finally discovered. It was a 28-acre estate called "Lilliesleaf", with a large main house, a thatched cottage and four or five outbuildings. The next step was the most critical of all, namely, the planning of the police swoop on the farmhouse.

Several drives past the place and the police were able to obtain a general knowledge of its layout. The neighbours were visited and proved helpful and courteous. It was discovered that the "owner" was a man named Arthur Goldreich and that the place was famous for "drinking and mixed parties". After locating Goldreich's number, a call was then made to check if anyone was home. The response was good — there was an answer. Someone was there, but who? Having rented a van from a dry-cleaning establishment for R200 and taking aboard 14 policemen and one dog, the raiding party headed for the secret location of the banned CPSA. Several other policemen followed in other vehicles. Shortly after three that afternoon, on 11 July 1963, the hired dry-cleaning van pulled slowly into the driveway of the CPSA headquarters. The clever Marxist-Leninists and their friends were in for one of the biggest shocks of their lives.

THE RAID ON CPSA HEADQUARTERS, 11 JULY 1963

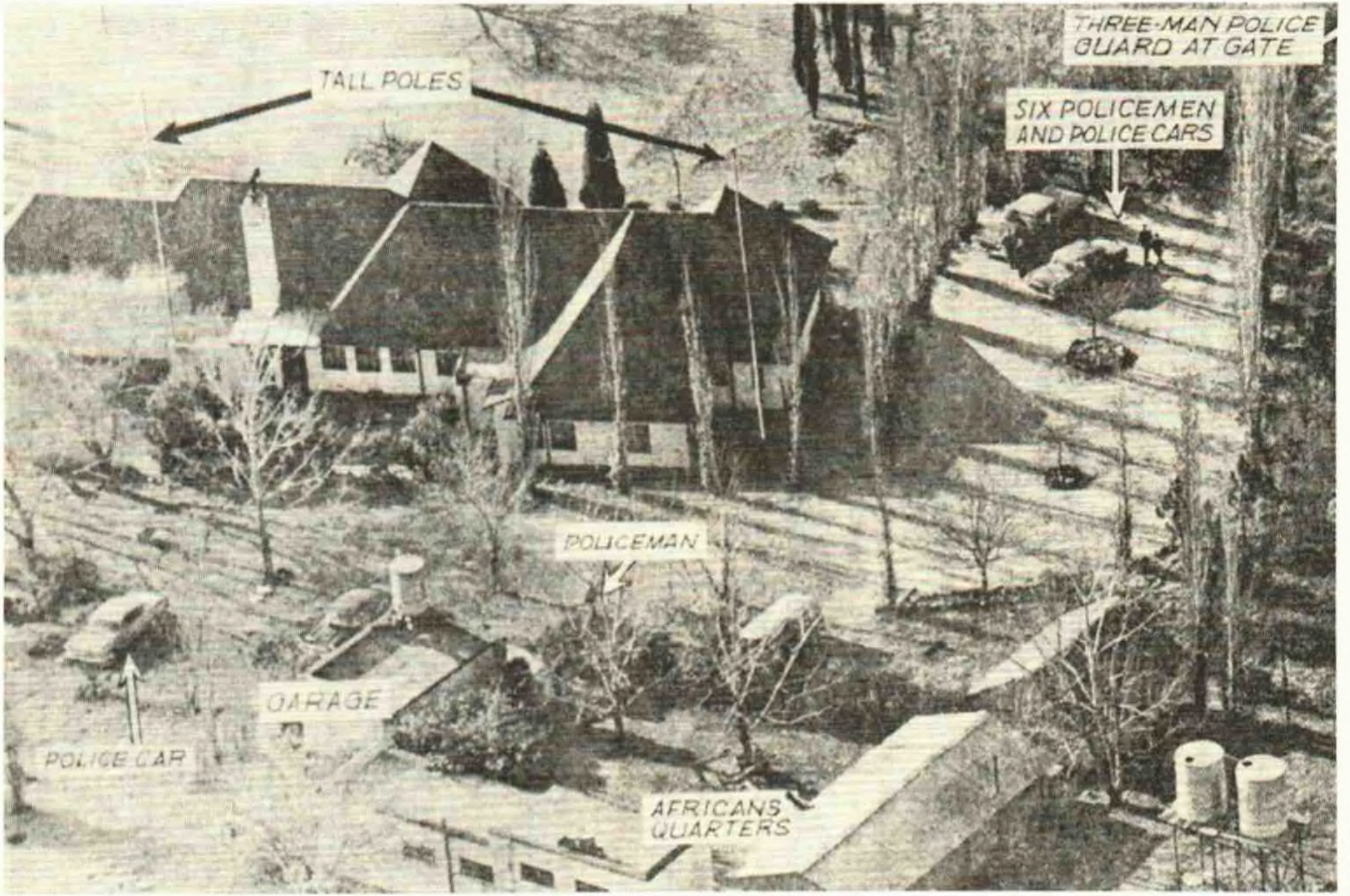
Halfway up the driveway they found the road blocked by an African. "Where's the master?" inquired Sergeant Kleingeld. "There's nobody home," came the unsure reply. While Sergeant Kleingeld engaged the African in conversation about some fictitious directions, Lieutenant van Wyk's mind raced. Impulsively he made the correct decision. Suddenly the tranquillity of Lilliesleaf farm exploded as policemen raced over the place. "Ons slaan toe" ("We're closing in"), shouted Lieutenant van Wyk as the place swarmed with policemen.

Some of South Africa's top communists and their friends, though heavily disguised, were caught in the net.

"In the thatch-roofed cottage which the police first entered, there were six men, three Bantu, two whites and one Indian. They were Walter Sisulu (the announcer on Liberation Radio), Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein, Bob Hepple and Raymond Mhlaba."[20]

In the main building, the police arrested the Cape trainer in guerrilla warfare, Dennis Goldberg.

In the ensueing search, the police discovered 200 incriminating, seditious documents,



Sunday Times

The Rivonia communists' headquarters shortly after the police raid

including a copy of "Operation Mayibuye". Also discovered were the radio transmitter in one of the outside rooms and a burried cable leading to a radio mast. This was the set that agent Ludi had heard Sisulu speaking over not many weeks previously. There were two geese on the grounds serving as watchdogs. The information seized in the raid resulted in the arrest of James Kantor, the Johannesburg solicitor who was in partnership with a listed communist, Harold Wolpe, who was also his brother-in-law. Wolpe, upon receiving word of the Rivonia raid, fled South Africa, but was arrested near the Botswana border on 17 July. Two more co-conspirators were arrested, namely, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni.

During the raid, a car full of blacks entered the gates of Lilliesleaf, but sped away at the sight of trouble. Later Arthur Goldreich drove into the trap. He was discovered to be the explosives "expert" for Umkhonto. Shortly afterwards his wife, Hazel, was arrested upon entering the property. Still later in the night another visitor arrived. Dr. Hilliard Bestenstein drove unsuspectingly through the gate and was greeted by the police. He explained his presence by saying: "I have come to borrow a book."[21] The eight African workers were also placed under arrest and later gave statements to the police and evidence at the trial.

All told, the police named thirteen men in the indictment. They were Nelson Mandela (who was in prison, but the captured documents proved him to be a part of the conspiracy), Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, James Kantor, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, Bob Hepple, Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe.[22] Of the thirteen, ten were indicted in the Supreme Court. Hepple, Goldreich and Wolpe were not charged with the accused. Hepple agreed to give State's evidence. He was released on bail and fled the country. Later Goldreich and Wolpe escaped from custody and fled the country.

Voortrekkerpers

Security Police collecting documents during the raid. A dejected Goldreich sits looking on

One curious note of interest is that a month after the raid at Rivonia mysterious visitors came to the Lilliesleaf farm. "There were tyre tracks, footprints and the word 'Zorro' sprayed in silver paint on a wall of one of the outbuildings."[23] The police put it down to a practical joke.

Afrikaanse Pers Publikasies

The radio transmitter used at the Rivonia hideout for ANC broadcasts made by Walter Sisulu. This "Freedom Radio" set was manufactured in the USSR and smuggled into South Africa

THE DAMNING DOCUMENT "OPERATION MAYIBUYE"

The document that shocked many casual South Africans, and even some of the police officials, was called "Operation Mayibuye". Its six pages deeply moved many people. Detective Warrant Officer Kennedy had found it in the thatched cottage on the day of the raid. Lauritz Strydom gives a brief review of the document:

> "Operation Mayibuye is a comprehensive plan, worked out in the most minute detail, for seizing control of the country by means of sabotage and destruction, coupled with guerrilla warfare waged by the masses, who would be supplied with sufficient arms and ammunition to sow terror throughout the length and breadth of the land."[24]

Mayibuye is a Zulu word meaning "return". It probably referred to Africa's returning to the black man. The plan called for open, violent and bloody warfare in South Africa. The first revolutionary blows were to be struck in four key areas, Port Elizabeth-Mzimkulu, Port Shepstone-Swaziland, North-Western Transvaal bordering on Botswana and the Limpopo River and North-Western Cape-South West Africa.

The revolutionary movement would be touched off with the simultaneous landing, by sea or air, of four groups of 30 men each, equipped with enough arms and provisions to be self-sustaining for a month. Each group would split up into three independent platoons of 10 men each, which would operate within specific areas. Even a "Provisional Revolutionary Government" was included in the plan.

Landings of 7000 men were to occur in an advanced stage of the revolution. Goldreich was the brains behind the plot of murder and destruction. His plan was modelled on the strategy of the Red Chinese. During his travels in Red China, he had been well "briefed"

for his return to South Africa. His own notes revealed his careful planning in the manufacturing of all sorts of explosives and fuses. Police seized a document in his car entitled "Production Requirements" (for the revolution). This specified 48 000 landmines, 210 000 hand-grenades, 150 tons of ammonium nitrate, 20 tons of aluminium powder and 1 500 time fuses for bombs needed for sabotage and the initial insurrectionary blow.[25]

Communist countries such as Russia, Red China, Cuba and Czechoslovakia were also involved. Parts necessary to manufacture bombs and various types of explosives were to be smuggled into South Africa in dolls and via other secret means. Goldreich's murderous scheme called for landmines to be planted in "roadways, footpaths, gardens and entrances to private houses to liquidate people hostile to the revolution and to spread terror". Detailed plans, charts and sketches were also found. The final aim of the plan, as espoused by the killers and their friends in the banned CPSA, called for a communist takeover in South Africa. It was a blueprint for national genocide. Now the police had what they needed. All these ugly facts were used as evidence by the prosecution during Goldreich's trial.

THE INNOCENT LIARS AND A NEW DIRECTIVE

Every communist detained and their friends would, without fail, protest their innocence to the high heavens. As a rule, the liberal press and media sided with them. This, of course, has been the story over the decades of communist history. They are always the "innocent, humble people fighting for the rights of others". This is standard, long-time communist strategy. It has almost always worked wonders for their evil cause. In July 1963, South Africa saw another lucid example of this in stylish action.

Vaughn Stone, a member of the Liberal Party and a science teacher, was in trouble with the police. He had worked with Bridget Mellor. Both vehemently denied any participation in the "escape route" the police knew was being used to transport certain people out of the country. The liberal press took up their cause and projected them both as "political martyrs of the South African Government and the police..." However, once deported, they were both moved by some strange spirit to confess the truth. Complete with their photographs and the story, came their confessions from the "safety of England". They "did organize a secret escape route out of Johannesburg" for persons leaving South Africa. To its credit, it was the Rand Daily Mail that published the story of the innocent liars.[26]

Just prior to the escape of Goldreich, Wolpe and their revolutionary friends (mentioned in the next section), the Soviet Communist Party, smarting from the monstrous defeat of the Rivonia raid, issued new directives. A secret order of retaliation was intercepted and a portion of it reads as follows:

> "The Soviet Union has ordered the underground CPSA to launch a large-scale sabotage and guerrilla activity and to organize revolts in South Africa."[27]

This secret order was intercepted in London before reaching the CPSA and Bram Fischer. It proves impeccably that the CPSA, even in its underground state, received directives from Moscow.

THE "YI CHU CHAN CLUB"

Before looking at the escape of Goldreich and his comrades, we examine a communist front organization that was operating deep underground during this time. It was the child of Red China in South Africa.

In 1961, a Trotskyite-orientated movement was founded in Kimberley. It was called the

Yi Chu Chan Club (YCCC). Its avowed aim was to overthrow the South African Government by violence. The sensation and prominence given to the Rivonia arrests and subsequent trials actually overshadowed this movement. It was considered by the police as "posing a threat to the Republic". It consisted mainly of coloured doctors and teachers.

This was one terror group actually sponsored by Red China and operating within South Africa. It is a fact that no South African Chinese people were involved. As far as the evidence shows, it seemingly had no strong links with the ANC, PAC, ARM or their military wings.[28] However, Bram Fischer had secret contacts with this movement.

It was revealed that a coloured, Dr. K. G. Abrahams, assisted in this group. There were press reports that a J. J. Marks, who fled South Africa under banning orders, went to Red China in August 1963 and was a link with the underground movement. Men, mostly, belonged to the body and it had connections with the Non-European Unity Movement.[29] However, in July 1963, most of its leaders were arrested. On 15 April 1964, eleven members of the YCCC were sentenced to five and ten-year prison sentences.[30] (The J. J. Marks mentioned above is the same as the J. B. Marks of chapter 15. He died in Moscow in 1972.)

The movement was named after the leader of the trade union in Red China, a man named Yi Chu Chan. He was also leader of Peking's delegation to the Afro-Asian solidarity conference held in Tanganyika during February 1963. It is thought that some of the South African members of the club attended this conference. As in scores of similar cases, swift police action destroyed the Peking-sponsored revolutionary movement.

Rand Daily Mail

Bridget Mellor and Vaughn Stone, who assisted in the "escape route" from South Africa

THE ESCAPE OF GOLDREICH AND WOLPE

While members of the prosecution were sorting through the stacks of documentation, a tragedy occurred for the police during the early hours of Sunday 11 August 1963. It was only one month after the Lilliesleaf raid. The word spread across South Africa like a veld fire: "Goldreich, Wolpe, Moolla and Jassat had escaped!"[31] (Abdulhai Jassat was one of the prisoners.)

An eighteen-year-old constable named Johan Greef was apparently overpowered and knocked out, and the prisoners escaped from Marshall Square. After investigation, Lieutenant van Wyk suspected something was amiss. Under pressure, Greef told the whole story to his superior, Lieutenant van Wyk, who was accompanied by a Lieutenant Burger and Detective Warrant Officer Labuschagne. They were sitting in the police cafeteria drinking coffee.

Greef related that he had recently smashed a friend's car and was in serious financial trouble. He made a deal with the prisoners, whose spokesman, Goldreich, promised to pay him R4000 for their release. Believing the lies of the communists, the young constable freed them.

He was to collect the vast sum of money in Rustenburg, ironically his home town. Greef let the men escape through the back exit. Both Mrs. Wolpe and Mrs. Goldreich were arrested and brought in for questioning. Young Greef was remanded without bail and later sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

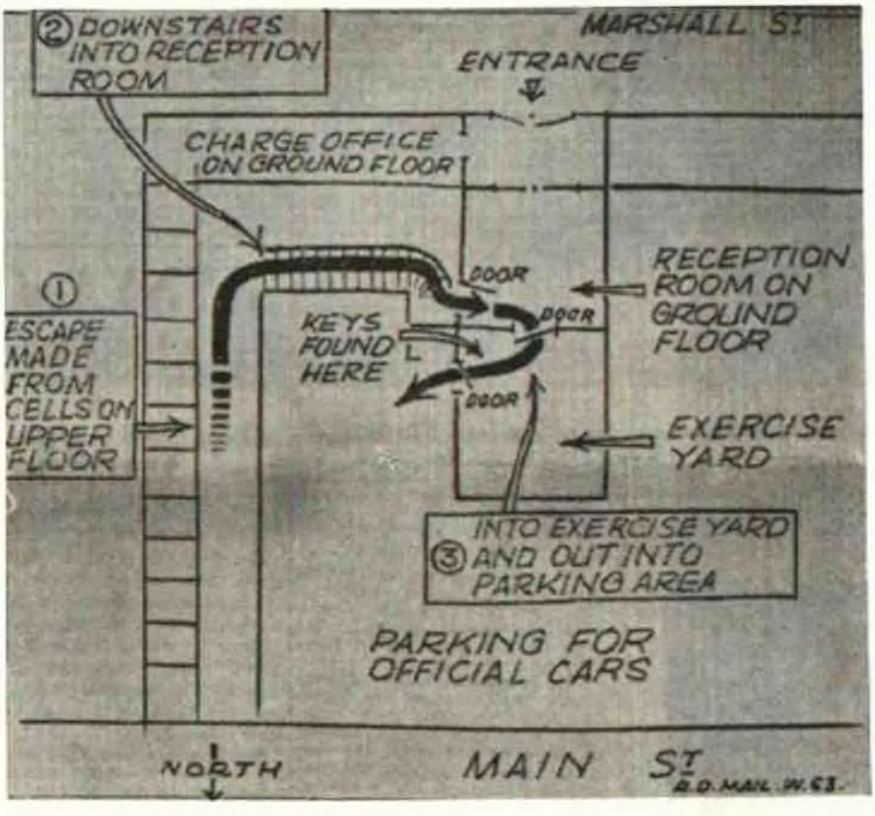
Meanwhile, a nationwide search was launched for the escapees. Mosey Moolla (his name has several spellings) and Abdulhai Jassat seemed to have vanished, but turned up later on the other side of the globe. Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe had escaped to their communist hideout located in Mountain View (not yet discovered by the police). They disguised themselves as priests and slipped across the border into Swaziland under the false names of Father Shippon and Father Mitchell. They were taken into the shelter of (comrade) Father Charles Hooper.[32] An unknown person in Johannesburg (a secret communist) had purchased a red Ford for R2000 and, in this vehicle, they drove to freedom. They arranged for a Mr. Truter to fly them to Lobatsi in Bechuanaland, which he did. Later, Truter was shocked to learn that he had assisted these communists in their escape. He was totally innocent.

From Lobatsi, they travelled by Landrover to Francistown, accompanied by an Indian named I. Bhana, an organizer of the "escape routes out of South Africa".[33] Arriving in Francistown, the two escaped Reds found an unfriendly welcome awaiting them. Spending the night in the local jail for protection from the hostile people, they were smuggled to the airport, some 100 miles away, and flown out of the country. Prior arrangements had been made for their escape "by a certain prominent (British) Labour MP, notably Mrs. Barbara Castle".[34] Typical of the "revolutionary morality" — their wives were left sweating it out in a cell at Marshall Square in Johannesburg. Of course, like most "peace-loving" Reds fleeing South Africa, they ended up in London amid the anti-apartheid gang. Later, Goldreich went to Israel, Wolpe to Russia and then to England.

LONDON: CITY OF SHELTER

For years London has served as a safe haven for much of South Africa's political scum and revolutionary rubbish. Bombers, saboteurs, violent and premeditated law-breakers, killer terrorists, men and women as well as young people who have purposely planned and

Rand Daily Mail



Above, left to right: Goldreich, Moolla, Jassat and Wolpe. Below: The escape route taken by the four men in August 1964

attempted to change the South African system by death and terror, flee to London and are given a hero's welcome.

Certain British people and politicians describe the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in such terms as "killers, murderers and anarchists" as they have unleashed their cold-blooded and senseless killings over the country. Yet when the communist-supported and controlled ANC bombs the main street in some South African city, killing and wounding innocent people, they are described as "freedom fighters" and "oppressed people fighting for human rights". How long will this double standard continue in London? What would the British politicians say if South Africa allowed the IRA to establish offices in Pretoria or Cape Town?

Some observers feel the British are now reaping (with the horrible bombings occurring in their country) what they have sown by applying their hypocritical double standards to South Africa. Beyond doubt the dirtiest game in the world is that of politics.

Rand Daily Mail

Sheltered in the Francistown jail, Arthur Goldreich (seated), Harold Wolpe (in bed), and Ismail Bhana relax after escaping from South Africa

The British politician, Barbara Castle, was involved in "shadowy" deals helping certain communists to escape from South Africa

REV. BLAXALL ARRESTED, SENTENCED AND FORGIVEN

As South Africa was being turned upside down in the search for Goldreich, Wolpe, Moolla and Jassat, another clergyman was arrested. The Rev. Arthur Blaxall, a 72-year-old Anglican priest, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on four counts in connection with the Suppression of Communism Act. The prosecution alleged that Blaxall had at various times received funds from London, which he had applied to

furthering the ends of various subversive movements. In all, an amount of R6 282 had been paid out by him to various members of underground movements. Walter Sisulu was one of his beneficiaries. The retired clergyman's correspondence revealed that he had also had contact with Potlako Leballo, the terrorist leader of the PAC.

Blaxall pleaded guilty to all the charges. He was sentenced to a term of two years and four months' imprisonment, all but six months of which was suspended for three years. He spent one night in jail. The Minister of Justice granted Blaxall a full remission of sentence and he returned to his home in Roodepoort. Blaxall was another example of a "man of God" espousing the "cause of the Devil". He left South Africa shortly after being released from prison and returned to his native England. He died in 1970.[35]

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

1. Ludi's experiences are edited mostly from his book
   Operation Q-018
   Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1969
   By G. Ludi
2. *The Amazing Mr. Fischer*
   Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1966
   By G. Ludi and B. Grobbelaar, p. 62
3. Number 1, p. 23
4. Number 1, pp. 22-29
5. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, pp. 48-51
6. During the year 1963, the CPSA was greatly assisted by the KGB. Michael Harmel, a trained KGB operator, and a banned person, had for years made frequent trips to Moscow. Under heavy disguise he would drive to Durban, board a flight to Nairobi, then to London and Dublin. From there, with a supply of new identity documents given him by West German KGB agents, he would travel to Moscow. Fourteen days later he would return to Johannesburg, from his "holiday" in Durban.
7. Fund-raising for SANROC was a typical bazaar affair. Ludi describes those present as "bearded intellectuals, student girls in tight slacks, painted African prostitutes in skin-tight dresses, beatniks, weirdies and an African parson called deferentially 'The Reverend' by everyone, and, of course, there were the hard-core communists".
   (Number 1, p. 177)
   Dennis Brutus was president of the SANROC political circus and John Harris was chairman. (*Rand Daily Mail*, 23 May 1963)
8. Number 2, p. 43
9. Most details are edited from Ludi's book, Number 1, pp. 191-193
10. This broadcast was made from the property of Isaac Lewitton in Empire Road, Johannesburg.
11. Counter-intelligence agent Q-043, named Klaus Schroeder, rented a flat next to Strachan and recorded the conversations in her rooms. He observed the movements by means of a special one-way mirror attached to his door. (*The Pretoria News*, 2 February 1965)
12. This was reported on the front page of the *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 May 1963, and in *The Star*, 28 May 1963
13. *Bram Fischer, The Man with Two Faces*
    A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
    By Chris Vermaak, pp. 127-128
14. Number 13, p. 127
15. An example of this "tearful reunion" is well illustrated in Pixie O. Benjamin's release after six months of detention. The *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 August 1963, carried the story and photograph of her "reunion with her eight-year-old son..." (She was listed in the *Government Gazette*, 25 August 1967, p. 14)
16. Number 2, p. 35
17. *The Red Trap*
    A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
    By Chris Vermaak, pp. 94-95
18. Number 17, p. 96
19. *Traitors End*

Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
By N. Weyl, pp. 121-122

20. *Rivonia – Operation Mayibuye*
A.P.B., Johannesburg 1964
By the Honourable H. H. W. de Villiers, p. 4

21. Dr. Bestenstein was detained under the 90-day clause while his house was searched. He was in possession of banned literature, but there was no proof that he was part of the conspiracy. He was not among the accused at the trial.

22. Number 20, p. 2

23. *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 August 1963

24. *Rivonia Unmasked*
Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1965
By Lauritz Strydom, pp. 66-67

25. Edited from Number 19, p. 128

26. *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 July 1963

27. *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 July 1963

28. *The Star*, 15 July 1963

29. Dr. Neville Alexander, a brilliant schoolteacher, was involved in this secret movement. Mr Justice van Heerden, in passing sentence, declared that the movement was associated with an organization called Apdusa. (See *Cape Argus*, 15 April 1964.) This body, in turn, was something of a "military affiliate" of the Non-European Unity Movement.
The Unity Movement attempted to operate in exile from Lusaka and should be placed within the same sphere as the ANC and the PAC. All three groups are heavily financed from communist Europe and even Red China and are dedicated to the overthrow of the South African Government by force.
(See *Coloured, A profile of Two Million South Africans*
Human and Rousseau, Cape Town 1974
By A. J. Venter, pp. 415-416, 492)

30. Number 5, p. 68. See also *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 August 1963

31. *The Star*, 12 August 1963, carried full coverage on the front page, complete with photographs.

32. Swaziland was (and still is) a refuge for communist clergymen. Ludi relates that during his first trip out of South Africa to Swaziland with a Red fellow traveller, he lunched with a Red priest called Reverend Bush who had just recently fled South Africa. He was driven to another mission station operated by another communist clergyman called Reverend Hooper, who had set up a two-way pipeline for "freedom-fighters" moving in and out of South Africa. Goldreich and Wolpe stayed with these two men.

33. Number 24, p. 48

34. Castle was often rushing forward to aid the communists and their friends escaping from South Africa. The *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 August 1963, carried front-page photographs of escapees bedded down in the Francistown police station, where they sought refuge from the angry mobs who had learned of their presence. The photograph is reproduced in this chapter.

35. Number 24, p. 51

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

SOUTH AFRICA'S BIGGEST TRIAL: NUSAS AND ARM

THE RIVONIA TRIAL

It was scheduled to begin on 9 October 1963, and it ended on 19 June 1964. The Rivonia trial made world news and was the most famous trial in South African history. However, owing to delays and several technical hitches, it was postponed until 3 December 1963. Finally the day arrived. It was a sunny morning at Pretoria's Church Square and the place was a hustle of activity. Hundreds of whites and non-whites crowded the historic site where the trial was to be held. Clenched fists were being raised in the typical ANC (actually communist) salute. As the doors of the Palace of Justice swung open, the crowds surged forward into the famous building.

"Silence in court." The voice of the court orderly rang out and a hush fell over the restless scene. All present rose to their feet as Mr. Justice Quartus de Wet, Judge President of the Transvaal, walked into the room. He was a dignified, imposing figure, casting an atmosphere of awe in his red gown of office. Suddenly the door behind the dock was pushed open and in marched the ten accused. They were soon to be charged with sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government. Nelson Mandela led the parade followed by Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, James Kantor, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni. As they were seated, black fists were raised in defiance.

The counsel for the defence consisted of Bram Fischer Q.C. and Mr. Vernon C. Berrangé, a famous criminal lawyer. Ironically, both were listed communists. Attorney James Kantor had A. Chaskalson, G. Bizos and J. F. Coaker appearing on his behalf only. Dr. Percy Yutar led the prosecution for the State. As the Rivonia trial was being born, the eyes of the world were watching, as well as the Soviet Communist Party and the underground CPSA.

DR. YUTAR READS THE INDICTMENT

All the accused pleaded not guilty and then blamed the government. As the indictment consisted of 91 pages, only a very brief review can be given. Yutar spoke:

> "The accused deliberately and maliciously plotted and engineered the commission of acts of violence and destruction throughout the country... The planned purpose was to bring about in the Republic of South Africa chaos, disorder and turmoil which would be aggravated, according to their plan, by the operation of thousands of trained guerrilla warfare units deployed throughout the country at various vantage points. These would be joined in the various areas by local inhabitants as well as specially selected men posted to such areas. Their combined operations were planned to lead to confusion, violent insurrection and rebellion, followed, at the appropriate juncture, by an armed invasion of the country by military units of foreign powers."[1]

> "In the midst of the resulting chaos, turmoil and disorder, it was planned by the accused to set up a provisional revolutionary government to take over the administration and control of the country..."[2]

The Star

Advocate Vernon C. Berrangé, a listed communist who served the party in the legal field. He later fled South Africa for Swaziland

Dr. Yutar's pungent voice rang like a rifle shot through the Palace of Justice. A long list of "co-conspirators" was included in the indictment. They were Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe (both escaped jail and had fled the country at this stage), Vivian Ezra (involved in buying the Lilliesleaf farm), Julius First (father of Ruth First Slovo), who was involved in handling party funds, Michael Harmel, Bob Alexander Hepple, Percy (Jack) Hodgson, Ronnie Kasrils, Moses Kotane, Arthur Letele, Tennyson Makiwane, John B. Marks, Johannes Modise, George Naicker, Billy Nair, Looksmart Ngudle, Duma Nokwe, James J. Radebe, Robert Resha, Joe Slovo, Harold Strachan, Oliver Tambo, Ben Turok and Cecil G. Williams.

Of the people named as co-conspirators, all but two fled the country. They were Looksmart Ngudle, who committed suicide in jail, and Harold Strachan, who was jailed for sabotage. He was placed under house arrest after his release from detention. Strachan was imprisoned again but later fled the country for Botswana, along with his wife. Under the cover of running a "chicken farm" in Lobatsi, the Strachans were receiving and despatching various political fugitives from South Africa. Among the number to visit the "chicken farm" came Goldreich and Wolpe after their escape from Marshall Square. Later the Botswana government ordered the Strachans to leave and a few days afterwards they surfaced in Dar-es-Salaam.[3]

James Kantor and Lionel Bernstein, a named communist, were both acquitted.

However, Bernstein was re-arrested only a few minutes after his acquittal. He later fled the country with his wife Hilda, also a dedicated communist. Kantor also joined the exodus and left South Africa for London. Jack Hodgson and wife Rica likewise fled the country for safer pastures in which to practise their communist ideology. Some time later Rica's voice was heard on Radio Moscow, blasting away at South Africa!

Mr Justice Quartus de Wet, Judge President of the Transvaal

Dr Percy Yutar led the prosecution for the State

Voortrekkerpers

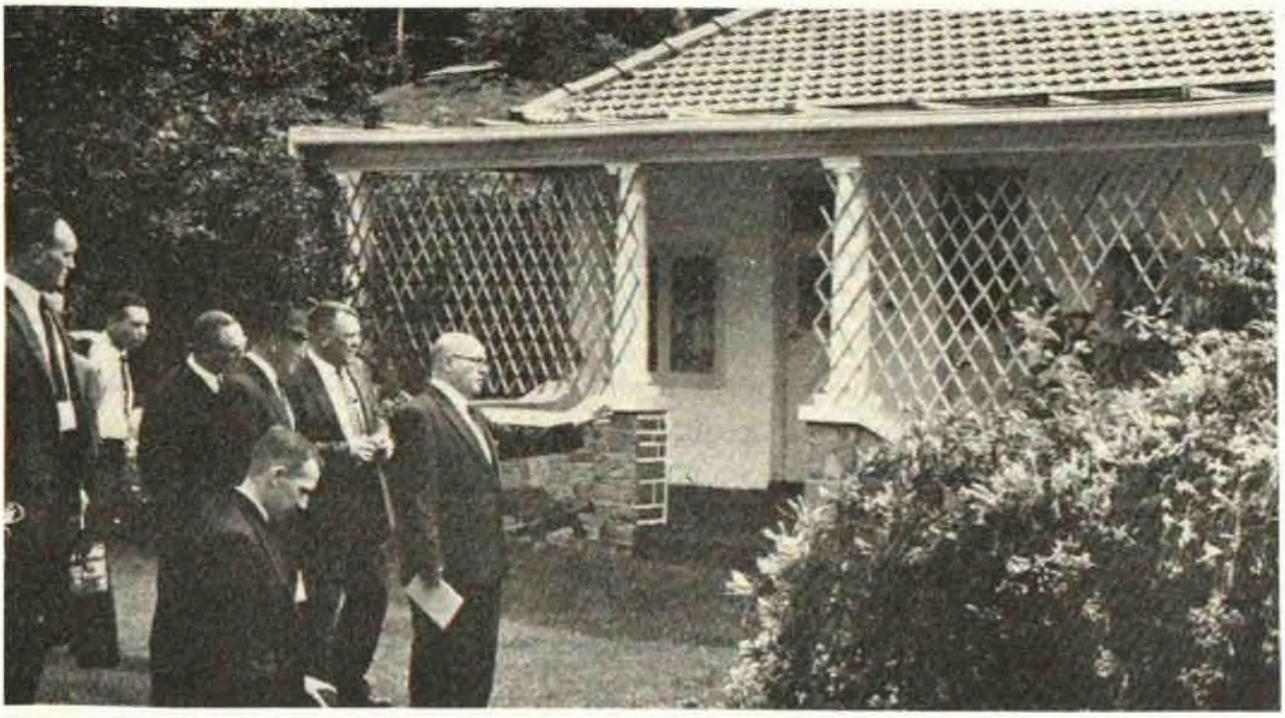
THE CONSPIRATORS TAKE THE STAGE

It was now well into 1964. While many of the top people of the CPSA were standing trial, we will see later that Bram Fischer (secret leader of the CPSA) was busy with the remaining CPSA members, the KGB agents and their residential director for South Africa. The cause of Marxism-Leninism was suffering its greatest defeat in the history of South Africa. Most governments of the Western world had joined the fierce objections from Moscow and Peking: "Let those political prisoners go . . ."[4] The United Nations, that grandest collection of political clowns ever assembled on the stage of human history, directed the music. The London Sunday Times of 6 October 1963 carried a story suggesting that the South African Government was going to use the Rivonia trials as a showpiece and rely on faked, fabricated and falsified documents.

The underground CPSA, directed by Advocate Bram Fischer, issued a pamphlet saying:

> "We may now expect the biggest frame-up in South Africa, not excluding even the marathon treason trial of 1956 to 1961. The lurid imagination of the Special Branch of the police will be given free rein; certainly they are already hard at work fabricating 'evidence' of fantastic plots in court proceedings which will be nothing but the travesty of those in civilised countries."[5]

International interest in the trial was reflected in the presence of many foreign pressmen,



Voortrekkerpers

Court personnel and reporters examine the CPSA hideout located in Mountain View. Here Goldreich and Wolpe hid until their escape to Swaziland

Voortrekkerpers

James Kantor, released for lack of evidence, went to London

Voortrekkerpers

Lionel (Rusty) Bernstein, acquitted in the Rivonia trial, then fled South Africa for London

foreign embassy representatives, a United States Supreme Court judge and a female professor of political history from the United States. After several recesses, the attention shifted to the accused themselves. The date was 12 April 1964. James Kantor had been

released for lack of evidence. With this the excitement mounted. Only nine of the ten originally charged remained. Then the examinations began. Here is a very brief review:

1. **Nelson Mandela**

Number one accused was Nelson Mandela. He was brought from prison to stand trial. He declined to take the oath and therefore did not enter the witness box, which meant that he could not be cross-examined. A typically clever move on his part, being a lawyer himself. He read his 60-page propaganda speech which, incidentally, had been previously released to the public.

The emphasis was that the South African Government was the culprit and deserved the blame for the troubles within the country. He denied that the ANC was a tool of the CPSA. He denied being a communist himself. Gerard Ludi said that "Nelson Mandela (was) a top man in the central committee of the underground communist party".[6] (See documentation note number 11.)

A black communist who had been active in various sabotage efforts and in the building of Umkhonto, though not in its "National High Command", gave evidence in camera to protect his life. He was called Mr. X. Later, in 1966, he published his memoirs as a communist, under his true name of Bruno Motolo.[7] His evidence against Mandela was devastating. Among the particular papers in Mandela's own hand, one said the following:

> "Under communist rule, South Africa will become a land of milk and honey... In our country the struggle of the oppressed masses is led by the South African Communist Party and inspired by its policies."[8]

It staggers the human mind to think people could believe such sheer nonsense.

Another quotation from Mandela's pen reads:

> "The people of South Africa, led by the South African communist party, will destroy capitalist society and build in its place socialism. The transition from capitalism to socialism and the liberation of the working class... cannot be effected by slow changes or by reforms as reactionaries and liberals often advise, but by revolution. One therefore must be a revolutionary and not a reformist."[9]

There were more than 10 documents in Mandela's handwriting, one entitled, "How to be a good communist", and even notes on military training and warfare complete with diagrams and illustrations. One document by Mandela was 94 pages long. Writing of the "revolution", he said that "traitors and informers should be ruthlessly eliminated". He advocated "cutting off their noses..."[10] Mandela explained the difficult and damning documents by saying that they were notes taken down for study purposes from other sources. The prosecution could not disprove his explanation.

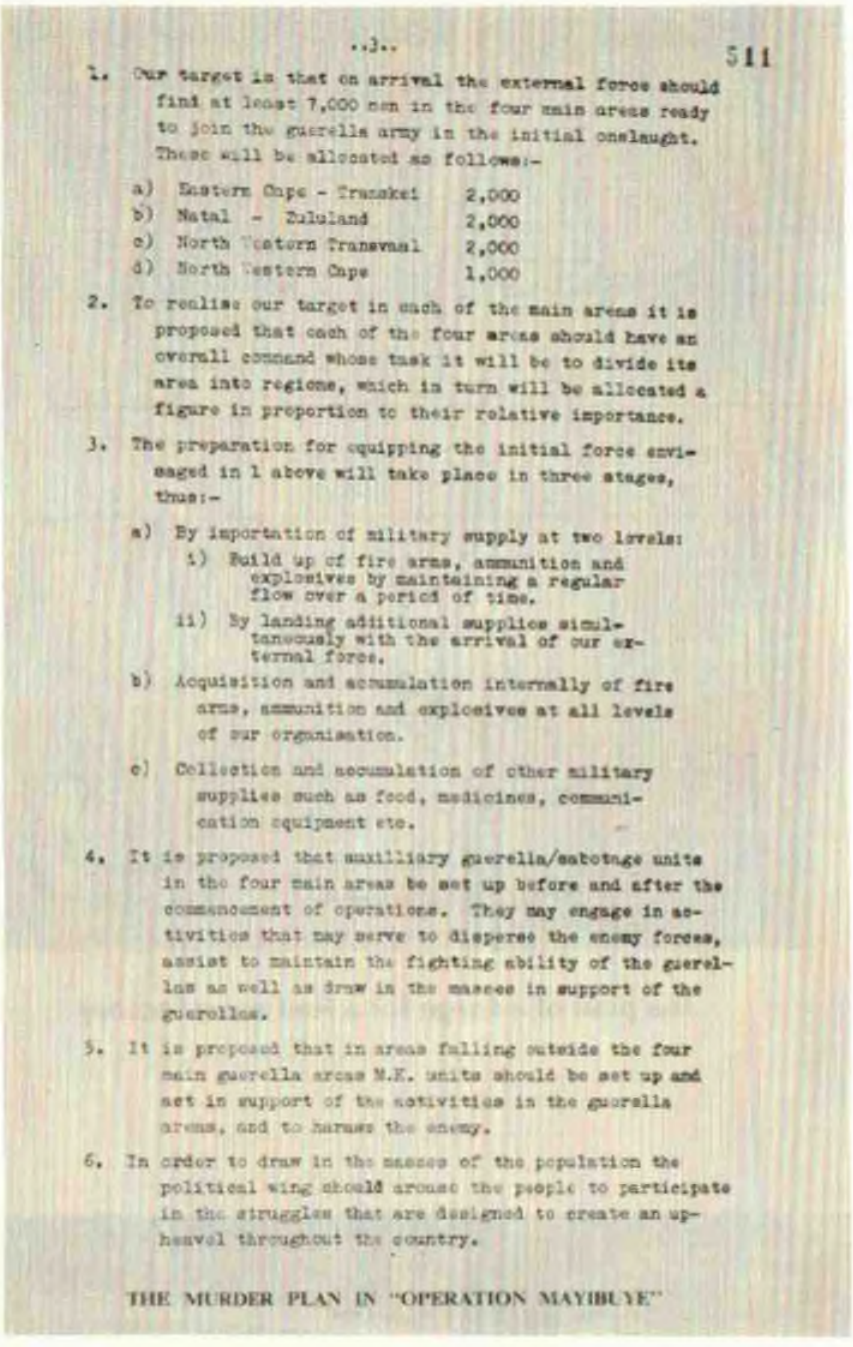
It is interesting to note that this is the same Mandela that certain leaders in the South African Council of Churches are predicting will be the next Prime Minister of South Africa. One wonders why these reverend gentlemen don't spend a few days reading up the factual court record, before giving their prophetic utterances.

Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. However, in mid-1982 he, along with Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba and Andrew Mlangeni were moved to the maximum security wing of Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town.

In a CPSA publication from England, Mandela is referred to as one of communism's respected leaders.[11]

2. **Walter Sisulu**

Sisulu also denied being a communist. He said that he had never joined Umkhonto,



..3.. 511

1. Our target is that on arrival the external force should find at least 7,000 men in the four main areas ready to join the guerella army in the initial onslaught. These will be allocated as follows:-

a) Eastern Cape - Transkei 2,000
b) Natal - Zululand 2,000
c) North Western Transvaal 2,000
d) North Western Cape 1,000

2. To realise our target in each of the main areas it is proposed that each of the four areas should have an overall command whose task it will be to divide its area into regions, which in turn will be allocated a figure in proportion to their relative importance.

3. The preparation for equipping the initial force envisaged in 1 above will take place in three stages, thus:-

a) By importation of military supply at two levels:
i) Build up of fire arms, ammunition and explosives by maintaining a regular flow over a period of time.
ii) By landing additional supplies simultaneously with the arrival of our external force.

b) Acquisition and accumulation internally of fire arms, ammunition and explosives at all levels of our organisation.

c) Collection and accumulation of other military supplies such as food, medicines, communication equipment etc.

4. It is proposed that auxilliary guerella/sabotage units in the four main areas be set up before and after the commencement of operations. They may engage in activities that may serve to disperse the enemy forces, assist to maintain the fighting ability of the guerellas as well as draw in the masses in support of the guerellas.

5. It is proposed that in areas falling outside the four main guerella areas M.K. units should be set up and set in support of the activities in the guerella areas, and to harass the enemy.

6. In order to draw in the masses of the population the political wing should arouse the people to participate in the struggles that are designed to create an upheaval throughout the country.

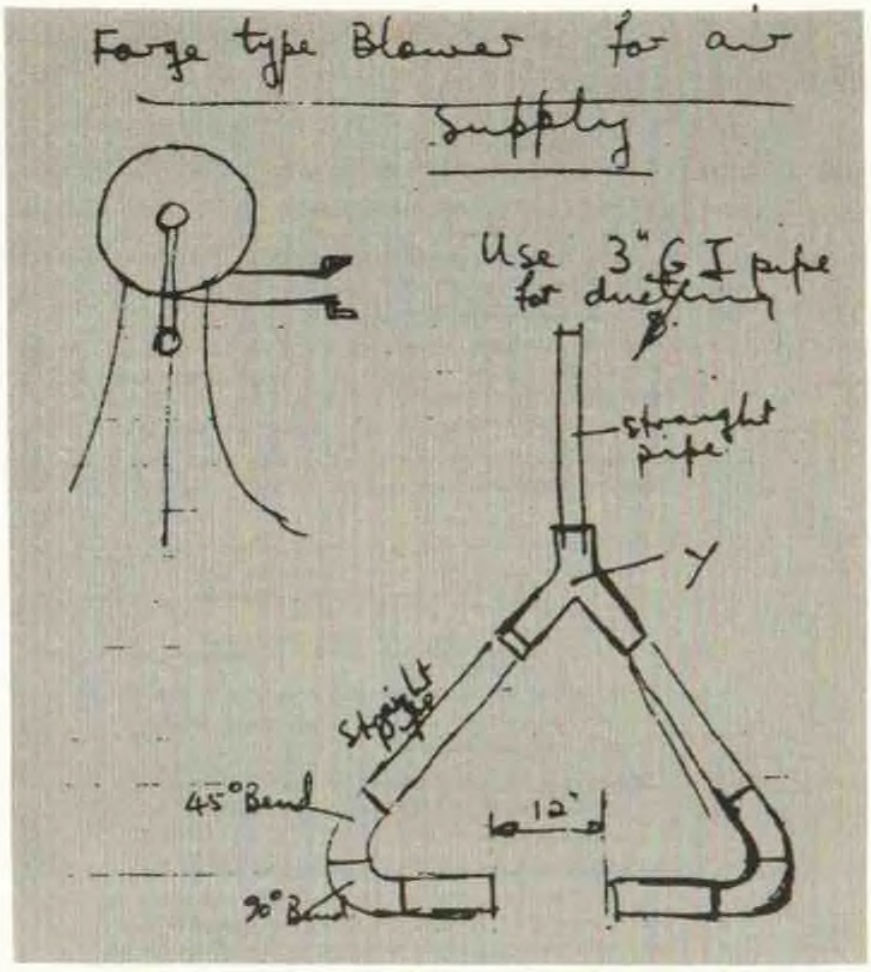
THE MURDER PLAN IN "OPERATION MAYIBUYE"

Voortrekkerpers

The murder plan in "Operation Mayibuye"

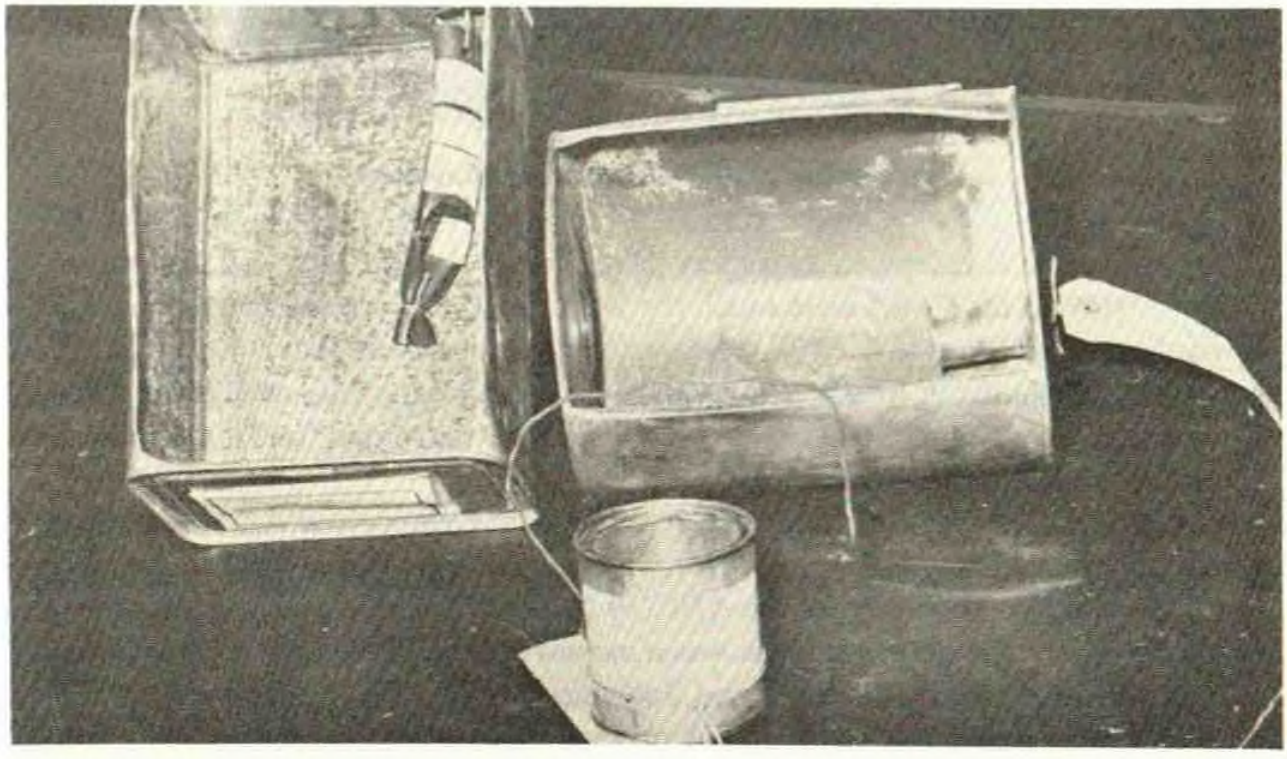
but had made contact with its leaders. He admitted that the aims and aspirations of the ANC and the CPSA were much the same. He approved of sabotage and would not hesitate to resort to guerrilla warfare. Another source tells that in 1953, Sisulu had spent five months in Russia, China and Europe. His wife was active in the FSAW. This same source states that on 20 April 1963, he disappeared from his home to join the Umkhonto underground.

Sisulu admitted that funds had been received from Defence and Aid in London and were used to defend saboteurs in court.[12] He refused to give the names of the members of the National Secretariat of the ANC, or those of the Umkhonto organization. He admitted, however, that Mandela was a member of the Umkhonto command along with Govan Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Johannes Modise. Sisulu refused to give any information that would assist in deciphering coded letters captured by the police. From the records, it is clear that Sisulu fought to shield other members of the CPSA. He was also sentenced to life imprisonment.



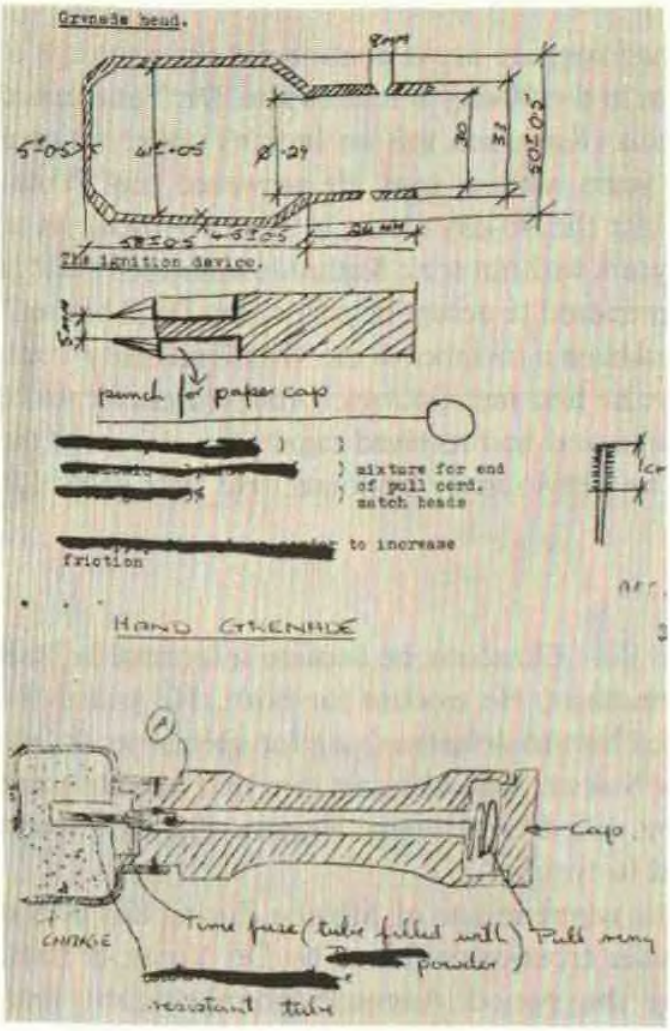
Voortrekkerpers

The plan of a forge for a Red arms factory



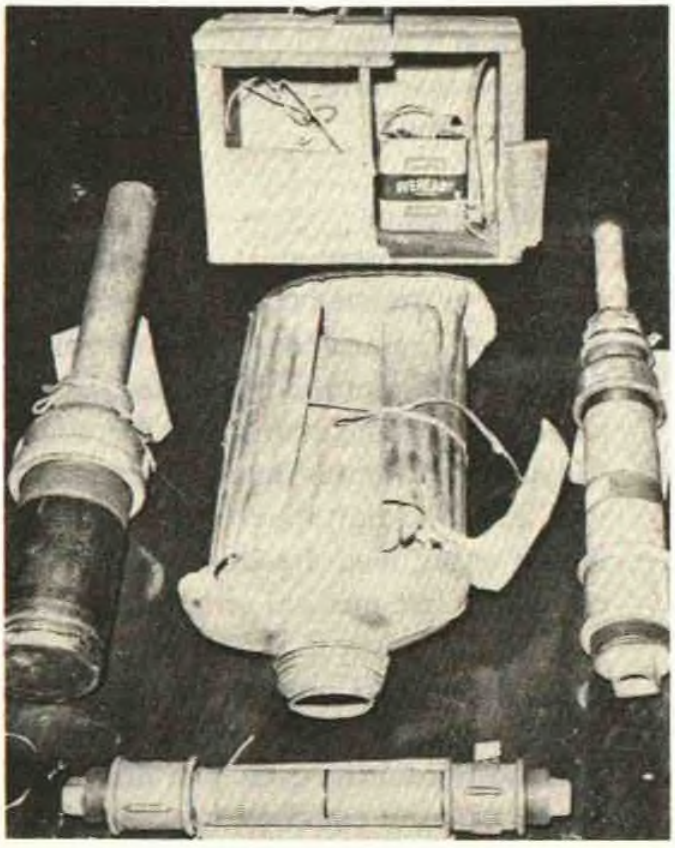
Voortrekkerpers

Petrol bombs made by the Rivonia Reds. Note the delayed-action apparatus inserted in the open tin.



Voortrekkerpers

Hand-sketched instructions for producing the murder weapons. This plan was for hand grenades



Voortrekkerpers

These deadly weapons were made by South African communists with expertise supplied by Cuba and Red China. They were to be used in the "revolution" that was coming in South Africa. Seen in this photo are a hand grenade, pipe bombs, plastic bomb and, at the top, a landmine

3. **Ahmed Kathrada**

Kathrada confessed proudly that he had been an active communist since the age of eleven. He expressed his fierce objection to the 90-day detention law. Dr. Yutar asked him if he knew there was a law in India (Kathrada was an Indian) under which a person could be confined up to three years without trial. He answered "no". Yutar asked him why he was prepared to fight the 90-day clause in South Africa, yet in Ghana people were locked up for five years without trial. Kathrada answered that "in the struggle for freedom, he would be prepared to accept help from the Devil himself" (which he obviously got). Kathrada had been a member of the Wits University front, the Liberal Students' Association. Here he had met Goldreich and Wolpe. He was a creator of the "Free Mandela" campaign and had received money for this from the legal firm of Kantor and Partners, as previously mentioned. He was given life imprisonment.

4. **Raymond Mhlaba**

While working as a messenger-clerk in Port Elizabeth, he became interested in both the trade union movement and communism. He worked for both. He joined the CPSA in 1943. In 1961, the ANC called him to Johannesburg for special work. His appointment was confirmed by Duma Nokwe, who also told him that Mandela and others were founding a new movement called Umkhonto. He was sent on a secret mission and, upon returning, reported to Sisulu.

Almost twenty years later, we learn the whereabouts of Mhlaba during this period when he was mysteriously missing. Under cross-examination by Dr. Yutar, he flatly refused to tell where he was during the period August/September 1961 until February/March 1962. In the banned ANC publication Sechaba, dated July 1981, we discover that Mhlaba was among the first group of blacks to be sent out of South Africa for military training. With him were comrades Mkwayi, Mlangeni, Mthembu and others. Mthembu later defected.

Mhlaba confessed that he went to the Eastern Province to put the "Mandela plan" into action.[13] After another "secret mission", he returned to Rivonia on 30 June 1963, where he was arrested in the police raid on 11 July. He was sentenced to life imprisonment.

5. **Lionel Bernstein**

"I have been a communist for twenty-five years and I have never attempted to conceal the fact," he declared from the witness box. He was on the executive committee of the Springbok Legion and a foundation member of the COD. He denied being a member of Umkhonto. Bernstein admitted that he knew Mandela had been living at Lilliesleaf while hiding from the police. He confessed that he knew nothing of "Operation Mayibuye".[14] He was in full agreement with the aims of the CPSA. Bernstein was one who helped to draft the pamphlet which presented the goals of the party. It promised higher wages, land, freedom and equality... Free bread, free public transport, free education, free medical services, free holidays, free meals at work, no rents. That is what communism is bringing to the 200 million people of the Soviet Union, the pamphlet stated. Communism also brought to the Soviet Union the slaughter of over 87 million people and turned the country into a slave camp. Comrade Bernstein and his kind missed these facts of history. Only a person suffering from some form of mental sickness could ever believe such a gross untruth as laid out in the original

paper. Bernstein and his comrades believed it! He was acquitted, rearrested and recharged but managed to escape and fled South Africa for London.

6. **Govan Mbeki**
He refused to answer about 100 questions put to him by Dr. Yutar. He admitted having done all the things alleged against him in the indictment but insisted that he was "morally without blame". Mbeki admitted that he was a member of the High Command of Umkhonto and had been an accessory to the acts of sabotage. He also confessed to being a member of the banned CPSA and that he had propagated the aims and objects of communism. He was given life imprisonment.

7. **Dennis Goldberg**
A civil engineer with a wife and two children, he confessed that his parents had been members of the CPSA and that his political development had been influenced by them. He was active in research into guerrilla warfare[15] and had played a part in the acquisition of the Red hideout called Travallyn. Goldberg was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Dennis Goldberg, sentenced to life imprisonment during the Rivonia trial. He was released from prison under a government amnesty in March 1985 and went to Israel

Bob Hepple, arrested at Rivonia, agreed to give State's evidence and later fled the country for London

8. **Elias Motsoaledi**
Motsoaledi declined to be sworn in, so his statements could not be tested by cross-examination. He had been a member of Umkhonto and had assisted in hiding recruits and helped in sending them overseas for military training. He was married with seven small children. He had been deeply involved in trade unionism. He had joined the CPSA while a member of the Leather Workers' Union in Johannesburg. He had been banned in 1952 and was detained during the emergency in 1960. During the course of

his trial, his wife was also detained under the 90-day detention law. He was also sentenced to life imprisonment.

9. **Andrew Mlangeni**
Mlangeni declined to give evidence under oath. He declared that he was not a listed communist and had never been under house arrest, nor had any form of restriction order been placed on him. He had joined the ANC in 1954, but upon its banning, he ceased to be active. He denied ever having part in Umkhonto, save to serve as a messenger on several occasions. He had never been to Rivonia, he said. The Honourable H. H. W de Villiers wrote of both Motsoaledi and Mlangeni that they were "members of the so-called Johannesburg Regional Command, a command subsidiary to the National High Command. They were engaged in handling explosives for sabotage purposes and the reception in Johannesburg and the despatch across the border for trainees in guerrilla warfare."[16] Mlangeni was sentenced to life imprisonment.

ENTER MR. ALAN PATON

On 12 June, Mr. Harold Hanson, a leading Senior Counsel of the Johannesburg Bar, appeared for the accused and asked for mitigation of the sentences to be given. He then called Alan Paton to give evidence in mitigation of sentence.

"Mr. Paton, a writer by profession, is known for his extreme leftist views... a foundation member and National President of the moribund South African Liberal Party."[17] Paton literally ran to the witness stand, even before the counsel had called his name. He was ready to speak, or so he thought.

To the utter surprise of the packed courtroom when Mr. Hanson had completed his remarks to Paton, Dr. Yutar rose and requested permission to "cross-examine" him. The atmosphere was electric. Dr. Yutar fired away at Paton. In the moments that followed, Paton was "wiped out" by the questions and logic of Dr. Yutar. The complete questioning by Yutar is found in the book Rivonia Unmasked by Lauritz Strydom, available at a major library. It is worth the time and effort to read this eye-opening cross-examination.

Paton, author of Cry, The Beloved Country, left the witness box a defeated man.

REACTIONS TO THE RIVONIA TRIAL

With only a very few exceptions, the overseas press completely condemned the South African Government for the trials. The communist press worldwide had nothing but typical dialectical lies and socialistic venom for the legal system of South Africa.

Surprisingly, within South Africa itself, even most of the liberal and leftist press sided with the verdict. The well-known Rand Daily Mail, famed for its leftist stance, reported: "The sentences pronounced by Mr. Justice de Wet in Pretoria yesterday at the conclusion of the Rivonia trial were both wise and just."[18]

On 16 June 1964, the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, spoke on the trial in Parliament and the adverse comments from overseas. His remarks were approved by the whole House. Thus the most famous trial in the history of South Africa came to an end. However, the CPSA had not.[19] Even before the trial had ended, they were back again in secret meetings, trying desperately to reorganise with their leader, Advocate Fischer. His days, too, were numbered.

Africana Museum

Alan Paton, mitigator of the Rivonia Reds and their friends

CPSA SECRET MEETINGS DURING THE RIVONIA TRIAL

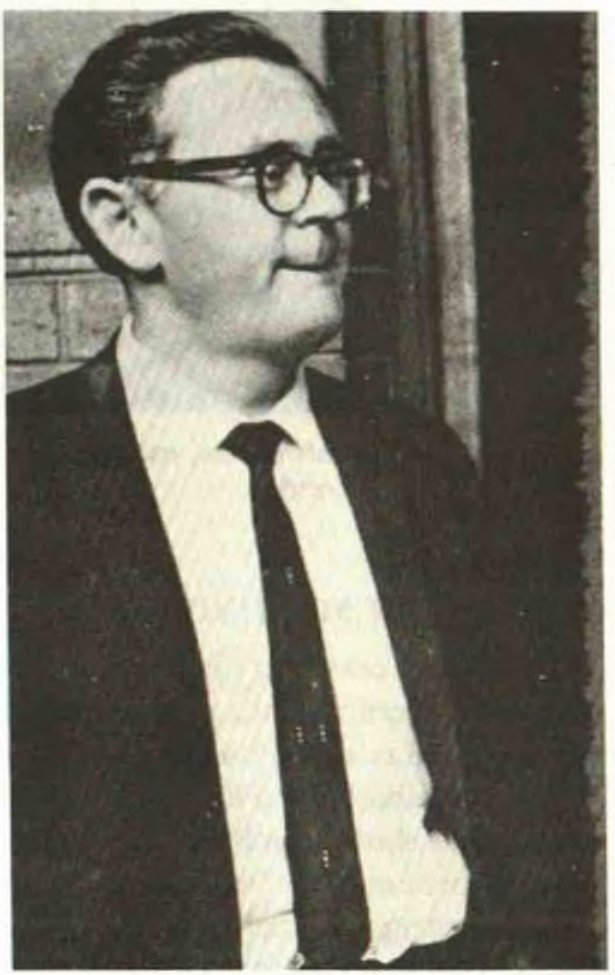
Only a few weeks after the Rivonia raids and arrests, comrade Bram Fischer hurried to call a secret meeting of the now shattered CPSA. It was held in August 1963. The CPSA was organized in such an underground manner that it could continue to function despite the gravest setback, even though greatly reduced in physical numbers. In a spacious, but sparsely furnished flat in Bellevue, Johannesburg, the CPSA met. There were only six cell members present in the blacked-out lounge with bare floors. Present were Piet Beyleveld, Hilda Bernstein, Ivan Schermbrucker, Eli Weinberg and Ruth First Slovo. Also present was the secret police agent Gerard Ludi.

Fischer formed his lips and spoke: "Comrades, this is not a very happy occasion for us. I think we are all well aware of our precarious position." Directing his comments at Ruth First Slovo, he said: "Only two of us are left on our central committee." After informing the group that "comrade Slovo was going to join her husband in London",[20] he stated: "The central committee will consist of only one person — myself". Fischer spoke of forming a new central committee to continue the struggle. He lamented the many arrests, banning orders and police raids. Then, with the assistance of Beyleveld, they spoke of better security in order to preserve "The Family", which was a code name for the party. The communist advocate spoke of methods to resist police interrogation and of past party errors. It was one of the saddest meetings the CPSA had ever had.

The soft-spoken Red told of a new plan called Time for Reassessment, which he had prepared for them. He informed those present that they were now duly elected onto the new central committee. Two others were willing to join them as well, Yusuf Cachalia and Dan Glume (Tloome). Fischer, Hilda Bernstein and Ivan Schermbrucker were elected onto the secretariat. Fischer told the comrades that there were people outside Johannesburg who were still CPSA members and he named the female, Ray Alexander of Cape Town, Fred Thomson, Joe Matthews of Basutoland and comrade Michael of Durban.[21] During the course of the Rivonia trial, the party secretly printed and distributed thousands of leaflets under the name of the ANC. Meanwhile, The African Communist in London made a similar appeal through its pages. Those being tried were described as "our" leaders. The police were described as Vorster's Gestapo. Fischer himself helped to prepare these papers. This was a desperate effort to make a showing that the party was alive and well.

Heineman — London

The late Ruth First Slovo, a long-time South African communist. (See chapter 29 and documentation note 1)



Voortrekkerpers

Top South African communist Joe Slovo in his younger days

MORE BAD NEWS FOR THE CPSA

At a second meeting of the CPSA, held during the Rivonia trial at the house of Cyril Jones, in Cooper Street, Cyrildene, in Johannesburg, Fischer again presided. Now they were informed that more members of the party had been arrested in Cape Town. The Durban district committee reported that the only comrade left was George Ponen.

Beyleveld had orders to co-opt two more comrades into the party, Mac, an Indian (whose name was S. R. Maharaj) and the African named Bartholemew Hlapane. They were placed on the central committee. Later, Norman Levy was brought onto the district committee of the party. Across the country, the police were arresting or banning communists or those suspected of communist activities. The CPSA was in complete disarray. Constant police opposition, public hostility and Rivonia had devastated its ranks.

ALL TRAITORS MUST BE ELIMINATED

Still another CPSA meeting was called, on 23 December 1963, in Paul Trewhela's flat. Present were Gerard Ludi, Jean Strachan, Anne Nicholson and comrade Sylvia Neame. Having just been released from jail after a 90-day period of detention, Sylvia was not in a very good mood. One of the women spoke:

> "I feel strong about traitors in the Movement. I'm referring to these State witnesses in the Rivonia trial. I see that in the press they are only identified as Mr. 'X' and Mr. 'Y'. These and other informers in the Movement should be shot."

Two others agreed. One of the men suggested that they set up a revolutionary trial body.

> "This should be an alternative system of justice whereby people who turn traitors to The Movement are tried and dealt with according to the principles of the Movement, or The Family."

With this, one of the men spoke:

> "We must have one Justice Kuper a week ... this should be done until no magistrate or judge dare convict us."[22]

Kuper was the judge who sentenced Benjamin Turok to three years' imprisonment. He was later shot and died in March 1963. The murder has remained unsolved.

To these suggestions Ludi cautiously reacted. He was not in favour. The other members pounced on him, calling him "stupid and soft". A suggestion was made that a petition be passed around at Wits University to gather signatures of both lecturers and students, protesting the 90-day detention clause. As a precaution they agreed that, should the police appear at the door, all important papers would be swallowed or flushed down the toilet.

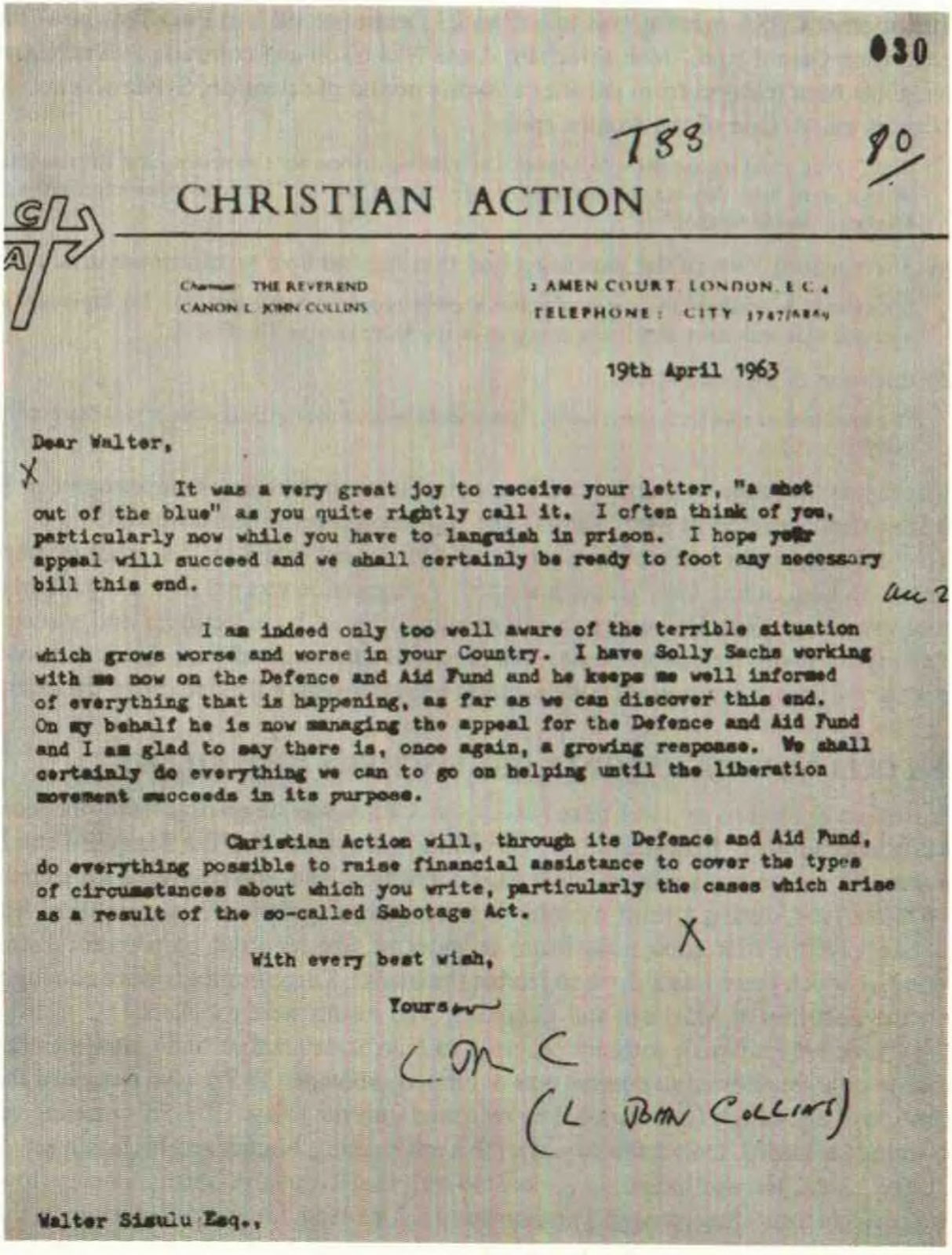
CPSA CELL MEETINGS SLOWLY DIE: FISCHER'S WIFE KILLED

As the early months of 1964 ticked away the CPSA was staggering from one secret meeting into another. Frustration was becoming the rule among the Marxist-Leninist comrades. A meeting was held in Ludi's car on 9 March 1964, and was recorded secretly. On 6 May 1964, during a third meeting in secret police agent Ludi's automobile, Jean Strachan gave the first good news heard in months. She reported on a recent district meeting at which there was a drive to recruit the blacks. Large numbers were coming to study the doctrines of Marxism and Leninism. The results were excellent.

On 4 June 1964, a female comrade reported to Jean Strachan that "individual members of family cells are allowed to commit acts of limited sabotage ..." She also requested that "John Lloyd and Hugh Lewin should be recruited into the party..."[23] This meeting was also secretly recorded. Only a few days after this cell meeting, Fischer and his family set out for Cape Town. He was intending to consult with the Rivonia prisoners already flown down to begin their life sentences. The date was 13 June 1964. Little did Fischer know that the death angel waited along the roadside as he drove to Cape Town. Seven miles from Ventersburg, in the Orange Free State, his car plunged down an embankment and landed

in a stream. Fischer and his children managed to escape, but Molly Fischer, his wife, a devoted communist herself, was tragically drowned. Following the funeral in Johannesburg, Fischer and his children again left for Cape Town.[24] Unbeknown to the clever communist, he was under surveillance during the entire trip.

By the beginning of July 1964, all members of the abovementioned cell had been detained by the police under the 90-day clause. That was a shattering blow, but the determined CPSA refused to give up.



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CHRISTIAN ACTION

Chairman THE REVEREND
CANON L. JOHN COLLINS

3 AMEN COURT LONDON, E.C.4
TELEPHONE: CITY 1747/4849

19th April 1963

Dear Walter,

It was a very great joy to receive your letter, "a shot out of the blue" as you quite rightly call it. I often think of you, particularly now while you have to languish in prison. I hope your appeal will succeed and we shall certainly be ready to foot any necessary bill this end.

I am indeed only too well aware of the terrible situation which grows worse and worse in your Country. I have Solly Sachs working with me now on the Defence and Aid Fund and he keeps me well informed of everything that is happening, as far as we can discover this end. On my behalf he is now managing the appeal for the Defence and Aid Fund and I am glad to say there is, once again, a growing response. We shall certainly do everything we can to go on helping until the liberation movement succeeds in its purpose.

Christian Action will, through its Defence and Aid Fund, do everything possible to raise financial assistance to cover the types of circumstances about which you write, particularly the cases which arise as a result of the so-called Sabotage Act.

With every best wish,

Yours ever,

L John C

(L John Collins)

Walter Sisulu Esq.,

Voortrekkerpers

Canon Collins sent this letter to Walter Sisulu

CHRISTIANS RISE IN OPPOSITION TO COMMUNISM

During these years, South Africa was stirred with the turmoil and unrest caused by communism and its friends. As a counter-measure, in the heat and excitement of the Rivonia trial, "about 2000 whites gathered at Pretoria for the People's Congress on a theme, Christianity Against Communism". Literally hundreds of people were renewed in their opposition to the wave of Marxism-Leninism that was troubling South Africa. This meeting served to rekindle their fierce opposition to anything associated with communism.

A few years later, in 1966, the same group sponsored an "International Symposium on Communism" in Pretoria. This meeting was chaired by the Rev. J. D. Vorster and the main speaker was the former American Air Force Intelligence officer and conservative Christian leader, Major Edgar Bundy, from the Church League of America. Bundy gave a rousing address to the nation over the SABC. Over the course of history of the CPSA most conservative Christians have stood against the communist movement. Sadly, this cannot be said of many of the liberal ecumenical-minded religious groups of the country.

THE SECOND HIGH COMMAND OF UMKHONTO ON WITS CAMPUS

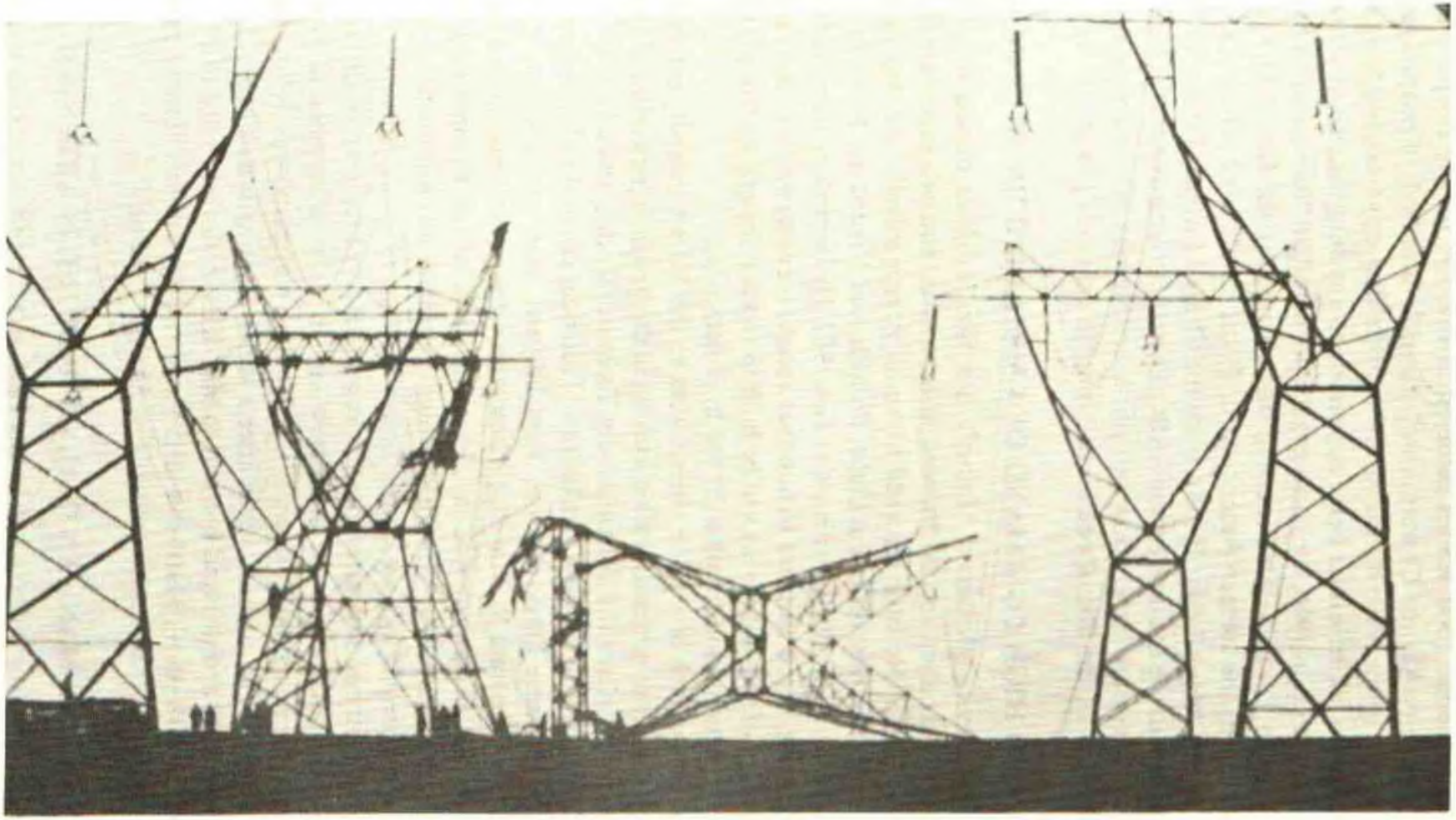
Wilton Mkwayi, codenamed "Bribri", fled South Africa during the 1960 State of Emergency. He received special training in explosives and sabotage during his overseas stay in Red China. He later returned to South Africa secretly and was involved in the blowing-up of three post offices in Dube, Pimville and Vrededorp. Bribri just managed to escape the police swoop at Rivonia on 11 July 1963. He immediately disguised himself and went into hiding. Word was sent to him that a secret meeting was to be held at which a new high command of Umkhonto was to be built to replace the one destroyed in the Rivonia raid. (See documentation number 20 for brief details.)

Dressed in the garb of a priest, Bribri went to the Wits University campus and held a meeting with other communists while walking in the grounds pretending to be sightseeing. He travelled to Wits and the Johannesburg Technical College twice a week for these secret meetings. Members of the new Umkhonto "Technical committee" were present on these occasions. They were David Kitson, John Edward Matthews and two Indians, Laloo Chiba and Sathyandrath R. Maharaj. These men were not yet under police surveillance as their names had been destroyed by fire at the time of the Rivonia raid. Under these circumstances a new "junior" Umkhonto high command was born with the aim of further sabotage and guerrilla warfare across South Africa.

The group built another radio transmitter and made a broadcast on 26 June 1964 from the Shangrila Indian Club in Johannesburg. In July, a number of buildings near Johannesburg were blasted by bombs. The new high command was feeling its success, but only for a few weeks, a short while after a secret meeting with Fischer, Bribri and his committee were all arrested and brought to trial. Kitson was sentenced to 20 years', Bribri to life, Chiba to 18 years', Matthews to 15 years' and Maharaj to 12 years' imprisonment. With this blow, the new high command of Umkhonto died.[25]

THE CPSA'S ONE-MAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS ARRESTED

As events began to grind to a halt in late 1964, secret police agent Ludi was advised that his work was finished. Receiving a message from headquarters, agent Ludi proceeded to a house in Kensington and there was greeted by a policeman and two prosecutors, Otto Marais and Willie Theron. They were preparing a docket on "The State versus Bram Fischer".[26] Ludi, who had served both the police and his country so well in the battle



Sunday Times

This pylon near Johannesburg was blasted by the ARM organization in 1961

against communism, knew that his career was over. Now he must step into the public spotlight, as the chief witness against South African communist Bram Fischer and his followers.

On 23 September 1964, Brigadier Hendrik van den Bergh picked up his telephone and dialled Colonel Klindt in Johannesburg and gave the long-awaited order: "Arrest Fischer!" The police were elated. They had waited for years for this final notice. Fischer had been previously arrested but these were pretexts used by the police to lead him into the trap. Now the final word came. Captain J. C. Broodryk and several others entered Fischer's office at Innes Chambers in Pritchard Street. Ironically, his office was situated across the street from the Supreme Court. Broodryk spoke: "I have come for you, the game is up!" In the next few weeks many communists and their friends were arrested and would stand trial with Fischer.

Augusta Courier

Dr Martin Luther King was invited to South Africa in 1966 by the radical NUSAS. In this photo, King (1) is sitting in a communist training school surrounded by Abner W. Berry (2), member of the central committee of the US Communist Party, Aubrey Williams (3), a well-known Marxist, and Myles Horton (4), director of the communist training school in Monteagle, Tenn., USA, where this photo was secretly taken. Entertaining King and the communists is Pete Seeger (left), the famed American communist folk singer. (See documentation number 30)

THE AFRICAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Before dealing with the famous Fischer trial (in the next chapter), there were several other organizations operative during these years that were Marxist-Leninist-orientated, and consequently violent and revolutionary in spirit. (See note number 19 under documentation for chapter 2.) The first we notice is the African Resistance Movement (ARM).

To varying degrees, these groups all reflected the image of the bomb experts, Strachan, Hodgson, Turok, Umkhonto and Poqo.

> "During the Liberal Party annual congress in 1960, a group of delegates, among whom John Lang, Rhoda Prager, Barry Hirson and others, intimated that, in their opinion, the traditional policy of the party was too weak and could achieve nothing. They pleaded that a more radical policy, organised on the same lines as socialist basic principles, be introduced by the Liberal Party."[27]

The proposal was rejected by the majority of delegates, but it was agreed that the advocators of the socialist trend should formulate their thoughts properly and that their proposals would be reconsidered during the following annual congress. The radical group who were in favour of the use of violence to overthrow the existing government and to replace it with a socialist government became known as the Socialist League.

However, during the 1961 congress, the proposals were rejected. Insulted, their pride punctured, this group of radicals proceeded to perform several acts of physical violence by sawing off the legs of electrical pylons or blasting them with explosives. At the end of 1961, certain members left the ANC and founded a group called the African Freedom Movement (AFM) with the aim of liberating the blacks. They would operate from secret underground locations and, with acts of violence, strive to bring about the great revolution.

Sunday Times

Leftist and socialist Peter Hain, a noted South Africa hater and admirer of John Harris, one of the station bombers

During February 1962, the wildmen of the Socialist League amalgamated with the AFM and the new group retained the name of "African Freedom Movement". At the same time, a South African communist named Montague David Berman, who had been living in England, slipped back into South Africa. He had been prominent in the Springbok Legion. This illegal entry was in early 1962. His purpose was to gather various

revolutionary movements into an organization known as the National Committee for Liberation (NCL). Seemingly, the NCL was established in London by John Lang and Berman with the idea of bringing "liberation to South Africa". Owing to the pleas of Berman, the AFM united with the NCL in May 1962. They, however, retained the title NCL. Their aim was to overthrow the government through guerrilla warfare. During May 1964, the name of the movement was changed to the African Resistance Movement (ARM).[28]

THE LEFT-WING NUSAS AND ARM

Three months before Fischer was taken into custody, during a police raid in Cape Town on 4 July 1964, Adrian Leftwich and Lynette van der Riet (who was on the NUSAS national executive) were arrested as members of ARM on a charge of sabotage. Later, 35 other members of the group were located and arrested. Subsequently, ten of these were proven guilty of sabotage and sentenced. This is the same Leftwich who was a former president (1960-61) of the left-wing university group founded by famous liberal Leo Marquard in 1924, called the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). In sentencing him, a "Supreme Court judge once said it would be an insult to liken him to the rat species".[29] That is, don't degrade the rats by comparing them with Leftwich!

NUSAS has been a breeding station for left-wingers, radicals, socialists and communists of all sorts over the years. Its history goes far back into South African communism.

In 1946 NUSAS became an affiliate member of the communist-controlled International Union of Students. By 1955, due to recommendation by some NUSAS Executive members, it broke its ties with this massive Red front movement among world students. At a 1964 NUSAS conference, Albert Luthuli was unanimously re-elected honorary president of the body. At the same meeting, they invited the American Civil Rights leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, to come to South Africa and address the 1966 NUSAS conference to be held in Durban.[30] Swift government action stopped this move, which probably would have produced further unrest. What affinity did the radicals of NUSAS find in King?

Was King a Marxist? Did he keep his true political feelings and convictions hidden? Some 16 years after he was slain, one of his closest friends, Dr. James Cone, the so-called "pioneer of black theology", let out the big secret. While addressing a group of black churchmen in Washington, D.C. in November 1984, Cone openly said of King: "He went from an integrationist who tried to reform the system to a revolutionary, and said in private that he was a Marxist."[31] So much for King's "private" beliefs.

During another sabotage trial held in Pretoria in which comrade Leftwich turned State witness, he said he had been introduced to NUSAS by fellow-student Neville Rubin.

Other names fitting into the NUSAS-ARM puzzle during this trial were Randolph Vigne, Robert Watson, Stephanie Kemp[32] and Alan Brooks. Still others were David de Keller, John Harris, Anthony Trew and Dennis Brutus. Prior to these deceived young people, some of the older birds in the NUSAS cage were Bob Hepple, Ruth First, Joe Slovo, Harold Wolpe, Arthur Goldreich, Dennis Higgs, Oliver Tambo and Lionel Bernstein, to name only a few. It has teemed with such characters over the years. Later on, some eighty-seven former students (from various South African universities), most of them members of NUSAS, were detained for subversion and sabotage. Who could forget the "famous" Jonty Driver of NUSAS and, of course, the "big fish" Bram Fischer, also a former member. Even Helen Joseph was elected "honorary president" of NUSAS in 1971.

Sunday Times

Adrian Leftwich

Sunday Times

Neville Rubin

Sunday Times

Stephanie Kemp

Sunday Times

Lynette van der Riet, "girlfriend" of Leftwich

Sondagstem

Dennis Higgs

Rand Daily Mail

Alan Brooks

Sunday Times

Barry Higgs and Sybilla Haesloop

Involved in left-wing NUSAS and ARM

Ann Swersky and Barry Higgs were also involved in the organization along with many other "politicised" young people.

Up until 19 June 1964, ARM had committed at least 21 acts of sabotage on pylons and railway installations with the aid of explosives. They had caused much damage and loss. During the trial mentioned above in which Leftwich became a State witness, he revealed that one of the founding fathers of ARM was Randolph Vigne, the Oxford graduate residing in a wealthy Kimberley home. Another co-founder was Bob Watson, who arrived in Cape Town from Malaya in 1962 with his paramour, an American girl. He had served as a British Army officer in Malaya. At the University of Cape Town he met Leftwich.[33] From Watson, ARM received its lessons in explosives. This was part of his work in the British Army.

The explosives were secretly brought into South Africa from Britain. The former South African John Lang, of Christian Action's Defence and Aid Fund, helped to purchase some of the supplies for ARM. The explosives were smuggled into South Africa in boxes containing glass, but with false bottoms. Over a period of 18 months, 87 former students, most of them members of NUSAS, were detained for subversion and sabotage. However, these arrests and trials did not end the evil work of ARM.[34]

HARRIS AND THE BOMBING OF THE JOHANNESBURG STATION

John Harris, a young school teacher, was among the ARM villains. His outspoken hatred for the Prime Minister was well known. It reached something of a climax when he wrote a threatening letter to Dr. Verwoerd. (Harris' letter is reproduced in this chapter.) This violent hatred soon led to other plans.

The cowardly actions of ARM were reflected in the bombing of the Johannesburg railway station. The date was Friday, 24 July 1964. Wearing a brown overcoat, Harris placed a bomb near the benches.

The bomb exploded about 4.30 p.m., sending splintered glass, steel and concrete flying into the large crowd. Twenty-three injured persons were rushed to hospital and later a Mrs. Ethyl Rhys died. The "peace-loving socialists" and political screwballs within ARM had sent John Harris, along with two other comrades (whose names cannot be mentioned!) a male and female, to do the work of terror and murder. Instantly, after placing the bomb in the station, the two other comrades (both from Wits University) hurried to Jan Smuts and caught the next plane out of South Africa. The young woman went to Israel and the man to London. Though never brought to justice, this couple still carry in their conscience (if they have one) the knowledge that they shared in the cold-blooded murder of Mrs. Rhys.

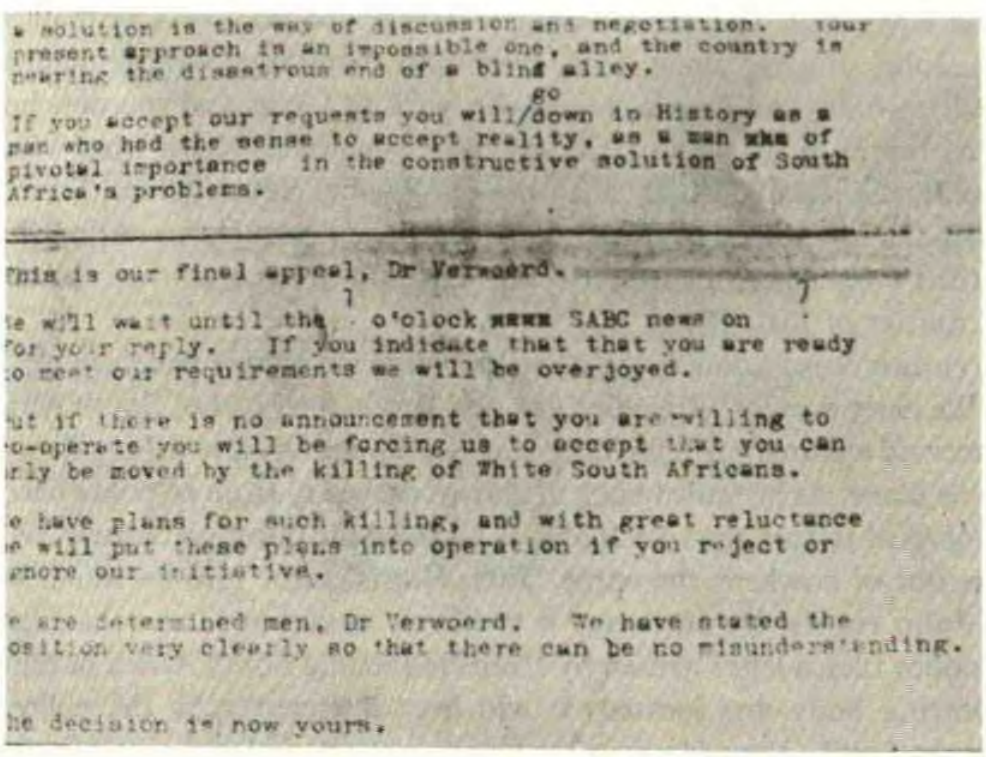
The circumstances leading to the arrest of Harris are almost unbelievable: Sitting in his office in the early evening, Brigadier van den Bergh, the head of South African Security Police, received a phone call informing him of the bombing and calling for his presence at the horrible scene. As he settled back in his car, parked in front of police headquarters, he reached forward to turn the switch and in his mind the question flashed, "Who did this?" Suddenly, out of nowhere, the name "John Harris" came into his mind. He had never heard of John Harris! He attributed it to Divine revelation. Later that night, searching through police files, a letter written by Harris requesting South Africa be removed from a world sporting body was located. It had been intercepted by the police some years previously and filed. The address in the letter corresponded with a certain John Harris in the telephone directory. Harris was brought into police headquarters at midnight. He

confessed to his deed of murder. He was executed on April Fool's Day in 1965.[35] At his cremation in Pretoria, a fifteen-year-old boy named Peter Hain came forth to lament the death of his good friend and idol.[36] This is the same socialist Peter Hain, the leftist radical, who is fighting South Africa with all his might in the field of international sport.

John Harris, the station bomber

Sondagstem

Officer J. J. E. Gerber holds the typewriter on which Harris typed out his warning to the Prime Minister



a solution is the way of discussion and negotiation. Your present approach is an impossible one, and the country is nearing the disastrous end of a blind alley.

If you accept our requests you will go down in History as a man who had the sense to accept reality, as a man who of pivotal importance in the constructive solution of South Africa's problems.

This is our final appeal, Dr Verwoerd.

We will wait until the o'clock SABC news on for your reply. If you indicate that that you are ready to meet our requirements we will be overjoyed.

But if there is no announcement that you are willing to co-operate you will be forcing us to accept that you can only be moved by the killing of White South Africans.

We have plans for such killing, and with great reluctance we will put these plans into operation if you reject or ignore our initiative.

We are determined men, Dr Verwoerd. We have stated the position very clearly so that there can be no misunderstanding.

The decision is now yours.

Sondagstem

Part of Harris' letter to Dr. Verwoerd

Voortrekkerpers

The murder scene shortly after the explosion. The 77-year-old innocent victim can be seen in circle

ARM was a tool for the CPSA to use. Numerous communists moved in and out of ARM, and members of ARM were sighted moving within the circle of the CPSA. During this period of open violence from 1961 through July 1964, there were more than 400 cases of sabotage and at least 15 murders committed by the various "liberation groups".

During these years of open violence and destruction certain "newsmen" frequently reported the acts of organizations such as ARM in terms of a "manifestation of frustration". For years murderers, rapists, wife stranglers, child beaters, terrorists, bombers and radical extremists in general have escaped prosecution and punishment because a cunning lawyer "proved" they were deeply frustrated and committed their "unintentional acts" out of the desperation of their "subliminal pressures". Their horrible deeds are explained as a "response to the oppression of the system" under which they were suffering, and they murdered, bombed, and created untold damage and death "without awareness of consciousness".

No well-meaning and intelligent persons would ever deny that such things hapen in human society. However, the deeds of such bodies as ARM were carefully planned and well timed. The late Durban correspondent, G. R. Naidoo, described ARM's deeds as a "manifestation of frustration".[37] This sort of one-sided reporting has served only to enhance such groups as ARM, the IRA, the ANC and numerous others. The WCC executive committee, when confronted with the barbaric and heinous atrocities being committed against hundreds of innocent men, women and children by the "liberation movements" they support with thousands of dollars of cash, cited similar reasons in an attempt to exonerate these groups. Dr. B. Sjollema, a director of the WCC's Programme to Combat Racism, said: "The violence of the guerrillas exposes the violence of the oppressors."[38] And in line with Naidoo's description of ARM's monstrous deeds, the

central committee of the WCC stated: "The WCC does not pass judgement on those victims of racism who are driven to violence as the only way left to them to redress grievances and so open the way for a new and more just social order."[39]

ARM was a political snakepit filled with crackpots, seriously confused young people, communists, would-be revolutionists and idealistic dreamers who lusted for violence, overthrow and destruction; their behaviour was certainly not a "manifestation of frustration".

Who's Who

Dennis Brutus, famed for his attacks on South Africa, left the country in 1966 on an exit permit

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

1. Edited basically from unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, 1969, pp. 52-68
2. *Rivonia Unmasked*
   Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1965
   By Lauritz Strydom, p. 58
3. *Bram Fischer, The Man With Two Faces*
   A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
   By Chris Vermaak, p. 77
4. *Rivonia – Operation Mayibuye*
   A.P.B. Johannesburg 1964
   By the Honourable H. H. W. de Villiers, pp. 29-30
5. Reported in the *Chicago Tribune*, 6 October 1964
6. *The Amazing Mr. Fischer*
   Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1966
   By G. Ludi and B. Grobbelaar, p. 27
   Despite Ludi's statement, Mandela is not listed in South Africa as a communist.
7. Bruno Mtolo tells his moving story through the eyes of a black man in the book *Umkhonto we Sizwe: The Road To The Left*
   Drakensberg Press, Durban 1966
   Available in a large public library, this book tells the anguish of a black man caught in the Red spider's web and of the treatment he received from the white comrades leading the CPSA.
8. Number 2, p. 104
9. Number 2, p. 105
10. Number 2, p. 107. A later report from Australia regarding Mandela's trial reads: "At no time during the trial did the defence challenge the authenticity or authorship of the documents submitted. On the contrary, counsel for the defence stated that 'in the face of the overwhelming bulk of evidence against his clients', it would be 'futile to refute any of the charges'." (From an article in *Intelligence Survey*, July 1983, pp. 7-8.)
11. For a sample of overseas communist praise of Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and numerous others, see *The African Communist*, No. 43, Second Quarter 1970. Various communist, radical and leftist publications from different parts of the world have over the years carried words of praise for these convicted saboteurs.
12. For many years the World Council of Churches, with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, holds the religious record for support of terrorists, socialists, communists and radicals in general. The Defence and Aid Fund and the WCC have been close bed-fellows over the years. (See number 31 under documentation for chapter 29 for WCC support of terrorists.)
13. Number 2, p. 130
14. One writer says: "After lengthy discussion, the Congress Alliance gave Nelson Mandela permission to form a military wing to be called Umkhonto we Sizwe..." Further he states that "the country ANC cell structure that had been created by Mandela enabled him to canvass recruits for Umkhonto we Sizwe. He now put his 'M' plan (the Mandela plan) into operation. Two travelling Umkhonto we Sizwe instructors — comrades Harold Strachan and Percy John Hodgson — toured the country to train men to manufacture and use explosives."
   (The Silent War
   Galaxie Press, Rhodesia 1971
   By Reg Shay and Chris Vermaak, p. 118)
15. It was further established during this trial that large numbers of blacks were sent from South

Africa to communist countries overseas. They were to receive all sorts of military training, including the use of hand-grenades, machine-guns, landmines, radio communications and map reading. During the training period, they were paid 45 American dollars.
In his verdict in the Rivonia trial, Mr. Justice Quartus de Wet estimated that something like 300 recruits had been sent overseas. It also came out that secret camps for their continued training existed in South Africa, similar to Goldberg's camp at Mamre. Each terrorist, upon returning to the country, had clear instructions to "recruit 15 others into the work".

16. Number 4, p. 7
17. Number 2, p. 142
18. *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 June 1964
19. For years, the Soviet press has identified itself with those sentenced during the Rivonia trial. The author, having visited Red bookshops in several different countries of the world, has found that the communist press sings the praises of these men.It identifies itself with them and their "cause". (See number 6 under documentation for chapter 21.)
20. Number 3, p. 87. A short time before this party meeting Slovo had left the country. A black communist, Wilton Mkwayi (called Bribri), was appointed to take Slovo's place in leading Umkhonto. Mkwayi was later arrested and appeared in what was called "The Little Rivonia Trial".
21. Number 3, p. 96
22. All quotes under this sub-heading are edited from number 3, pp. 131-133. Complete voice recordings and typed records of all important court cases are available at the Palace of Justice, Church Square, Pretoria; Lubba Recordings, Pretoria; and archives of the Union Buildings, Pretoria. These are invaluable sources in researching statements made by communists or their friends during actual court proceedings.
23. John Lloyd and Hugh Lewin were both involved in ARM in 1964. Lewin was sentenced to prison, whilst Lloyd turned State witness and was released. He subsequently fled South Africa.
24. Number 3, pp. 137-138
25. Number 3, pp. 145-154
26. *Operation Q-018*
Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1969
By G. Ludi, pp. 211-212
27. Number 1, p. 69
28. Number 27, pp. 69-70
29. *Africa and Communism*
Voortrekkerpers, Johannesburg 1967
By F. R. Metrowich, p. 212
30. Dr. King, the noted black American "civil rights leader", was a favourite of the American communists. There is reproduced in this chapter a photo of King sitting in a party meeting with top American communists during a training session in 1965. The author has on file a photocopy of a sworn affidavit of a former F.B.I. undercover agent, in which he states that at each of the secret party meetings which he attended, "Martin Luther King was always set forth as the individual to whom communists should look and rally around in the communist struggle on the many racial issues..."

The Australian publication, *Intelligence Survey*, dated July 1979, carries a very revealing article regarding King and his other side, not given by the mass liberal media. NUSAS saw in King someone to further their aims. One serious American publication writes about "King's top financial and political adviser, the late Stanley Levison, (who) was a high-ranking American Communist Party official" and "King's personal secretary, Hunter P. O'Dell also a member of

the Communist Party..." (*The American Sentinel*, Maryland, USA, 22 August 1983, No. 315, p. 6)

31. *Ecumenical Press Service*
Geneva, 84.10.36, pp. 3-7

32. After being released from prison Kemp was ordered to report to Brigadier van den Bergh. She flatly refused. After receiving a telegram from the Brigadier she hurried to his office. In the conversation that followed, she broke down and made a comprehensive tape recording which describes in great depth the communist control within ARM and dozens of its leaders and workers. Like all recordings of this nature, they are in safekeeping in security archives.

33. During this period of time a certain female "Professor" at the University of Cape Town was completely responsible for recruiting young people into the service of communism. Like the mysterious doctor who did plastic surgery on Bram Fischer's face and numerous others who aided the Reds, she was never arrested! She later went to England.

34. *South Africa, A Skunk Among Nations*
Tandem, London 1975
By Les de Villiers, pp. 74-76

35. *The Rand Daily Mail*, 7 November 1964, carried almost two full pages on the life of Harris. An appeal against Harris's death sentence was refused. (*The Star*, 1 March 1965)

36. Hain over the years has continued his anti-South Africa campaigns. In 1983, he stepped forward as a Labour Party candidate in Britain. In a special interview he stated: "I hope to be able to make South Africa's nightmares come true." Then he really told the truth with these words: "I am on the left of the party and a full-blooded socialist." (*Sunday Times*, 22 May 1983.) For a clear explanation of the difference between "right" and "left", see chapter 32 under heading "The Liberals Are The Best Anti-Communists".

37. *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 August 1974

38. *The Star*, 21 June 1973

39. *Central Committee of the WCC Minutes and Reports of the Twenty-fourth Meeting at Addis Ababa, 10-21 January 1971, p. 55.*

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

FISCHER'S FIRST TRIAL AND DISAPPEARANCE

FISCHER'S BACKGROUND

Abraham (Bram) Fischer came from one of South Africa's most distinguished families.[1] His grandfather, Abraham Fischer, served with distinction as Prime Minister of the Orange Free State and shared in the National Convention when the Union of South Africa was formed. His son (Bram's father) became Judge-President of the Orange Free State. His name was Peter Ulrich Fischer. To Peter was born a son, named after his grandfather — Abraham. Bram was born on 23 April 1907. He was joined later by three brothers and a sister.

Bram Fischer did well in his studies. After matric, he attended the University of Cape Town. He later moved to Bloemfontein and became a law student at the University of the Orange Free State. In 1932, he received a Rhodes scholarship and was off to Oxford and the London School of Economics. Here he had his first taste of Marxism-Leninism. In 1933, he went on a "study tour" of Eastern Europe and visited Moscow. He was only 26 years of age at the time.

He returned to South Africa in 1937, a "different man". Shortly after his return, he married a Miss Susanna Johanna Krige, daughter of the Chief Geologist of the Union of South Africa. Molly, as she was known, was a niece of Mrs. Issie Smuts, wife of the late General Jan Smuts. Both Bram and Molly were dedicated communists. It is thought that Fischer finally joined the CPSA shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War, when it was still a legal organization. Fischer was officially listed as a communist in the Government Gazette of 16 November 1962.

After their marriage, the young Fischers settled into their home in Oaklands, Johannesburg. Here Ruth, Ilse and Paul were born and here the ideology of Marxism-Leninism was practised. It became a mecca for communists and radicals of every breed.[2] Before the age of forty, he became a King's Counsel and was recognised as one of the most outstanding lawyers in South Africa. Fischer's earliest appearance in proven communist activities was when he joined in the African Mineworkers' Strike in August 1946. This was created and activated by leading communist J. B. Marks. Fischer was among the long list of communists and their friends arrested and charged during this strike. (See chapter 15 for details.)

Probably, Fischer's first big step into the Red limelight was when he attended the "great" Vienna People's Congress for Peace in December 1952. He was a leading member of the Transvaal Peace Council which was the forerunner of the South African Peace Council, both of which were Red fronts. Miss Dulcie Hartwell, who at that time was the joint secretary of the South African Trades and Labour Council, accompanied him to Vienna. On his return to South Africa, he gave speeches in Johannesburg on "what people think

behind the Iron Curtain". During this same period, a "Peace Exhibition" was arranged in which Fischer took a leading part. When the first South African Peace Congress was held at the Trades Hall in Johannesburg on 22 August 1953, among the delegates were Fischer, the Rev. Douglas C. Thompson, Nelson Mandela, Ruth First Slovo and Dan Tloome (Glume).[3] From this point forward, Fischer rocketed to fame among the comrades of the CPSA. Little did he realise that this very fame was to bring his downfall and doom.

Serious questions about Fischer's true political motives came to the fore in the mid-1950s, during the treason trial, when this short, red-faced man fought so fiercely to have the communists cleared of guilt and set free. Later, his actions were clearly understood: He was fighting to save his fellow-communists and their friends.

Rapport

Abraham (Bram) Fischer in his happier days as a student

THE TRIAL OF FISCHER AND THE CO-CONSPIRATORS

It was a hot day in November 1964 as a large crowd gathered in front of the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court early in the morning. Blacks, all well-dressed, and many whites were present, waiting for the opening of the trial of Fischer.

As the doors swung open and the crowd surged into the hearing room, it was noticeable that many women were among those present. Soon the court was filled to capacity. A few

women were requested to leave by a court constable because they were bareheaded. Also, a few journalists who did not have correct police presscards were asked to leave. Shortly afterwards, the accused were marched into the room and took their seats. The customary clenched fist salutes were rising from the crowds in the galleries. One of the accused passed sweets to his comrades from a brown paper bag. They talked softly among themselves until order was called. The magistrate on this occasion was Mr. C. S. Allen.

Fischer was the number one accused. The thirteen others were Ivan Frederick Schermbrucker (43), Eli Weinberg (56), Esther Barsel (40), Norman Levy (35), Lewis Baker (54), Jean Middleton (Strachan) (26), Anne Nicholson (24), Constantinos Gazides (28), Paul Henry Trewhela (23), Sylvia Neame (26), Florence Duncan (31), Molly Irene Doyle (29) and Hymie Barsel (44). As they sat in a close huddle, Mr. C. S. Allen entered the room and took the bench. Defence for Fischer and his comrades was led by a listed communist already mentioned, Advocate Vernon C. Berrangé. He was assisted by Mr. H. Hanson Q.C.

Leading the prosecution was Mr. Otto Maree, assisted by Advocate J. H. Liebenberg of the Attorney-General's office of the Transvaal. The accused pleaded not guilty to all charges.

In a long statement Fischer pleaded not guilty and expressed his appreciation for the "opportunity to prove his innocence." A Johannesburg lawyer, Mr. Peter Rissik, gave evidence in support of Fischer with these famous last words: "I have absolute faith in his integrity and shall accept his word without hesitation."[4] Rissik told of a prolonged case in London in which Fischer was needed. The case had reached the Privy Council in London and his clients were calling for Fischer's assistance. They had even approached the American Ambassador in South Africa to use his influence to obtain a passport for Fischer.

Little did the Red advocate realise that the plea on his behalf by Rissik would be turned into a neat trap, prepared by the Security Police to further study his moves and contacts while in London. Upon hearing that Fischer's lawyers had requested permission for him to leave the country, Brigadier van den Bergh summoned Bram to his office. After a heated row, deliberately provoked by the Brigadier, he shouted in Fischer's face: "Can a communist keep his word?" Stunned, Fischer shouted back: "Yes!" Realising he had fallen into the trap, the Brigadier replied: "Good, you can prove yourself. Your passport will be issued and you can make your trip to London!" A passport valid for three months was issued. (Only a few security officials knew of this secret plan designed by Van den Bergh. Even the prosecution for the State were unaware of what was going on behind the scenes.) Then a plea was made for bail for Fischer to attend to this "important matter in London". Mr Allen, the trial magistrate, stood down temporarily and Mr. W. J. van Greunen took his place. The application for bail was fiercely opposed by Mr. Otto Maree for the prosecution.

Finally, to the amazement of the State and its team, Fischer was granted bail of R10000 and turned loose, while his comrades returned to prison.[5] He flashed a grim smile at the police officials sitting nearby as he walked from the courtroom. Every member of the prosecution thought Fischer would leave South Africa for London and never return. "There goes another one," mumbled a policeman. In granting bail, Mr. van Greunen said:

> "Fischer is a son of our own country and a well-known advocate. He is busy at the moment with a civil appeal in the Privy Council in London. A passport, which had been refused previously, has now been granted. It must have been preceded by detailed and careful consideration of the case. It would be ridiculous for the court not to grant bail."[6]

Jean Strachan

Anne Nicholson

Constantinos Gazides

Paul Trewhela

Sylvia Neame

Florence Duncan

Molly Doyle Anderson

Hymie Barsel

Some of the accused in the first Fischer trial

A week later, communist Fischer, accompanied by his friend Mr. Rissik, left Jan Smuts for London, while the other communists sat in jail for several weeks waiting for the continuation of the trial, upon his return.

A smiling Fischer shakes his son's hand after being released on bail. His daughter Ilse stands on the left

Mr. C. S. Allen, the first magistrate in the early part of the Fischer trial

FISCHER RETURNS AND THE TRIAL CONTINUES

Upon arriving in London, Fischer and Rissik were swamped by the press. The media condemned South Africa and praised Fischer as a "fighter for human rights, and being suppressed by the racist Government of South Africa". He was presented to the English public as a martyr for freedom, a "dedicated liberal" struggling for true justice in South Africa.

Whilst in London, Fischer made use of every opportunity. He met with the

> "Overseas committee of the South African Communist Party on such matters as security, courier communications, finances and the reorganization of the party in general to meet the new conditions of struggle".[7]

It was later proven that Fischer made firm contact with South African communists who had fled to England. Unknown to Fischer, all his activities in London were observed from the time of his arrival and full reports were relayed to the South African Police. The information proved invaluable. He won his case in the Privy Council and was elevated to the status of a "South African martyr" by the British press. Fischer had a double triumph, or so he thought. However, his dream was soon to turn into a nightmare. To the amazement of hundreds, Fischer returned to South Africa in mid-November to face trial. He was now called a man "who lived by a code of honour..."

THE SECOND TRIAL BEGINS

On 16 November 1964, Bram Fischer was given a boisterous welcome as he entered the building where the trial was to be held. Cheers and applause erupted at his appearance. He was high-spirited and smiling as he spoke to reporters and others. A police guard escorted him and his comrades into court and they took their places. The prosecution was led by Advocate J. H. Liebenberg and the defence by Advocate Vernon C. Berrangé. The accused along with Fischer glanced across the room and were stunned by what they saw. There, seated with the prosecution, was a "friend" and "comrade" Gerard Ludi! But what was he doing here? Why was he seated on that side of the battlefield? He was actually whispering and talking to the police! Fischer's face carried a fierce but questioning expression. A silent pandemonium could be felt breaking out among the comrades. Every one of them had their eyes fastened on Ludi. Would he be a State witness? The entire atmosphere was tense. No. There was another witness. But first, the statement was to be read.

Advocate Liebenberg read a lengthy statement regarding the operations of the CPSA, referring to their literature, doctrine and underground techniques; he flashed samples of Red literature being smuggled into South Africa under false titles such as The Everlasting Gospel. This material was being pumped into South Africa from communists in London. It was sent to addresses supplied by the CPSA. Then it happened — Advocate Liebenberg's voice rang out: "The State calls Petrus Beyleveld!" Fischer and his comrades could not have been more surprised had a lion walked into the courtroom. The blood seemed to drain from Fischer's face. He turned a ghostly white, momentarily closed his eyes, sinking backwards, like a man fainting. Onto the scene walked the tall, handsome Afrikaner, Petrus Beyleveld. He and Fischer looked into each other's eyes like two ancient gladiators preparing for the contest. The battle was on!

For almost two solid hours, Fischer and his comrades listened as former communist Petrus (or Piet) Beyleveld poured out damning evidence against them all. Beyleveld's

testimony in the witness box was a powerful triumph for the State. Once during cross-examination by Advocate Berrangé, he said:

> "You can call me what you like... I don't care. I was faced with a decision to make. I took it and I shall be able to live with my conscience after this..."[8]

This former member of the central committee of the CPSA devastated the communists present. Fischer sat like a man stone dead. Despite the vicious attacks on Beyleveld by Berrangé, he was unmovable. Finally, with head bowed, Beyleveld said: "I have failed as a communist." He freely gave evidence in the so-called "Second High Command" case and testified that Hilda Bernstein had received money from the London-based Overseas Committee. He explained fully the operations of the CPSA and cited code names, meeting places, documents and plans.

Dozens of names were rattled off by the dejected Beyleveld. One final statement with powerful impact was: "The objectives of the CPSA are the same as those of the International Communist Movement." A silence fell over the scene that was chilling. At last, South Africans and the world press were hearing the truth about the CPSA and its friends. The famed advocate from the British Bar, Mr. I. J. Blom-Cooper, sat motionless as he listened to this testimony. After the trial, Beyleveld operated a business in Johannesburg. Communist publications around the world spoke of him with the utmost contempt and hate. And then came the death threats. He was described as a "turncoat" who must die.

A.P.B.

Petrus Beyleveld turned State witness and devastated Fischer and his underground CPSA

The Star

Advocate A. Chaskalson appeared on Fischer's behalf

The Star

Advocate Sydney Kentridge also defended Fischer

THE STATE CALLS LUDI TO TESTIFY

The evidence given by Beyleveld was damning, but it was nothing in comparison with what was to follow. Again the voice of Advocate Liebenberg rang out: "I call Mr. Gerard Ludi for the State!" Again, Fischer and his comrades were totally dumbfounded.

Fischer's eyes followed the tall, lanky Ludi to the witness box. Every one of the accused knew Ludi and, what was worse, he knew them! Ludi pursed his lips and spoke: "I am a warrant officer attached to the Security Police Headquarters on special duties." The silence that filled the courtroom was awesome. Only the soft voice of Ludi was heard. He explained that it was his task on behalf of the police to infiltrate leftist organizations with the ultimate purpose of burrowing into the inner circles of the CPSA. He said: "I became a member of the communist party." In the hours that followed, Ludi told the whole story. His report gave an excellent view of the work of the party in South Africa and even overseas. It included all the intrigue of espionage, sabotage, secret meetings, code names, CPSA post office boxes, smuggled literature, funds received, a trip to Russia and meetings with top South African communists, including those who had fled to London. Stories emerged of mixed-swimming parties, cross-colour adultery, drinking, fornication, fights and the many dangers involved in such dreadful work. Ludi was a clandestine double agent. South Africa rumbled with the news. Ludi was a police spy! He was praised by some and bitterly cursed by others. Ludi's name has become a legend in the story of South African communism.

He spoke of party plans for revolution, sabotage and even murder,[9] of one-way mirrors and window glasses, coded messages, hidden microphones and tape recordings of actual party meetings. Never had a South African courtroom audience heard a story like the one being told by agent Q-018. The entire gathering sat breathless, even stunned, as Ludi went on and on. He told of proposals by comrades for bombings, killings, arson and violence. He concluded by stating that the CPSA was working for a "coup d'etat" to establish a communist state as soon as possible.[10] Seemingly, whatever Beyleveld failed to cover, Ludi did. Their evidence was both final and conclusive. The defence was thrown into great

disarray. Fischer and his comrades saw the writing on the wall. They had been devastated by the evidence of Beyleveld and Ludi. Christmas came, the case was adjourned, and the communists and their friends spent the season of goodwill meditating on their crimes. Anything but a happy new year awaited most of them. But with the dawn of the new year, the suspicions of the police were justified.

Entering the court ready for Fischer's trial are secret agent Q-043, Klaus Schroeder (left), Captain J. C. Broodryk and secret agent Q-018, Gerard Ludi

FISCHER DISAPPEARS: HIS COMRADES ARE SENTENCED

When the trial resumed on 26 January 1965, Bram Fischer's seat was empty! He had disappeared the previous Sunday. The story was that he had sneaked out of the house where he was staying while his daughter and a friend were asleep. When they entered his room the following morning, they discovered a number of letters by his bed, one to his counsel, Advocate H. Hanson S.C., and another to his daughter in England. Mr. Hanson read Fischer's farewell letter to all present. There was pandemonium in the Regional Court when he concluded the letter. Fischer's fellow-accused behaved like children who had been given free circus tickets. They had to be called to order. They smiled, rejoiced and made no effort to conceal their elation. The police were furious! Fischer's bail of R10 000 was estreated and a warrant for his arrest issued. Lawyer Rissik, who had spoken so loudly of "Fischer's honesty" months before, now ate his words. Liebenberg stood before the court and said: "Fischer's action is deplorable." With this, South Africa's largest manhunt was launched. The world media carried the story of Fischer's escape.[1] Had he left South Africa or what?

In the meantime, the State's case against the other thirteen continued. Fischer's seat was now occupied by a red-haired woman, a wardress from the Johannesburg Fort. She was

Advocate J. H. Liebenberg led the State prosecution of Fischer and his comrades

the prison escort for the female prisoners. Fischer's counsel, Advocate H. Hanson, had withdrawn and his seat was empty. Then came a dramatic and sudden turn of events. In late February, six of the accused openly admitted that they were members of the banned CPSA! They were Strachan, Nicholson, Gazides, Trewhela, Duncan and Neame.[12] Then a second surprise occurred when defence for the accused, Vernon C. Berrangé, withdrew in early March for "personal and urgent reasons".[13] His place was taken by a Johannesburg Indian, Advocate I. Mohammed. Here is a brief review of the accused:

1. **Ivan Schermbrucker**
   Born in the Transkei in 1921, he joined the army and saw action in the Western Desert. He moved to Italy and met communist Fred Carneson. It was Carneson who introduced him to the party paper, The Guardian. Upon returning to the Union, Schermbrucker joined the two Red fronts, the Springbok Legion and the Friends of the Soviet Union. He met Brian Bunting, the editor of The Guardian, in 1946. Later, in the offices of The Guardian, he met Fischer and testified that all the directors of the paper were communists. During 1963, he was asked to help Amnesty International, a notorious front organization. "I do not believe in capitalism... I believe socialism is better," he concluded.[14]

2. **Eli Weinberg**
   He, like Schermbrucker, denied being a member of the CPSA. He told the court that he was a trade unionist. Advocate Liebenberg accused him of lying and of being a

member of the central committee of the CPSA. He shouted back, "I am not lying." Liebenberg pressed the point that the so-called "social functions" at Weinberg's home were covers for party meetings. He hotly denied all such allegations. Weinberg's denials of being a member of the CPSA were a total lie. He had been a member since 1932.

3. **Esther Barsel**
   She also denied being a member of the CPSA. She confessed to being a member of the COD. She and Fischer's wife assisted in the collection of money for "political prisoners". She was present at secret meetings in the house of Mr. Meyerson, along with Molly Fischer. Liebenberg accused her of being a secret member of the CPSA, working in the background. She denied all such charges.[15] Later, Barsel's daughter, Sheila Lapinsky, was the permanent secretary of NUSAS until she was banned in July 1974.

4. **Sylvia Neame**
   On the last Monday in February, when six of the young accused confessed that they were members of the CPSA, Sylvia Neame was the first to speak.
   She became interested in politics at about sixteen years of age. She had been a member of the Liberal Party and later joined the COD. In 1962, she was invited to join the CPSA. Finally, at the end of 1962, she joined the party in Cape Town. "I am socialist and my actions were solely concerned with ending apartheid and creating a socialist state in South Africa," she said.[16]

5. **Jean Strachan**
   She openly admitted being part of the CPSA. She refused to enter the witness box, in order to avoid cross-examination. Her one boast was that she was a member of the CPSA. Among her final words were: "I believe socialism is the only answer!"

6. **Molly Doyle**
   She denied being a member of the party. Earlier evidence showed that she was the author of a pamphlet "War Preparations", a document described as "a declaration of war against South Africa". It stated that the whites would be "wiped off the face of the earth".

7. **Hymie Barsel**
   Born in Johannesburg in 1920, Barsel had his occupation listed as a clerk. He was found not guilty on three counts under the Suppression of Communism Act and discharged.

8. **Norman Levy**
   Another educational product of Wits University. In 1947 he qualified as a teacher (vice-principal). Levy was born in Johannesburg in 1929. He confessed that he never attempted to convert his students to his way of thinking, and admitted practical co-operation in party functions. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. On 30 April 1968, he left South Africa on an exit permit.

9. **Anne Nicholson**
   She said that she agreed with the Freedom Charter. "I grew up in a liberal atmosphere," she stated. "In England, my family were members of the communist party. Communism ... is the only answer to the problems of South Africa. My only crime was to see that justice is done ..."

10. **Dr. Constantinos Gazides**
    This young medical man told the court how he had become a communist. He, like most of his comrades, was a member of the COD. While working at a mine hospital, he was invited to attend classes on Marxism. This was in 1963. A year later, he was recruited into the CPSA by Jean Strachan.

11. **Paul Trewhela**
    He spoke freely. "I am a communist," were his first words. At first he was a member of the Progressive Party, then he joined the COD. He never took part in any sabotage activities and confessed that he was recruited into the party in 1963. He told the court that Sharpeville would be repeated over the years across South Africa. Defiant and proud, his face flushed with sheer contempt as he spoke.

12. **Florence Duncan**
    Born in Rondebosch, Cape Province, in 1933, she held the occupation of a clerk-radiologist. She confessed to having joined the CPSA in 1962. One of her noted court statements was: "I am a white but am ashamed of my fellow-whites." Sentenced to four years' imprisonment in 1965, she was still listed in 1984.

13. **Lewis Baker**
    Baker was born in Benoni and was a lawyer by profession. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment and upon completion of this sentence left South Africa in 1970 on an exit permit.[17]

Sentences were passed on 13 April 1965. Just before this, Advocate I. Mohammed spoke on their behalf. Schermbrucker and Weinberg received six years each. The sentences of the others varied from four to five years. Again, pandemonium broke out in the court following the sentencing. People shouted and gave the clenched fist salute. White and black joined in the singing of Nkosi Sikelele Afrika (God Bless Africa), the ANC anthem. Several of the guilty responded with raised fists of defiance. As the police struggled to take them down the stairs, the trial ended. Notably missing was the leader of the now practically crushed CPSA, Bram Fischer. Where was he?

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

1. This profile is edited from
   Bram Fischer, The Man With Two Faces
   A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
   By Chris Vermaak
   Fischer's name has two spellings, "Braam" and "Bram". The author has retained the "Bram" spelling except in a few quotation sources.
2. In number 1, pp. 3-7, Chris Vermaak tells how Fischer carried his racial views to such extremes that he "adopted the child of his African servant". His aim was to prove there was no basic difference in racial groups. However, Fischer's experiment ended in abject and bitter failure.
3. Number 1, preface p. 5
4. *The Amazing Mr. Fischer*
   Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1966
   By G. Ludi and B. Grobbelaar, p. 49
5. Where did the R10 000 bail money come from? One source says "it was supplied by the London-based Red Front, the Overseas Committee" (number 1, p. 160). *The Pretoria News* of 25 January 1965 says his bail "was put up by . . . lawyer Peter Rissik . . . on 25 September 1964".
6. Number 4, p. 50
7. *Traitor's End*
   Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
   By N. Weyl, p. 145
8. Number 1, p. 161
9. *The Pretoria News*, 8 and 14 January 1965
10. Number 7, p. 146
11. Every major and most minor newspapers in South Africa carried the story of his escape. Rumours of every sort regarding his whereabouts were flying round the country. *The Pretoria News* of 25 January 1965 spoke of his "hiding in Swaziland", while the edition of 28 January 1965 gave a story of "Fischer being in Bechuanaland", today called Botswana.
12. *The Pretoria News*, 22 February 1965
13. *The Star*, 2 March 1965
14. Number 4, pp. 73-74
15. Barsel denied there was "any connection between the CPSA and the Friends of the Soviet Union". Seemingly, the denial was sincere. If so, it reveals that close party members were often unaware that certain groups were being used as front organizations right under their very noses. (*The Pretoria News*, 25 February 1965)
16. Number 4, pp. 76-78
17. Lewis Baker was the brother of Julius who along with Vellay Pillay were leading CPSA men in London. They had ready access to the Russian Embassy and even attended to Gerard Ludi's air tickets to the USSR while Ludi waited in London. (See number 4, p. 62)

    In 1971, a Cape Town businessman, while visiting London, was approached by Mrs. Tamara Baker, wife of listed communist Julius Baker. She asked him to arrange "through his company for the transfer of an estimated R350 000 from South Africa to the family in London. Mrs. Baker undertook to pay the businessman 9,5 per cent of the returned profit on certain shares . . ." (*Sunday Express*, 5 September 1971). This is a staggering sum of money for the bank account of a capitalist-hating communist.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

FISCHER'S DISAPPEARANCE PRE-ARRANGED: HIS ARREST

THE SECRET PLAN

The plan for Fischer to jump bail did not come as an afterthought during the Christmas recess of his trial. It was planned by the underground reorganized central committee of the CPSA during the latter part of December 1964. His decision to go underground had been taken at a meeting of the central committee attended by himself, Leslie Schermbrucker, Issy Heyman and Violet Weinberg. They had all been in favour of it.[1] The reason for the decision was to enable Fischer to reorganize and rebuild the now smashed CPSA. The police had almost crippled the party machinery. It was running at its lowest ebb. Hence the pre-arranged plan for his going into hiding. The date set for this big step was 25 January 1965.

So carefully were the plans laid that, before the end of 1964, Fischer and comrade Leslie Schermbrucker had driven to a farm near Rustenburg to view the temporary hideout for the leader of the CPSA. A previous contact indicated it was available. The farm belonged to Mrs. Felicia Midlindton, a retired medical doctor who had left Johannesburg twelve years previously seeking to be alone with nature. Shortly after his disappearance, Fischer turned up at Mrs. Midlindton's front door. He told her that he had lost his wife in a car accident, and could not adjust to life without her and wanted to be alone for a while. He introduced himself to the older woman as "Charles Thompson". Falling for the story, she agreed to rent him a small cottage for R32 to cover the duration of his stay. Fischer promised to return later to take occupation.

On 25 January 1965, a Sunday, Fischer disappeared. Because he returned from the trip to London, there was no suspicion that he might abscond. However, plans had been carefully laid for this event weeks before. Late that Sunday night, while his daughter and her friend were asleep, a car moved quietly into the Oaklands home driveway. Fischer slipped into the front seat beside the driver. A few hours later, after driving about aimlessly to guard against being followed, they entered an isolated parking lot at a maternity home located in Kensington, Johannesburg. They stopped beside a waiting automobile, a light-grey Volkswagen. Fischer slid out quickly and climbed into the waiting car. "Hello George," he said to the driver. Acknowledging the greeting, "George" sped off into the night. Fischer had officially jumped bail and was disappearing. The two drove away to the pre-arranged site near Rustenburg and arrived there mid-morning.

Fischer moved into his cover, which consisted of one bed, two mattresses, a dilapidated bookshelf, and a few odds and ends. Mrs. Midlindton noticed that he drove a "little grey car". She was completely innocent, and unaware of who he really was and what he was up to.

During the five months he was hiding in the Rustenburg area, he went to a plastic surgeon and had extensive facial alterations. (See comparable photographs of Fischer in

this chapter.) This surgeon was never arrested and is still in the Witwatersrand area to this day! He knew who Fischer was and freely did the work for the escaped communist. In the meantime, the head of the Security Police seemed totally unconcerned over Fischer's disappearance; he had another plan. Within a short time (by the end of June) he knew Fischer's whereabouts and had him under 24-hour observation by a team of hand-picked surveillance specialists.

Meanwhile, the greatest manhunt in South Africa's history had been launched. Hundreds of reports were being received from people who thought they had sighted Fischer. None proved fruitful.

While thousands of South Africans were on the lookout for him, Fischer was relaxing in the peace of the little cottage near Rustenburg and recovering from plastic surgery. In the background all the time had been the KGB of Moscow.

TWENTY-ONE DAYS BEFORE FISCHER DISAPPEARS

The central committee's plan for Fischer to vanish was first cleared with the Soviet Committee for State Security, the KGB. They were well informed about the whole plot and shared in making it a temporary success. Word was sent from the CPSA in South Africa (probably by high-speed radio, owing to the shortage of time) to the KGB in Moscow. They, in turn, immediately notified their South African Residential Director, whoever he or she was at that time, of the plan. Through this Residential Director, moves were made to prepare false documentation in the form of driver's licences and identity documents. These were ready for Fischer to use once he left his Rustenburg shelter and returned to the Johannesburg area.

Twenty-one days before Fischer jumped bail, the plan was already well under way. On 4 January 1965, a young brown-eyed woman whose real name was Gabrielle Fredericka Veglio di Castelleto, also known as Gabrielle Veglio, appeared on the scene. She was a 23-year-old student at Wits University. She had been given a very special task by the party — it was her biggest and most important assignment. Her instructions came in the normal clandestine method of party operations.

While waiting in Joubert Park towards the end of December 1964, an unknown courier stepped up to her side and slipped a note into her hand. It was a directive from someone in the central committee. Reading the note, she was stunned. The partially cryptic note said:

> "You must help us rent a house for B... Meet me in the park (Joubert Park) at 9:15 tonight. Further instructions will be given to you. I will be wearing a red coat, unbuttoned..."

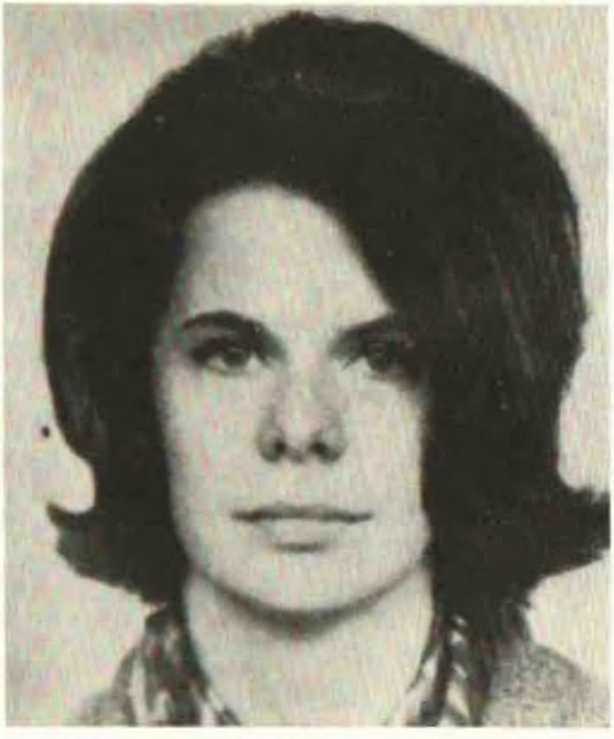
Comrade "Anne" (her code name) knew very well what the message meant. It was orders to prepare the way for Fischer, who weeks later (on Sunday night, 25 January) was planning to leave the Johannesburg area to begin the work of rebuilding the party. She was elated to have been chosen for such an honourable task. At the meeting that night in the park, she received complete instructions from the person with the "red unbuttoned coat". This event proves a deep KGB operation was under way at Wits University during this time, and that Fischer maintained contact with it.

COMRADE ANNE PREPARES FOR FISCHER

Thus on the date just mentioned, 4 January 1965, Anne stepped into the Netherlands Bank in Rosebank, Johannesburg, and opened an account. She gave her name as Anne Getcliffe and made an initial deposit of R400 which was paid in cash. Bear in mind that this started twenty-one days before Fischer jumped bail. While Anne was setting things up in

Rosebank, Fischer was lounging in his home (on bail) in Oaklands, not five kilometres away. He would disappear 21 days later and go to the Rustenburg hideout.

Three days following the opening of the bank account, she visited Mr. Ellis Diack, an estate agent, and sought to rent a house at 57 Knox Street, Waverley. Her story was: "I have just arrived from England and am engaged to a chap in Cape Town, and we are going to get married shortly." Mr. Diack, completely innocent of the whole plot, rented her the house. He was pleasantly surprised when she handed him the amount of R680 for six months' advance rental. In the meantime, she also approached a used-car dealer and purchased a Volkswagen in the name of Anne Getcliffe. This cost her R600 cash. The light-grey car carried the registration number TJ136212.[2] Later she delivered it to comrade George.



Anne Getcliffe, the young Wits student who prepared the way for Fischer to return to Johannesburg

For the next few weeks, Anne lived at 57 Knox Street. It was noticed that a young man called "Jack" spent time there as well. The mysterious Jack was sent by the party to the house as a "cover" for the man she was supposed to marry. Later, he too proved to be a Wits student. The CPSA, under the direction of the KGB Residential Director for South Africa, had set the stage well: Everything was ready for Fischer's escape to Rustenburg and subsequent return to Johannesburg. It came on 25 January. He was not in court. His letter had been found. By this time, he had travelled to the location in Rustenburg in the night hours with comrade George in the light-grey Volkswagen.

All the money used by Anne in her numerous business transactions was received from the Overseas Committee of the communist party in London. This was the group Fischer had spent much time with during his business trip there with Mr. Rissik, before returning to South Africa for the resumption of his trial.

Anne had instructions to tell the manager of the Stock Exchange branch of Barclays Bank that she had just received a legacy to enable her to open an account there, to learn to

forge exactly the signature of the cover name used in that account and to deposit the R12000 she had received, via the secret channels into South Africa, from British communists and their friends.[3] It was thought the money had been smuggled into the country by communist students at Wits University.[4] Anne had prepared things well for Fischer — or so she thought. Actually, it was to become a step that would seal his doom!

C. Vermaak

Fischer's hideout in Rustenburg

COMRADE ANNE RETURNS TO ENGLAND: "MR. BLACK" APPEARS

Things seemed to be going normally at 57 Knox Street. Anne and Jack were seen going in and out from time to time by various neighbours. There was nothing unusual about either of them. Just everyday young people, or so the neighbours thought. At the end of April, Anne appeared at Mr. Diack's office with a new story. "I have to leave. My mother is seriously ill in England and I must return to help her. Oh, yes, about the house. I've made arrangements for someone else to take it over." Anne informed the estate agent that a Mr. Douglas Black, a middle-aged man, would take over the house and her car during this time. (Meanwhile, Anne's mother was about eight minutes' drive away in Lower Houghton in perfect health!)

In July, a short thin man walked into the office of Mr. Diack and gave his name as Douglas Black. He was "looking after the house of Anne during her absence in England ..." Mr. Black continued: "Her return will depend on her mother's health." He further informed Mr. Diack that the place was really too large for him and that he was seeking "smaller premises". When the rent paid by Anne had expired, he would be leaving.

Getting into his light-grey Volkswagen, Mr. Black drove off. Bram Fischer had returned to Johannesburg from his Rustenburg hideout, only it was in the disguise of Douglas Black. Comrades Anne and Jack had set the stage well for his return. Meanwhile, Anne disappeared to London and Jack went to Italy.[5] To the surprise of Mr. Black, the estate agent visited him at 57 Knox Street to inquire about Anne's mother in England.

Mrs. Felicia Midlindton, 71, who was deceived by Fischer, using the name of Charles Thompson

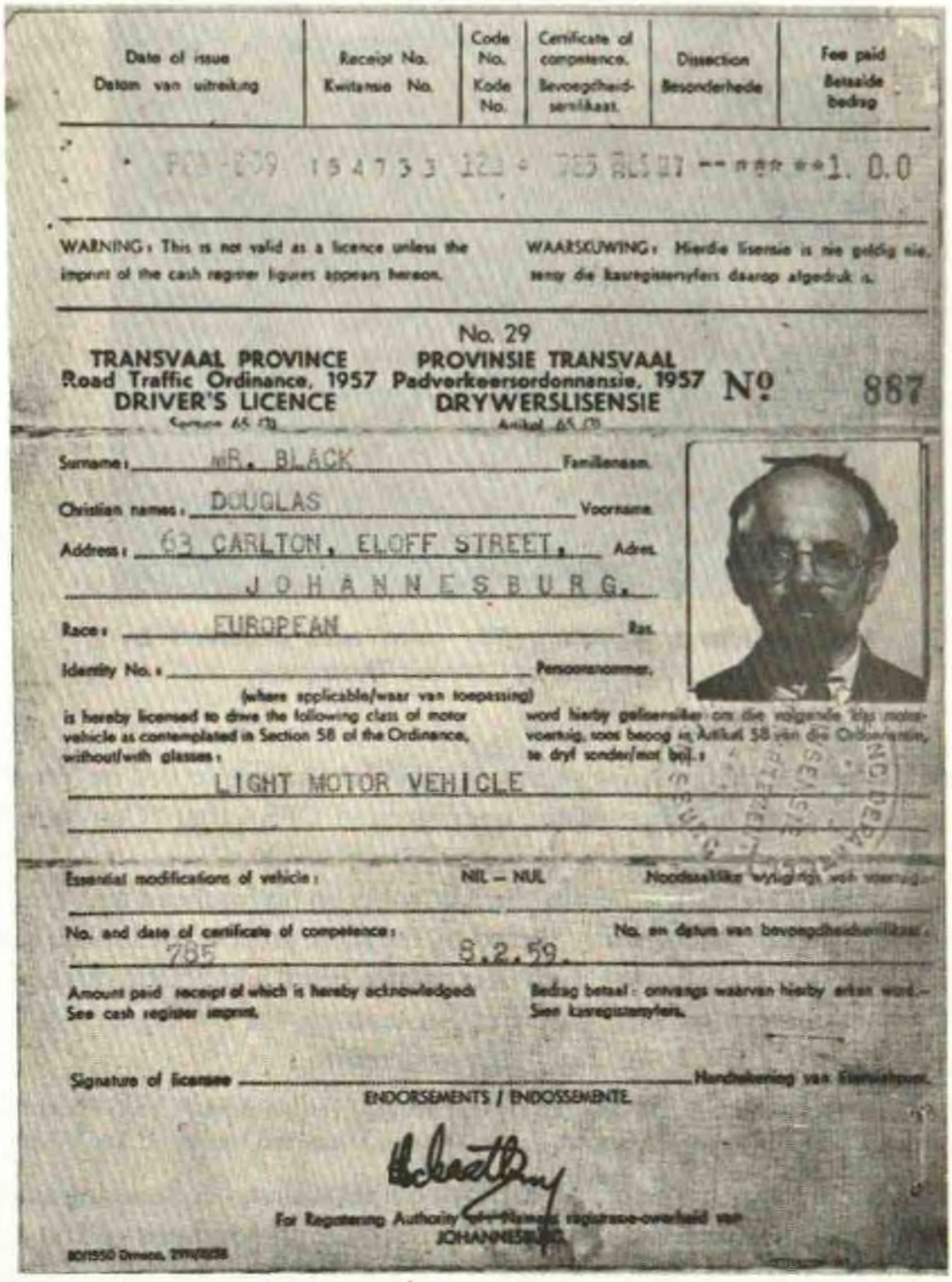
During his few weeks' stay at Anne's house Fischer was getting settled in. Word spread amongst the most trusted members of the underground CPSA that "Comrade Jan was back in Johannesburg". Fischer had undergone a complete physical change. He had lost much weight and, with an electric needle, the hair roots on his forehead had been burned out. His eyebrows had also been greatly altered by the same process. He looked a different man, complete with new glass frames, dyed hair, goatee beard and plastic surgery. He had engineered this metamorphosis while hiding at Rustenburg. On 24 August 1965, Fischer listed new directives for the CPSA. They were ordered to

> "rebuild the party, the SACTU, and to pull into the struggle the Black Sash, NUSAS, the Christian Institute, the UCM and such newspapers as the Sunday Times and the Rand Daily Mail..."[6]

During his Rustenburg experience he had been in contact with someone acting as a courier for the KGB in South Africa. This courier had secured photographs of the new Mr. Fischer after surgery and sent them to Moscow to the KGB's Fourth Division of the First Directorate. In their 135 Lubyanka Street headquarters, they prepared for him fake and

forged identity documents of various types. What Fischer needed for travel, opening bank accounts, identification in general, the KGB provided. He carried it on his person. Who this KGB representative was (and perhaps still is) in South Africa is not known. It is known, however, that the Overseas Committee in London was the channel through which the KGB operated.[7] (Several of Fischer's forged documents are reproduced in this chapter.)

Though hiding at the farm, Fischer was not isolated from party work. On 3 March 1965, the Ghanaian Times devoted a full page to an article sent to them by Fischer. It was headlined: "In the land of legalised torture lip-service is paid to democracy." It was accompanied by a two-column photograph of Fischer, captioned: "Bram Fischer, South African freedom fighter".[8] This article proved that Fischer maintained some very open channels of getting vital propaganda out of South Africa. There is a strong possibility that he went out the country for a short period during this time.



Date of issue Datum van uitreiking	Receipt No. Kwitansie No.	Code No. Kode No.	Certificate of competence. Bevoegdheidsertifikaat.	Dissection Besonderhede	Fee paid Betaalde bedrag

WARNING: This is not valid as a licence unless the imprint of the cash register figures appears hereon.

WAARSKUWING: Hierdie lisensie is nie geldig nie, tensy die kasregistersyfers daarop afgedruk is.

No. 29

TRANSVAAL PROVINCE
Road Traffic Ordinance, 1957
DRIVER'S LICENCE

PROVINSIE TRANSVAAL
Padverkeersordonnansie, 1957
DRYWERSLISENSIE

Nº 887

Surname: MR. BLACK
Christian names: DOUGLAS
Address: 63 CARLTON, ELOFF STREET, JOHANNESBURG.
Race: EUROPEAN
Identity No.:
(where applicable/waar van toepassing)

is hereby licensed to drive the following class of motor vehicle as contemplated in Section 58 of the Ordinance, without/with glasses:

word hierby gelisensieer om die volgende klas motorvoertuig, soos bedoel in Artikel 58 van die Ordonnansie, te dryf sonder/met bril:

LIGHT MOTOR VEHICLE

Essential modifications of vehicle: NIL — NUL

No. and date of certificate of competence: 785 8.2.59.

Amount paid receipt of which is hereby acknowledged
See cash register imprint.

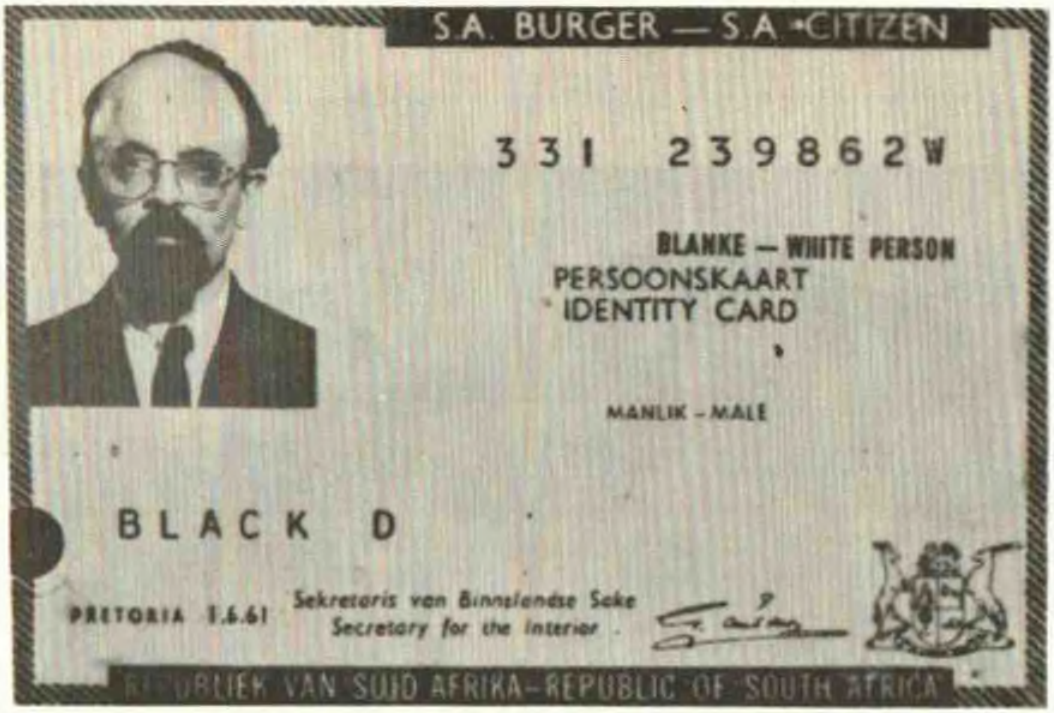
Bedrag betaal: ontvangs waarvan hierby erken word.
Sien kasregisterstyfers.

Signature of licensee

ENDORSEMENTS / ENDOSSEMENTE

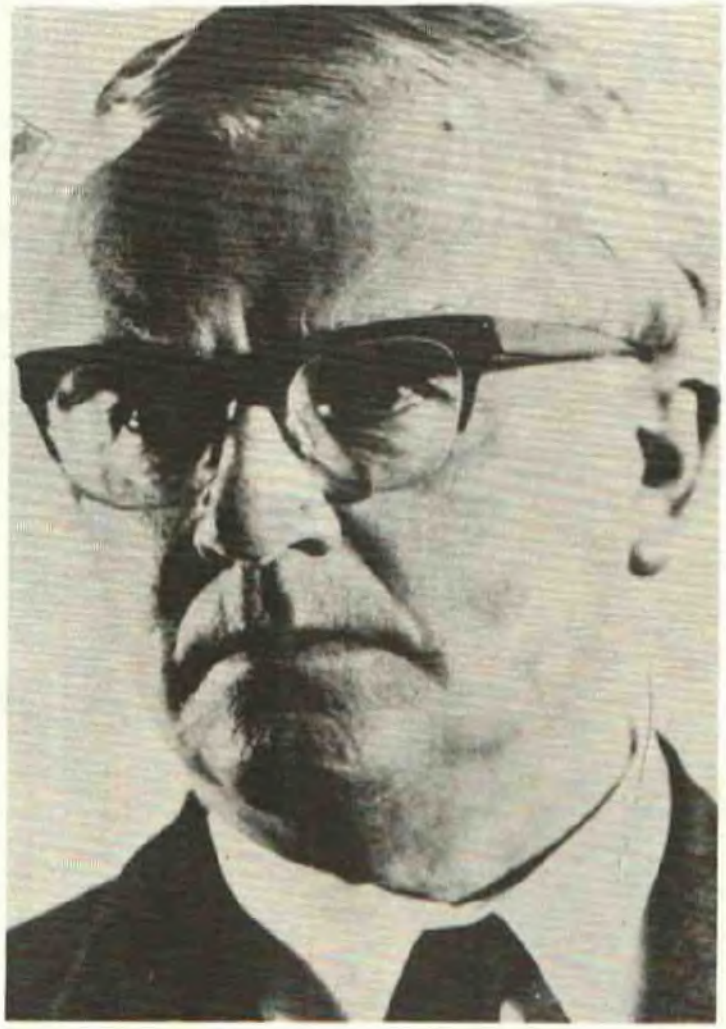
For Registering Authority
JOHANNESBURG

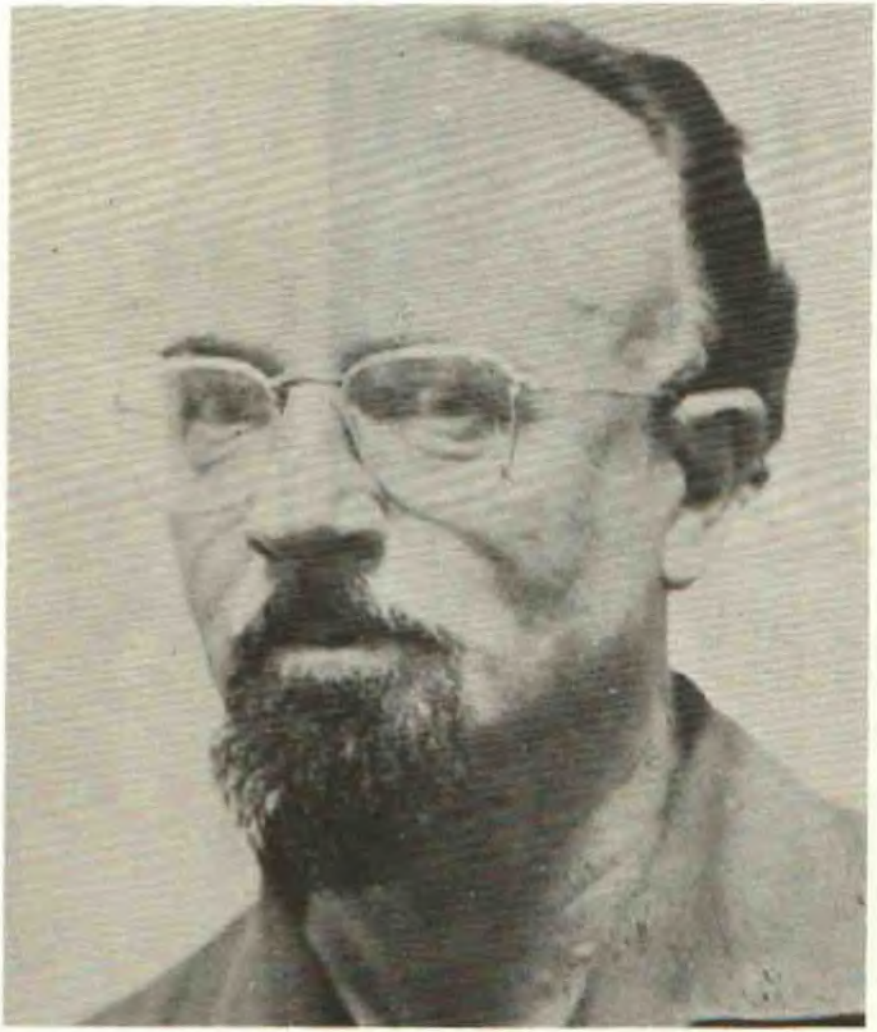
The driver's licence forged by the KGB for Fischer



Fischer's KGB-prepared identity card

This is 57 Knox Street, Waverley, the house rented for Fischer by comrade Anne





A Marxist metamorphosis completely altered the appearance of Bram Fischer. Note the obvious change in the jowl-cheek fold and ear angle, proving some sort of plastic surgery

THE CPSA MEETS AGAIN

From his secret location in Waverley, a local and ad hoc central committee was formed and, by means of coded letters, contact was made with CPSA remnants in Cape Town, Durban and other parts of the country. The assignment given Fischer by the Central Committee, with the approval of the KGB, months before his defection, he was now attempting to fulfil.

One night during the early part of July, Fischer heard a knock at the door of his Waverley home. Peeking through a window that allowed a view of the front door, he was happy to see two old comrades, Ralph and Minnie Seppel. Later that same night, more comrades arrived, among them Issy Heyman, Violet Weinberg and Leslie Schermbrucker, to join the meeting. The Seppels were in charge of the CPSA work among the blacks in the area of Soweto.

During Fischer's few weeks at this "safe house", many visitors came to his door. Most of them were young people, particularly students from Wits University. Unbeknown to Fischer, other eyes were watching! Those of the Security Police. He was taking plenty of the rope with which he would soon hang himself and many of his comrades. Various party meetings were held at this address. In the middle of July, before the lease signed by Anne had expired, Fischer wrote the following letter to the estate agent:

> "Dear Mr. Diack,
>
> I confirm our telephone conversation this morning in which I gave you notice on behalf of Miss Getcliffe to terminate her lease of the above premises as at 31st July 1965.
>
> Yours faithfully,
> (signed) D. Black"[9]

This letter signalled Fischer's move to a new address. He rented a house at 215 Corlett Drive, Bramley, for "security reasons". Fischer had seen an advertisement in a newspaper and applied for the house through the post. He explained that he had moved to the area from the Cape for health reasons. Fischer occupied only half of the house. A young married couple were living in the other half.[10]

Behind the high walls of 215 Corlett Drive, Fischer and other communists attempted to rebuild the CPSA. He was living here when arrested

"So confident was Bram of his disguise that he chose a house just off one of Johannesburg's busiest highways, Louis Botha Avenue. South Africa's most wanted man was not going to lie low in some secluded hideout. Brazenly, he moved about in Johannesburg's busiest spots in broad daylight, openly planning the reorganization of his beloved communist party."[11]

During this time, Fischer opened banking and savings accounts at several commercial banks and building societies, using the names Douglas Black, C. Thompson or Peter West. He usually gave London bank references and once stated that he lived at 18 Eastwood Road, Dunkeld.[12] It was later discovered by the Security Police that someone in the KGB's forgery department had committed a major blunder in preparing Fischer's driver's licence.[13] It carried a serial number that belonged to a South African black and was issued on a weekend! One wonders how many years Fischer's KGB comrade got for this blunder.

FISCHER KEEPS CONTACT WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

He maintained secret contacts with the London branch of the communist party. Meanwhile, large sums of money were coming into South Africa from the London-based front, Christian Action's Defence and Aid Fund. Secret couriers were bringing the money into the country. Fischer also wrote several articles for the African Communist, operating from London. He was in regular contact with "Kim", the code name for the Overseas Committee. Numerous letters sent to Fischer from this Marxist group were decoded by the police. These were later used in court. While in hiding, he drew up all sorts of documents relating to the party, its activities and particularly new methods of security.

Fischer wrote a letter to the Rev. Beyers Naude, who was associated with the Christian Institute. The letter was intercepted by the police and later it was published in several books dealing with communism in South Africa. Subsequently the Christian Institute was declared a banned organization and no longer operates in South Africa. However, it continues its work overseas. Its publication Pro Veritate is filled with pro-Marxist propaganda and some of its contributors are men who openly espouse Marxism and condemn all forms of capitalism. It was during this period that Fischer used the Holy Bible as an instrument to code letters, sent to various party members in South Africa and overseas.

FISCHER GOES PICNICKING WITH RELATIVES

The Red advocate was indiscreet enough to meet with his daughter Ilse, who was the fiancée of Sholto Cross, a newspaper reporter. Fischer met the couple in Rosebank and took them to his house in Waverley. They spent the evening together. Later that night, as they left, they agreed to meet again.

Sholto was picked up by the police and interrogated frequently but gave no information.

"In 1964, he had spent 154 days in solitary confinement and, in December of that same year, he attempted to escape from the Pretoria North police cells, where he was being held. This earned him a 60-day sentence suspended for three years."[14]

The second meeting between Fischer and his family was arranged for October. They went on a picnic near Hartbeespoort Dam and "had a wonderful time". However, others were watching this happy little gathering! Later a full report of the secret meeting was given to Security Police headquarters. Two of Fischer's favourite haunts during this period were the Kelvin Grove Hotel in Rosebank and the Hotel Capri in Bramley. He often went there for drinks and was known to several of the employees as Mr. Black.[15] On the evening of 2

Letter in Bible code found on Fischer

SUNDAY TIMES REPORTER

ONE of the most startling documents handed into court in the Fischer case is a letter, in code, which was taken from the pocket of Fischer at the time of his arrest in Bramley, Johannesburg, where he was living in disguise as "Mr. Black."

The letter is addressed to "Kim," allegedly Fischer's secret contact in London. It is signed "Paulus."

The letter is couched in business terms and refers to a person injured in an accident, to documents and salary.

The suggestion is made that "we immediately switch to the New Statesman airmail edition."

Part of the decoded letter, from the original which consisted largely of numbers, reads:

"Issy R: This company was called upon earlier this week to produce evidence in the trial of young Africans. It flatly refused to do so. Eight days. This of course has all been hushed up. I wonder if there is anything you can do about it."

Detective-Sergeant Neville Els, who said that he had made a study of deciphering codes told the court that the key words were contained in Bible verses.

The last portion of the letter, from "for the next few weeks I want you to " is largely in numbers. This, decoded, reads:

"Write only to Mr. Herman Caplan (personally) c/o Whitesons Ltd., Box 1282. Inside Paul. If anything is unclear about this revert to the last mentioned address but this would be very inconvenient."

The letter ends: "Hooray f UDI—announced an hour ag Good old Smithy! Love to all It is signed: "Paulus."

The letter is dated Novembe 9 Fischer was arrested two da later.

The picture shows a portion of the letter in code which was found in the pocket of Bram Fischer when he was arrested on November 11. The letter is to "Kim," Fischer's alleged secret contact in London. It is signed "Paulus." An example of how the letter was decoded is that the numbers 88, 67, 83, 28, 84, 81, 82, 56, 85, 66, 75, 69, 68, 61, 52, 86, 47, 44, appearing in the portion of the letter above mean "Switch to New Statesman."

Ironic legal note

SUNDAY TIMES Reporter

AN ironic note in the Fischer case is that the attorney instructing counsel for Bram Fischer is from the legal firm which represented the Witwatersrand Society of Advocates which had Fischer struck off the roll of advocates last year after he estreated bail and went into hiding.

When notice of the society's intention to take this action was made known soon after Fischer disappeared, the fugitive Fischer wrote a letter expressing his dismay at the society's haste to act against him.

With Mr. Vorster's current legislation to bar communists from the legal profession, Fischer would now soon be disbarred in any case by Government decree and not by the action of his fellow advocates.

Sunday Times

A copy of one of Fischer's letters couched in biblical code. These were used for secret contacts in London

November 1965, Fischer read the afternoon paper and saw that his name had been removed from the roll of advocates.[16] The police knew full well that this would be another crushing blow to the Red advocate. Then they took another step to aggravate the impact of this bad news. One of his "girlfriends" was arrested. The press carried the story and the police knew Fischer would get the news.

THE KEY IN VIOLET'S HANDBAG

On 9 November 1965, Brigadier van den Bergh gave the order to "hold Mrs. Weinberg". She was one of the many women in Fischer's life. Police surveillance had noted many females, especially young students, visiting his Waverley and Corlett Drive hideouts.

Many of them were unknown to the police. Someone described Fischer as a high priest who led a personality cult and his worshippers were both male and female.

Violet Weinberg was picked up by the police at her office on the corner of Market and Troye streets in Johannesburg. She was held under the 180-day detention clause of the General Law Amendment Act. After calling at her house in Plantation Road, Gardens, she was taken to Central Prison in Pretoria.

Standing by as the prison matron was checking Violet's personal articles, the police officer noticed something. A thought flashed through his mind. "Wait, is that a key?" he inquired. With that the matron handed him the key from Violet's handbag. Pushing it into his pocket he left the room. Later the police found it was the key to the door of Fischer's secret hideout in Corlett Drive. Even a tiny key proved her association with Fischer.

The Star

Fischer's daughter Ilse and Sholto Cross on their way to police headquarters for questioning. Both were listed in August 1967

Violet Weinberg, "friend" of Bram Fischer and listed as a communist in August 1967

"ARREST BRAM FISCHER"

Two days after the arrest of Violet Weinberg, on 11 November 1965, Brigadier van den Bergh phoned a fellow officer in Pretoria and broke the grand news, "You must go and arrest Bram Fischer at 215 Corlett Drive, Bramley, in Johannesburg." The police in Johannesburg were astounded at such an order. As far as they knew, no one had yet located Fischer's hiding place. They were later to learn that Fischer had been under surveillance since 25 June. The Johannesburg police were delighted by the news.

Brigadier van den Bergh had theorized that Fischer would learn of Violet Weinberg's arrest and realize the possibility that the key to his house may be found. They were correct. Between the time of her arrest and his own, he rented another house, at 18 Eastwood Road, Dunkeld. This was another security measure. Fischer mused: "No one has a key to this new location." He had considered the faint possibility of the police tracing the key to his house. He immediately adopted the new name of Peter West and opened an account at the Netherlands Bank in that name. Little did "Mr. West" know that he was under continual observation.

He did not move into his new house. On Thursday, 11 November 1965, shortly before 6 p.m., twenty-one security policemen directed by Colonel P. J. Venter, Captain Johannes Broodryk and Lieutenant Roelf van Rensburg, raided 215 Corlett Drive. Police were

stationed in bushes, on a nearby rooftop and across the road. Fischer drove out and as he approached the corner of Stella Street and Oakland Drive, the police closed in. The first man to reach Fischer's car was a young, blond detective, followed by a senior officer. "What is all this about?" he enquired. "We want you, Mr. Fischer," came the young policeman's devastating reply. As the police were searching his car, they were speaking in Afrikaans. Fischer pretended not to understand the language (his mother tongue) and shouted: "What are they saying?"

Finally, after a long string of pretences, Fischer admitted that he was not Mr. Black. Obviously defeated, the former Q.C. was escorted to a waiting police car and taken back to his house on Corlett Drive. With this the countrywide drama of the Bram Fischer manhunt ended.[17]

A thorough search of his car and house provided the police with stacks of documentation for use in the forthcoming court case. Included in the vast collection were disguise equipment, coded letters of various sorts, face creams, tan-in-a-minute lotion, mascara, face powder, two false beards, a wig, glasses, skipping rope, cash, savings account books, cheque books, false documents, communist party papers and documents, and typed articles intended for the CPSA's banned African Communist. In a moment of humour, amid the utter seriousness of the whole affair, a witty policeman discovered a pair of frilly lady's panties in the bedroom and asked Fischer: "You wear this, Bram?" Fischer did not think it very funny. Apart from these, "the police moved some bizarre articles from his house".[18] Photographs of several of the articles discovered by the police are reproduced in this chapter.

Sunday Times

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Stoddart. This young British couple were shocked to learn they were "just a wall away" from South Africa's most wanted man

Female shoes, hat and wig, part of Fischer's disguise

VIOLET'S SECRET UNDERGROUND ROOM

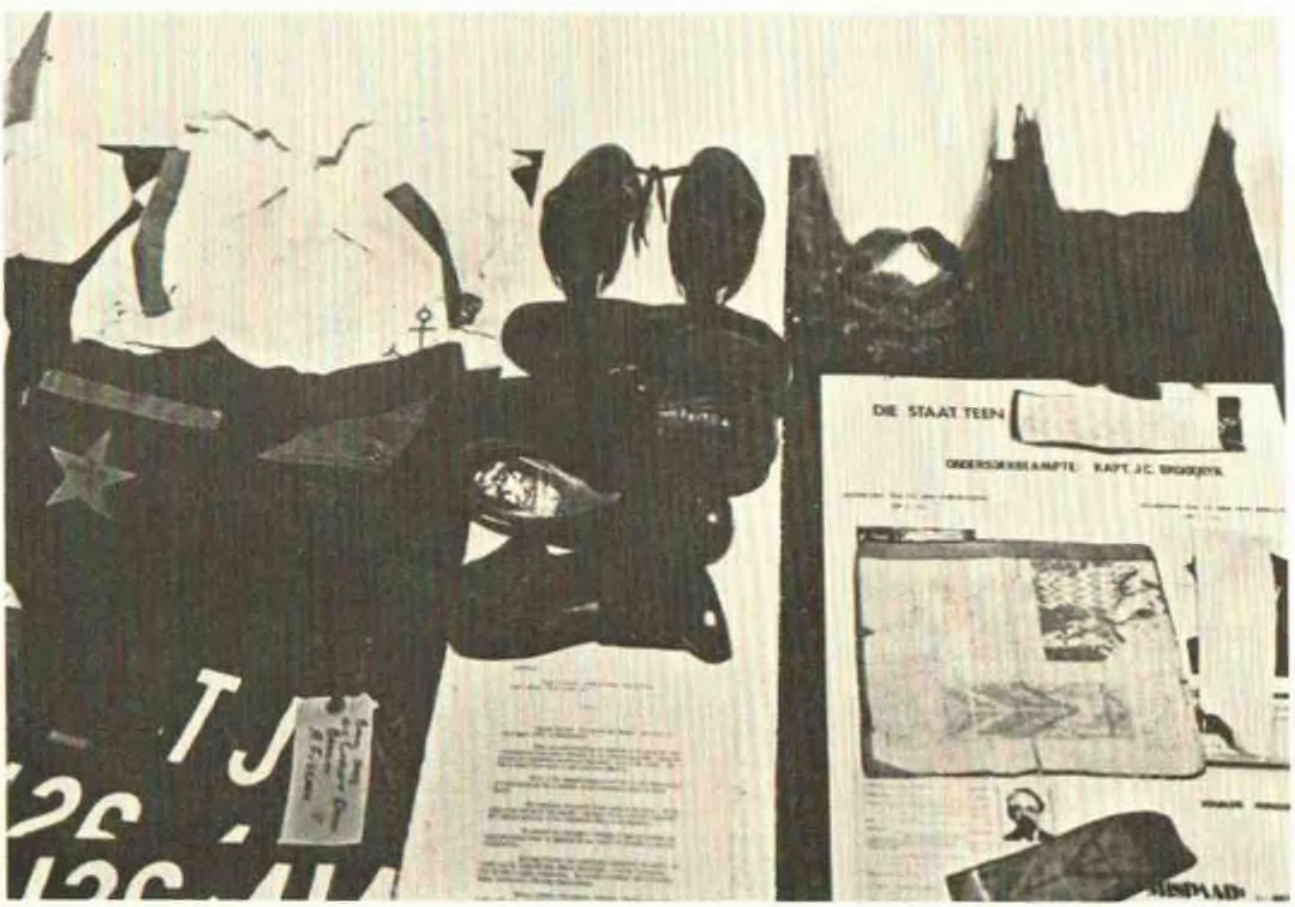
Following the arrest of Fischer, news spread across South Africa and round the world of his capture. The day after his arrest, two of the comrades that had visited his hideout fled the country for London. They were Ralph and Minnie Seppel. Others suddenly took the flight to freedom.

> "On the evening of 17 November 1965, a few days after Fischer's arrest, Captain Broodryk collected Mrs. V. Weinberg from the Central Prison, Pretoria, and took her to her house in Plantation Road, Gardens, in Johannesburg."[19]

She led the policemen into the bedroom. To their amazement, she went to the right-hand corner of the room, pushed aside a large chair and, kneeling down, slowly opened a secret door in the floor. In a room below, the police discovered several interesting items: there was a Royal typewriter in a plastic cover and a stack of books used by the CPSA leadership, especially Fischer, in coding letters. The books were The Problem of the

Rapport

Fischer's disguise equipment included suntan lotion, glasses, female gloves, dresses and various other items



Rapport

False beards, female shoes and underclothing, fake registration plates, and various documents used while the Red ex-advocate was in hiding.

Distressed Areas; Spain in Revolt; Cry, The Beloved Country; H.M.S. Ulysses; and a final one entitled Wax Shot Chronicle. As Fischer's coded letters were filled with words and sentences from these books, it was alleged by the prosecution that Weinberg and Fischer had "shared in the conspiracy". The mystery of the women's clothing in Fischer's house was explained as belonging to his "girlfriends". Various other items remained a mystery, but that did not deter many from drawing their own conclusions.

A few weeks after Fischer's disappearance on 25 January 1965, an old woman wearing a blue hat was seen sitting in court in a corner of the public gallery. It was while Fischer's comrades were facing the music for their deeds. She acted strangely and, after looking at the accused marching in, she suddenly left. There was speculation that this was Fischer in another disguise. There was no proof. Yet the blue hat, wig, eyelashes and other female items found in his house seemingly fit the description of the "little old woman".[20]

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

1. *Bram Fischer. The Man with Two Faces*
   A.P.B., Johannesburg 1966
   By Chris Vermaak, p. 174
2. Edited from
   The Amazing Mr. Fischer
   Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1966
   By G. Ludi and B. Grobbelaar, pp. 82-87
3. *Traitor's End*
   Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd., Cape Town 1970
   By N. Weyl, p. 147
4. It was later established in court that Miss Doreen Tucker, another 180-day detainee, was involved in handling secret party funds. She opened a private banking account at a Johannesburg building society at the request of Ivan Schermbrucker. In February 1965, a month after Fischer's disappearance, Tucker met Violet Weinberg in a John Orr's cloakroom and handed her a briefcase containing R10000. Tucker received the briefcase at a "Mr. Benjamin's shop". (Number 2, pp. 103-104) Tucker, like so many Reds of those days, was a product of the COD and was involved in the Freedom Charter event. She was listed along with Pixie, the wife of "Mr. Benjamin". (*Government Gazette*, 25 August 1967, p. 14)
5. Expert police work later traced Anne to her parents' address in Eighth Avenue, Lower Houghton. Her father proved fully co-operative with the police and was shocked to learn of his daughter's "left-wing" activities. Anne had been a student at Wits University, where she had graduated in the arts. She had joined the Liberal Party and later the CPSA. She strongly denied any knowledge of Fischer's violent, revolutionary plans and actions. Despite her father's pleas, she refused to return to South Africa.
6. Unpublished document on the CPSA by Gerard Ludi, November 1975, pages not numbered.
7. Number 1, p. 191
8. Number 1, p. 189
9. Number 2, p. 86
10. The young British couple living next to Fischer, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Stoddard, were shocked to learn that they were so close to South Africa's most wanted man, just a "wall away". (*Sunday Times*, 14 November 1965)
11. Number 2, p. 86
12. Fischer did rent this house but was arrested before he could move in.
13. The KGB prepared numerous forged documents for their dupes and agents already in South Africa, or for those seeking entrance. Among the number were Loginov, Breytenbach, April, Kozlov and others. Several of the forged documents are illustrated in this book. (See chapters 24 and 28)
14. Number 1, p. 196
15. *Sunday Times*, 21 November 1965
16. The first word from Fischer after jumping bail was a 13-page letter asking "friends" to prevent his name being removed from the roll. (*The Star*, 3 March 1965)
17. *The Star*, 12 November 1965, carried a major front-page story with photographs of Fischer's capture. The same year in which Fischer was captured, the "comrades" received a serious blow when Rowley Arenstein and several Natal and Wits students were arrested. Among them were Jeff Rudin, David Finkelstein and Dave Ernst. (Number 6 above)
18. Number 1, p. 216

19. Number 1, p. 218
20. Number 1, p. 219

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

THE TRIAL, SENTENCING AND DEATH OF FISCHER

FISCHER IN REGIONAL COURT

On 26 January 1966, shortly after midday, the doors were opened at the Johannesburg Regional Court. The seating accommodation was all taken. The room was filled to capacity. Mr. C. S. Allen, a grey-haired impressive figure, quietly took his place on the bench. The stage was set for the preparatory examination of allegations which the State claimed against Fischer.

The captured ex-advocate had arrived at the court some hours earlier. He was under the supervision of Captain Broodryk and numerous other policemen. Well-dressed in a black suit and obvious bright red tie, it was his first public appearance following his arrest some days previously. The curious crowd was shocked at the change in Fischer's appearance. No longer a full-faced and well-built stocky figure, he was thin, pale and practically bald. The remnants of his hair dye were growing out and plastic surgery had altered his facial appearance. The curious spectators leaned forward to get a look at South Africa's most wanted man. The leader of the now shattered CPSA looked like a man in his sixties. After many months of hiding and secret party activities, Fischer once again faced Mr. J. H. Liebenberg. It was another dramatic moment in South African legal history.

LIEBENBERG READS THE INDICTMENT

In his rather short opening address, Mr. Liebenberg told the court the following:

> "The sabotage count alleges that, from the middle of 1962 to September 1964 at Rivonia and Johannesburg, the accused, while a member of the South African Communist Party, together with others, conspired with the ANC and the Umkhonto we Sizwe to further recruitment of persons for instruction and training in the preparation, manufacture and use of explosives to commit acts of violence and destruction in South Africa, that he trained and instructed them in the art of warfare, including guerrilla warfare and military training generally, for purposes of causing a violent revolution in the Republic."[1]

Included in the indictment were allegations that Fischer had conspired to destroy State property, buildings and even burn down the residences of various State employees. Also that he took part in the actions of certain banned organizations and that he worked to bring about in South Africa a Marxist-type government, based on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Fischer sat impassively as the charges were read off, but his countenance suddenly changed as Mr. Liebenberg raised his head and spoke: "The State calls Bartholomew Hlapane." Stepping forward in a conspicuous manner, the neatly dressed Hlapane moved into the witness box. His long drawn-out testimony was devastating. He told everything from the viewpoint of a former member of the central committee of the CPSA.

He spoke of Fischer, the treasurer of the CPSA, of his chairing party meetings shouting

at the comrades, pounding the table with his fists, cursing and raving. Fischer had given orders to "burn the mealies and sugar cane". Hlapane told of Fischer's part in approving the deadly operations of Umkhonto and in bringing money into South Africa for use by the CPSA. His words fell like peals of thunder across the court. Hlapane and Fischer had worked side-by-side in the CPSA. Hlapane had been sickened by the foul treatment he had received from the white communists, and turned State witness. Fischer was trapped. His defence advocate, Mr. G. Bizos, sat in silence.

OTHER WITNESSES

Captain Broodryk gave evidence. He produced a letter Fischer had sent to the Rev. Beyers Naude, director of the (now banned) Christian Institute. This organization was a channel for turmoil within South Africa and was finally closed down by government order. Broodryk told the court of a key found in the handbag of Violet Weinberg. This key was later found to fit the door of Fischer's 215 Corlett Drive hideout.

Doreen Tucker almost broke into tears as she spoke from the witness box. She confessed membership of the COD from 1953-1954. She had handled large amounts of money for the CPSA and its friends. Tucker had been in touch with Canon Collins of Christian Action in London.

Leslie Schermbrucker was called to the witness box, but refused to give evidence. Mr. Allen sentenced her to a term of 300 days' imprisonment for her trouble.

Leslie Schermbrucker refused to give evidence at Fischer's trial and was sentenced to 300 days' imprisonment

Among the many witnesses were two Indians, who told of plans to house a large communist book collection. Houses were hired in Beit, Wolhuter and Betty streets to

accommodate the books and pamphlets.[2] A mountain of evidence was building up against Fischer. Policeman Karel Dirker gave evidence regarding various party documents which he had collected in the Rivonia raid. Then came a landslide of evidence from handwriting experts, code decipherers and others. Bank managers and building society officials were also called in.

At the end of the preliminary examination, Fischer stood and read a long propaganda statement. In it, he attempted to exonerate each person or organization the prosecution had mentioned in its evidence. There was an icy silence in the court. Completing the paper, he took his seat again. The magistrate, Mr. Allen, speaking in a soft voice, said: "The accused will then be committed for trial as charged. In the meantime, he will be detained in Pretoria jail." The first Fischer court drama was over.

Captain Broodryk escorts Fischer into the Palace of Justice for his final trial

IN THE PALACE OF JUSTICE

The date was 23 March 1966. Bram Fischer was led in and found himself sitting in the dock of G court, a place very familiar to the former advocate.[3] Often he had stood here defending others; now he was fighting for his own life. Mr. S. Kentridge, S.C., acted for Fischer. Mr. Justice W. G. Boshoff, who had convicted members of the High Command of Umkhonto, took his place on the bench. Oddly enough, the dock had been specially constructed for the Rivonia trial, in which Fischer had fought to save his comrades. However, he had failed. Now, he found himself in the same position.

Observers from several foreign embassies were present. Mr. Ernest Goodman, of the Michigan State Bar of America, was also present as an observer. Blacks were

Rapport

The crowds pack the hallway outside G court, waiting for Fischer's trial to commence

conspicuously absent in the gallery. Judge Boshoff and every person in the room anxiously looked on. The drama began.

Petrus Beyleveld (now a free man) gave State's evidence against his former comrade. Beyleveld was questioned by Mr. Kentridge. But his evidence only heaped further condemnation upon Fischer. One of the former gardeners at Rivonia farm gave evidence. The African spoke of many things, including passing money "to Fischer . . . on Goldreich's instructions . . ."[4] The short and again well-dressed Hlapane was called forward and repeated his previous statement. When the parade of witnesses was over, Fischer was stunned. Now his turn came to speak, as he stepped into the dock with his hand full of notes. The atmosphere was electric as he opened his mouth to speak: "I plead not guilty!"

He continued for more than four hours! As expected, it was a long propaganda speech regarding the problems of South Africa. He claimed the answer to them was "Marxism". The court was perfectly silent as the voice of Fischer echoed through the room. Upon completion of his long address, he turned to the place where his children were seated and winked at them. Later that afternoon, Advocate Liebenberg replied to Fischer's statements. According to South African law, as Fischer had spoken from the dock, he could not be cross-examined by the prosecutor. Closing his remarks, Mr. Liebenberg stated:

> "Either Fischer is not prepared to reveal the secrets of the communist party or he does not want his reputation to suffer."[5]

All that remained was the verdict.

THE VERDICT

Fischer was found guilty on fifteen counts. For this occasion the court was packed with curious people who wanted to hear the verdict. It was 6 May 1966. Judge Boshoff, wearing the scarlet robes of a judge presiding over a criminal court, leaned forward to give the final word. He began: "Meting out punishment is always a difficult task . . ." In his address, he covered the movements, associations and actions of the CPSA and Fischer's links with them. Fischer's handling of large amounts of money for the party was emphasized, and the CPSA's plans for the "armed overthrow of the white state". His crimes were a danger to the established order of South Africa. Judge Boshoff's voice fell like a hammer with the words "life imprisonment"![6]

Fischer sat quietly and showed no emotion. Upon hearing these words, his advocate, Mr. Bizos, turned round and stared at his client. As the judge left the bench, Fischer turned to his children and "raised his hand in the clenched-fist salute".[7] Still a Marxist-Leninist and still defiant, he was led away by three policemen. The beast of communism he had worked so hard to build was now killing him.

From abroad came a stream of protests, challenges and demands. Many were from behind the Iron Curtain, others from Western countries, leftist organizations, churches, journalists, artists, women's organizations and professors. The Rev. Nelson Grey wrote in the June 1966 issue of Rally (a British liberal religious publication):

> "Thank God for such a man and pray for him. If he is a communist, we could do with a lot more like him in the Christian Church."[8]

Later, in 1967, Moscow announced that the 1966 Lenin Peace Prize had been awarded to Fischer. The Kremlin claimed him as its son.

Tandem – London

Leftists, radicals, communists and others clamoured for the "release of Fischer, Mandela" and other South Africans. This protest occurred in the streets of London. Note the spelling of Fischer's name! Several faces are blacked out to comply with "Section 44 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959), as amended"

"RELEASE BRAM FISCHER"

During the month of April 1973, from within the quarters of liberalism the call came forth for the release of Fischer from prison.

> "The Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelser, had been approached following a plea for amnesty for Fischer by Mrs. Helen Suzman MP, Archbishop Denis Hurley, and Barend van Niekerk, Professor of Law at the University of Natal."[9]

During the remainder of 1973 the call for the release of Fischer picked up momentum as the liberals continued to make their voices heard.

Other persons to call for clemency for the Red ex-advocate were Mr. Leo Marquard, former vice-chairman of the Liberal Party, Mr. Leslie Blackwell, Mr. James Hamilton Russel, along with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.[10] Then, a few days later, a voice came from the campus of Wits University:

> "A professor of international law at the University of Witwatersrand has called for the sentences of all political prisoners to be reviewed, and for the release of Bram Fischer and Govan Mbeki — both serving life sentences."[11]

Professor John Dugard said: "It would be reasonable to grant clemency for these two men because of their age."[12] One wonders how "age" would have mellowed the hellish doctrine of communism in either Fischer or Mbeki. Obviously it did not in Fischer's case, for when he died, communist publications round the world heralded him as their own. Radio Moscow paid a lengthy tribute to the "dead South African communist leader".[13]

Even the famous heart surgeon, Dr. Chris Barnard, rebuked two leading politicians, Mr. Mike Mitchell and Mr. Marais Steyn, "for their opposition to efforts to obtain the release of Fischer".[14]

Fischer died of cancer on 8 May 1975 at his brother's home in Bloemfontein. The Minister of Prisons had issued permission for him to visit his brother for one month. This was accomplished by means of a South African Air Force Dakota, which flew the dying man to Bloemfontein. After his death, portions of the communist world went into a period of mourning. At the "non-religious funeral" were his two daughters, Ruth and Ilse, his son-in-law, Dr. Tim Wilson, his three brothers, Mrs. Helen Joseph, Mr. A.I. Maisels, Q.C., who was involved in the treason trial, the Rev. Douglas C. Thompson, one of the treason trial accused, and a few others. Several telegrams were read out by Mr. Arthur Chaskalson, the Johannesburg advocate. "Eulogies written by Andre Brink and Hugh Lewin were given at the funeral." Brink said: "Bram's life was not wasted" and he spoke of the need of "a sacrifice before sanity and progress can be restored to a corrupt, destructive society".[15] The life of Fischer had ended. He was now in eternity where communism or capitalism were not the issues!

THE RAPE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE CPSA

Some two years after the sentencing of Fischer, events in Eastern Europe were looking very ugly for the country of Czechoslovakia. On 5 January 1968, the KGB forced the first secretary of the Czech Communist Party to resign. Alexander Dubcek, another party leader, was put in his place. To the shock of Moscow and her KGB lords, Dubcek had encouraged extensive democratic reforms, including freedom of speech, of the press, and the complete rehabilitation of all the victims of political persecution.

Despite heated pressure from Moscow burning in their faces, Dubcek and his collaborators refused to bow to the orders of the Kremlin.

A Soviet officer draws his pistol on a young Czech objecting to the rape of his country in 1968

On the nights of 20-21 August 1968, Soviet and various other Warsaw Pact tanks and troops invaded Czechoslovakia. After many pitched battles and the loss of life and property, the "spring thaw" was over. The short-lived, but sweet taste of freedom was ended for the people of that country. The iron fist of Marxism-Leninism had destroyed their hopes of a better life.

Various communist parties across the world were forced to make a public comment on the invasion of that country. The CPSA, being totally enslaved to Moscow, issued a statement from its central committee. It praised the Soviet Union for offering assistance in solving the problems in Czechoslovakia.[16]

Meanwhile, a KGB-trained Czechoslovakian agent was preparing to enter South Africa, under direct orders of Moscow.

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

1. *Bram Fischer, The Man With Two Faces*
   A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg 1966
   By Chris Vermaak, p. 223
   Umkhonto we Sizwe has been under communist control from its beginning. Almost twenty years after Fischer's trial the popular world communist publication, *World Marxist Review*, December 1982, p. 24 stated: "There are many communists among the Umkhonto we Sizwe combat units, including their commanders."
2. *The Amazing Mr. Fischer*
   Nasionale Boekhandel, Cape Town 1966
   By G. Ludi and B. Grobbelaar, p. 104
3. When Fischer entered court "a wall of forty-five armed Special Branch policemen ringed him in". (*The Star*, 15 November 1966)
4. First documentation of Number 1, p. 228
5. Number 2, p. 132
6. Number 2, p. 133
7. Number 2, p. 137
8. *South Africa, A Skunk among Nations*
   Tandem, London 1975
   By Les de Villiers, p. 83
9. *The Star*, 24 April 1973
10. *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 April 1973
11. *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 April 1973
12. *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 April 1973
13. *Bulletin*, The Novosti Press Agency, May 1975, p.1
14. *Sunday Times*, 29 April 1973
15. *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 May 1975. *The Friend*, 11 March 1975, carried a comprehensive article on Fischer, complete with photographs of his removal from the ambulance to his brother's house from the Air Force base at Bloemfontein.
    Brink's comments about a "corrupt and destructive society" are interesting in view of opinions of some of his own writings. A few months following Fischer's funeral several of his works were described as "Every page is evil..." (*Sunday Times*, 27 January 1974.) See also *Sunday Times*, 7 December 1975, for more pungent descriptions of some of Brink's writings.
16. These statements are found in various issues of the *African Communist* during the latter portion of 1968.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

A CZECH SECRET AGENT: THE MURDER OF DR. VERWOERD

AGENT "ROBEK" VISITS SOUTH AFRICA

The intrigues of Fischer and his comrades provided the ideal "distraction" for the KGB to send another spy to South Africa, and this they did. This time it was a Czech secret agent stationed in Austria.

All intelligence operations of the Eastern bloc are totally directed by the Russian KGB. During the serious troubles of the early 1960s the eyes of Moscow were fixed on South Africa. They expected a "revolution to occur among the working classes of the country". Among the various types of secret agents sent to the country during this period was a young, well-trained Czech named Jaro Hladik. (His name has at least three different spellings in the documentations.)

While working undercover as a desk clerk in a hotel in Salzburg, Austria, Hladik received orders from his Red superiors in the Czech secret police (STB) that he was to become interested in South Africa, as they were "anticipating a revolution".[1] The STB informed him that "a secret agent was needed to point the developments in a communist direction". At the hotel where he worked, he met a South African businessman who invited him to his home. Hladik carefully expressed interest in going to South Africa and through his new friend was able to obtain a visa. (This often happens to unsuspecting South Africans travelling overseas.)

In the autumn of 1962 (while agent Ludi was at work within the ranks of the banned CPSA) Hladik boarded a ship for Cape Town. On the journey, he met a lovely South African girl and, even before the ship arrived in Cape Town, they were discussing marriage. After their marriage and a honeymoon trip to Europe, Hladik returned to Johannesburg and was given a job in the German School. This was between 1962 and part of 1965. They were living in a little flat in De Villiers Street.[2] His wife knew nothing of his secret life. She was also a teacher. Hladik confessed he had difficulty in "getting away from his wife" in order to receive the secret espionage transmissions sent to him each week from STB headquarters in faraway Prague. In the spring of 1964, a child was born. This added more difficulties to the Red agent's life. On orders received from his superiors, he left South Africa in 1965 (while the search was on for Fischer) and returned to Vienna with his wife and child.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY AND DEFECTION

The records of the South African Embassy in Vienna, Austria, show that "Janos Hladik" alias "Robek" was employed at the embassy in 1968 as a translator. He was also said to have had "close contact with the Department of Information in Pretoria".[3] Later, after having been sent to Sweden to "infiltrate" the Swedish Social Democratic Party, he

sent his family back to South Africa in early 1973. Overcome by the urge to defect to the Free World while staying in a hotel room in Stockholm, he put his story down on paper and sent it to the Swedish Security Police. On 10 June 1973, they knocked on his door and his career ended as an espionage agent for the STB. With this the KGB lost another agent.

When the news of his defection was released across the world, the South African Police were questioned about his presence, conduct and contacts in the Republic during the period 1962 to 1965. Then the truth came out:

> "The Commissioner of Police, General Theo Crous, disclosed this week that Hladik — the Czech spy who defected to the West — was under Security Police surveillance when he lived in South Africa. He said that if Hladik had worked as a secret agent in South Africa, he was apparently an ineffective one."[4]

One report stated that the chief of the Security Police, Brigadier Gert Prinsloo, was reluctant to speak about Hladik, but he admitted that the Security Police had photographs of him. He would not permit these to be published, however.[5] There is some mystery attached to the case, as Hladik's actual work and accomplishments for the STB-KGB are too vague. Whatever he accomplished in South Africa had either been kept top secret, or was worthless in the service of Soviet-Czech communism against the country.

Rand Daily Mail

Janos Hladik, alias Robek, sent to South Africa in 1962 by the STB (Czech Secret Police). He married a South African girl and later defected while in Sweden

Department of Information

Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, murdered by Tsafendas, the "ineffective" communist

THE MURDER OF DR. VERWOERD

Bram Fischer was sentenced to life imprisonment. Hladik had left the country. But all was not well. New and deeper sorrows awaited South Africa. On Tuesday, 6 September 1966, at 2.14 p.m. the call bells began to sound to summon the MPs into the Parliament Building at Cape Town. There was a happy and pleasant atmosphere among South Africa's political leaders and the opposition as they slowly walked into the chamber and took their respective seats, preparing for the day's session. Death was only a few moments away! One of South Africa's most famous political leaders took his seat; Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd settled down on the Prime Minister's bench.

Slowly, a man dressed in the uniform of parliamentary messenger moved towards the Prime Minister. Swift as lightning he whipped out a sheath-knife and plunged it four times into Dr. Verwoerd's head, chest, neck and throat. The abnormal stir aroused the attention of all in the chamber. The bizarre spectacle stunned the Members of Parliament. In an instant, four MPs who were medical doctors leaped to their wounded leader's side. Demetrio Tsafendas, the uniformed assassin, tried to escape from the scene. Pandemonium exploded over the entire chamber. Swiftly, the Minister of Tourism, Forestry and Sport, Mr. Frank Waring, and the Minister of Finance, Dr. Eben Dönges, fell upon Tsafendas. He swung his weapon wildly, slashing the trousers of Mr. Waring. Mr. Cas Greyling, MP for Carletonville, prostrated the killer on the floor with one

powerful blow to the head. The knife was torn from his hand. The Prime Minister, covered with blood, lay back in his seat, his head resting on the back of the bench. He was already dead. His wife, Mrs. Betsie Verwoerd, raced to his side and kissed him tenderly. The fighting, blood-covered Tsafendas was dragged from the building.[6] With this swift turn of events, South Africa's Prime Minister had been murdered. Who was behind the deed? Was it the work of the communists? Their hatred for Dr. Verwoerd was well known.

Department of Information

Dr. Verwoerd standing at the spot where he was later murdered

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

A full enquiry was ordered by the government into the complete life and background of Tsafendas. The following facts are edited from the commission's report.[7]

Demetrio Tsafendas was born on 14 January 1918 in Lourenco Marques. He was sent to Egypt as a child and lived there for about six years with his paternal grandmother. He returned to Lourenco Marques in about 1925 and lived with his father and stepmother. In February 1931, he was sent to the Transvaal to be educated. Tsafendas stated that he had entered the Transvaal in 1936 at the age of about eighteen.

A letter from the South African Consular-General in Lourenco Marques to the Deputy Commissioner of Police (at that time stationed in Johannesburg), dated 29 June 1937, reads:

> "Demitrios Tsafantakis (spelling in letter) was employed in a Lourenco Marques kiosk ... but was dismissed owing to his communistic leanings. It is quite possible that he may be engaged in disseminating communistic propaganda. He said that he joined the communist party shortly before the 1939-1945 War and paid his membership fees regularly until he left the country in 1941."

He had attended meetings on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall and remembered the names of speakers such as Wolfson and Joffe.

During the period 1942-1963, he was working as a seaman, travelling from Canada and the United States. Often arrested, he was placed in various mental hospitals and then

deported. He tried to re-enter the Union of South Africa, but was refused. He was in France, Greece, Sweden and Denmark. During February 1955, he was admitted to a hospital in Germany for "tapeworms living in his stomach which he could hear talking to him". He attempted to commit suicide during the same month by swallowing twenty sleeping-pills. On 11 September 1959, his name was placed on the "stop list", or so-called "blacklist" of the South African Department of Interior to prevent a visa being issued for entrance into the country.

Meanwhile, he visited England and was seen in the company of various leftist groups. Tsafendas later confessed that he had heard in private conversation mention that the Prime Minister of South Africa should be shot. While in England, he attended meetings of various Red fronts and the London Anti-Apartheid Movement. Then he visited Egypt, Turkey and back to Greece. There is no proof that he ever visited Russia, and he denied any knowledge of the Russian language. This popular story proved to be a total rumour.

TSAFENDAS RETURNS TO SOUTH AFRICA

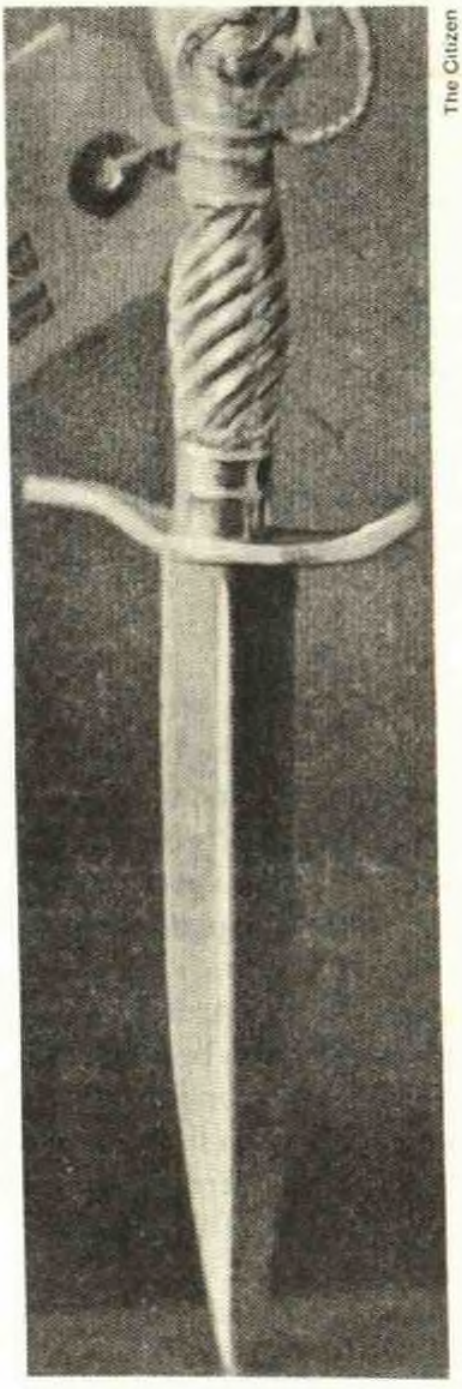
On 8 March 1965, he landed at Durban aboard the Karanja, sailing from Mozambique. He was carrying a valid return visa issued on 10 July 1964. The officer at the Department of Interior had a "stop list" which — as mentioned above — carried Tsafendas's name. It could not be established which of the four officers on duty checked the "stop list" and missed his name. It was concluded that the officer that checked the passenger list of the Karanja against the "stop list" of prohibited persons had been negligent in not detecting his name. In the following months Tsafendas wandered round South Africa.

He was allegedly often seen in the office of the Durban lawyer, Rowley Arenstein, who has been previously mentioned. He denied such visits. Tsafendas applied to be reclassified as a coloured and during the same period actually received a marriage proposal by mail. He was in and out of court many times and changed his job at least seven times and his place of residence at least eleven. He slept in fire stations and on park benches, begged money and was kicked out of almost every lodging place after a few days. This is a unique record for a "highly trained Russian intelligence officer", to say the least.

On that fateful day of 6 September 1966, Tsafendas left work and visited two shops in Cape Town. He purchased two knives, for a total price of R13,30. He returned to his work as a parliamentary messenger unnoticed. He had reported for duty in this "new job" on 1 August 1966 at 7.45 a.m. Neither the chief messenger nor the two senior messengers had any reason to suspect that he was mentally deranged. During his short time of employment he had acted normally.

Two days before he murdered Dr. Verwoerd, he attended a church service in a hall in Pinelands. He was reported to have been normal during this service. On Monday, the day before the murder, he was spotted "pacing up and down the road and appeared to be worried".

Tsafendas was brought before the Supreme Court on a charge of murder. After testimony by two psychologists and four psychiatrists, he was declared to be "suffering from schizophrenia". For years he had complained of a "large tapeworm living in his stomach causing pain and often talking to him"! After careful examination by a specialist physician, he was found to be healthy and "not to have a tapeworm". Later, he was placed "in the maximum security section of Pretoria Central Prison".[8] This move ended his activities. Despite his long stay in prison, it is a legal fact that Tsafendas "could still appear on a murder charge, provided psychiatrists are satisfied that he is in a fit mental state".[9]



The Citizen

The murder weapon used by Tsafendas

The Argus

The body of Dr. Verwoerd being carried from the Parliament building in Cape Town. Note circle, with policeman carrying the dagger which killed the Prime Minister

WERE THERE ACCOMPLICES?

For years various persons and organizations within South Africa and overseas have sought out those "behind Tsafendas".[10] The number one suspect is communism. In an interview with the former head of South Africa's intelligence service, General H. J. van den Bergh, he stated:

> "It is true that Tsafendas joined the CPSA in the late 1930s, but he was completely ineffective as a member of the party because he never really appreciated what communism was all about. He was totally incapable of converting other people to the communist cause and that is why they merely used him to fill the ranks whenever a street procession was mounted. I can tell you that no person in South African history has ever been interrogated as much as Tsafendas."[11]

Many people still believe that a "mastermind" engineered the murder of the Prime Minister on that dark day of 6 September. Rumours of "pay-offs", of Tsafendas having been "brainwashed while overseas", of "mysterious persons driving a black car... and speaking a strange language" were all a natural part of such a national tragedy.

The explanation given for the issuing of a "return visa" to Tsafendas on 10 July 1964 is feasible, but clearly due to neglect or simple carelessness. Miss G. Markram, an assistant in the department, was responsible for issuing the visa. Her explanation was: "I made a mistake when I issued the visa ... I did it unwittingly or that we were so busy at that time at the passport counter, that the mistake slipped in when I perhaps looked under S as it (Tsafendas's name) is pronounced, instead of under T."[12] There was no proof or even the slightest suggestion of a "secret conspiracy" regarding the issue of the visa.

A week after the murder the entire country was ablaze with scores of rumours about who was behind the death. There were hundreds of answers to this question. Few, if any, were sensible. Major newspapers all carried speculation regarding Dr. Verwoerd's death and the reason for his killing. Certain "experts" began to survey the whole event and came forward with the explanation that it was a plot of the CPSA, due to the Prime Minister's firm stand against the party and its many friends. One group still propagates the "extensive knowledge" that "Tsafendas was a Russian M-Aparat naval intelligence operator..." This was and still is widely believed among some South Africans. It is notable that this explanation has been spread by a certain false religious cult group.[13] Another rumour alleged that Tsafendas was a "knife expert".[14]

One can conclude that no "highly trained Soviet intelligence officer" of any level will walk into Parliament in broad daylight and stab the Prime Minister to death! Such actions are completely against any sort of "high intelligence training". One may reason in the reverse that an untrained crackpot who knows only the passion to kill, would attempt such a feat, but never a "highly trained intelligence officer" from any country on earth.

Scores of wild and wonderful theories have been given for the murder of the Prime Minister. They range across such groups as the Broederbond, the British government, the Soviets, the international bankers, the Chinese and some have even implicated the blacks of South Africa. However, the communists were first on the list, with Tsafendas being described as a "mere tool" chosen to do the dirty work.

One thing is clear in all the confusion: if the communists were responsible for his death, it was one of the greatest mistakes they ever made in South Africa. The man who took Dr. Verwoerd's place, Mr. John Vorster,[15] in his earlier years unleashed a ruthless campaign against every form of Marxism in South Africa. Moving from Verwoerd to Vorster, the Reds went from the frying pan into the fire. However, some allege that Vorster was part of a secret plot to remove Dr. Verwoerd!

The evidence seems clear that Demetrio Tsafendas was, and still is, mentally ill. A South African newspaper[16] carried a series of "exclusive" articles complete with photographs and personal interviews with Tsafendas. This newspaper gives a detailed story of the murderer and the overwhelming truth comes out that he is still mentally sick. He speaks continually of "a serpent, a tapeworm, a monster living in his stomach" which still talks to him after two decades! From the conservative Christian and bibilical view, there is the serious possibility that Tsafendas is demon-possessed.

All of this struck the nation only about five months after the sentencing of Fischer. As a result of Rivonia, Fischer, and now the death of Dr. Verwoerd,[17] people of the Republic had truly become "communist conscious". But this was not the end of the Red devil. Five months later there were more communist problems for South Africa — a Russian KGB agent, direct from Moscow!

THE CLOSING OF THE 1960s

As the 1960s began to wind down, the CPSA, from underground locations, concentrated on sending out copies of The African Communist and numerous leaflets calling on Africans to support the terrorists operating along the borders of South Africa. One leaflet, printed in England and distributed by local party cells, called on Africans to manufacture Molotov cocktails and throw these at unsuspecting whites. A detailed description of how to make a Molotov cocktail was included.

Another method of mass leaflet distribution used by the cells was the "letter bomb". Locating a busy non-white bus stop or station, the cell members carefully placed a tape recorder linked to a small timing device and a miniature bomb. While the tape played a typical ANC-CPSA message, a plastic bucket would explode, scattering thousands of propaganda leaflets into the nearby streets. This effort of the CPSA was badly broken when a number of Indians, among them Ahmed Timol,were arrested. At the subsequent trial, evidence of highly sophisticated secret methods of communications being used by the communists was brought to light.[18]

Before it was finally disbanded, the University Christian Movement (UCM) was almost totally under revolutionary control. The UCM was closed down on 11 July 1972, after the Commission into Certain Organizations had issued its findings.[19] The group was pushing for a "form of socialism", preaching "black theology", and, under the direction of the Rev. Basil Moore, had created a blasphemous and vulgar "liturgy" built around wild and erotic sexual fantasies.[20]

Not unexpectedly, this ecumenical students' organization was being sponsored by such groups as the Church of the Province of South Africa, the Roman Catholic Church, the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational churches and Anglo American.[21]

Some of the overseas donors were the World Student Christian Federation, the Student Christian Movement (Britain), and a regular string of liberal, non-Bible-believing ecumenical churches. Most of them are anti-Western and pro-socialist in some form. To no informed person's surprise, the powerful and wealthy American NCC had its finger in the UCM pie, along with a string of left-supporting USA organizations.[22]

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

1. These words have reference to one of the most critical steps in South Africa's battle against communism. This period is described in chapters 21-22. A concise report of the Czech agent Hladik is given in *F.C.I., Special Edition*, No. 857, April 1974, London. By 1965, things had reached such a serious point in South Africa that "the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace prepared a contingency plan for a United Nations invasion as a prelude to an internal uprising". (Quoted in *Africa Insight*, Africa Institute, Pretoria, Vol. 11 No 1, 1981, p. 51)
2. *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 January 1974
3. *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 January 1974
4. The *Rand Daily Mail* carried a series of excellent articles regarding Hladik. They are found in its issues of 23-29, January 1974.
5. *Sunday Times*, 27 January 1974
6. This paragraph edited from *The Citizen*, 20 October 1976.
7. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the circumstances of the death of the late Dr. The Honourable Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd*, Pretoria, dated 23 September 1966.
8. *The Citizen*, 26 October 1976
9. *Sunday Express*, 5 September 1971
10. *The Citizen*, 26 October 1976. *The Pretoria News*, 7 September 1966, carried an article entitled "Demetrio Red, they allege".
11. *The Citizen*, 26 October 1976
12. Number 7, p. 22
13. From a personal letter in the author's private files.
14. *The Pretoria News*, 6 September, carried a banner report of the death, including a story about the knife. The dagger is displayed at the Police Museum in Pretoria. It is photographically reproduced in this chapter.
15. On 13 September 1966, the National Party caucus met in Cape Town to unanimously elect the 51-year-old Minister of Justice as Dr. Verwoerd's successor. Mr. Vorster used "extraordinary methods" in dealing with communism.
16. *The Citizen*, 20, 22 and 26 October 1976.
17. One of the Afrikaans books dealing with his death is
    Die Sluipmoord op Dr. Verwoerd (The Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd)
    Strydpers Bpk., Pretoria 1975
    By B. M. Schoeman
18. Unpublished document on CPSA by Gerard Ludi, November 1975, pages not numbered.
19. *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 June 1975
20. *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 June 1975
21. *Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations, 4th-6th Interim Reports 1974-1975*, Pretoria, p. 129, under section marked University Christian Movement.
    See also the *East West Digest*, February 1973, pp. 131-136 for a special article dealing with the British Council of Churches and their involvement with the UCM.
    The Church Times, 23 October 1970, carried an "Article of Defence" and in it issued a call "to back violent action" in Southern Africa.
22. *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 June 1975

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

RUSSIA, YUGOSLAVIA, CHINA, CUBA AND BREYTENBACH

THE HANDSOME KGB SPY

With the murder of their Prime Minister still fresh in their minds, most concerned South Africans, of all race groups, wondered what would be next. They felt the communist threat was still near and dangerous. Meanwhile, back in Moscow, party bosses were thinking about South Africa. During the time of Rivonia, Fischer's trial and Dr. Verwoerd's death, the KGB were busy preparing more agents and terrorists to infiltrate the country. A handsome Russian was selected to enter as an "illegal", spend one year carrying out various espionage assignments and thus prepare his "background" and "legend" in order to enter his target country, the United States of America.

On 7 January 1967, less than a year after Fischer had been sentenced and four months after the Prime Minister's death, a South African Airways jet from Zurich, Switzerland, landed at Jan Smuts Airport. Among the scores of tourists aboard was a clean-cut, sharp-looking young Canadian. At least, his passport said he was a Canadian. In reality, he was not a Canadian but a Soviet KGB agent named Yuriy Nickolaevitch Loginov. His fake passport listed him as a Canadian citizen, Edmundas Trinka, born at Fort Whyte, Manitoba, Canada, on 24 January 1931. Little did the immigration official at Jan Smuts realise whose passport he was stamping. He welcomed KGB agent Loginov to South Africa.[1]

Passing through customs without having his suitcases examined, he cashed some money, made a reservation at the Victoria Hotel and took the airways bus to Johannesburg. He then strolled to his hotel room. In the weeks that followed, Loginov walked the streets, met a few people and surveyed the place in general. He visited the cinemas, concerts and even attended the Rand Easter Show. He watched a Wits University parade through the streets and took pictures of this event. He frequented the Johannesburg Public Library and did research trying to locate the names of persons no longer living, in order to use their identities for future illegal Soviet KGB agents. He also occupied himself locating "dead drops" for future KGB use. This handsome KGB agent was, in the meantime, receiving "bi-weekly radio broadcasts from Moscow" right in his Johannesburg hotel room. He later moved to the Grand Hotel and continued his work from there. Instructions continued to pour in from his KGB superiors in Moscow. Yuriy Loginov was busy about the Kremlin's work right in the heart of Johannesburg. South Africa's troubles with the KGB were not over.

What Loginov did not know was that others were watching him. Officers of the South African counter-intelligence were busy following his every move! West German Intelligence had sent prior word of his arrival in Johannesburg. He had been under observation from the time of his entrance into the country.

PROVINCE OF MANITOBA, CANADA

VITAL STATISTICS DIVISION

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH

BIRTH DATE

Jan. 16, 1931

REGISTRATION NO.

31-06-002159

NAME

EDMUNDAS TRINKA

BIRTH PLACE

Fort Whyte, Man.

REGISTRATION DATE | SEX | DATE ISSUED

Jan. 24, 1931 | M | May 26, 1966

CERTIFIED TO BE REGISTERED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, WINNIPEG, MANITOBA, CANADA

RECORDER

CERTIFICATE OF BIRTH

Howard Timmins

Self-portrait of Loginov taken in his Johannesburg flat and the fake birth certificate issued by the KGB and used by Loginov

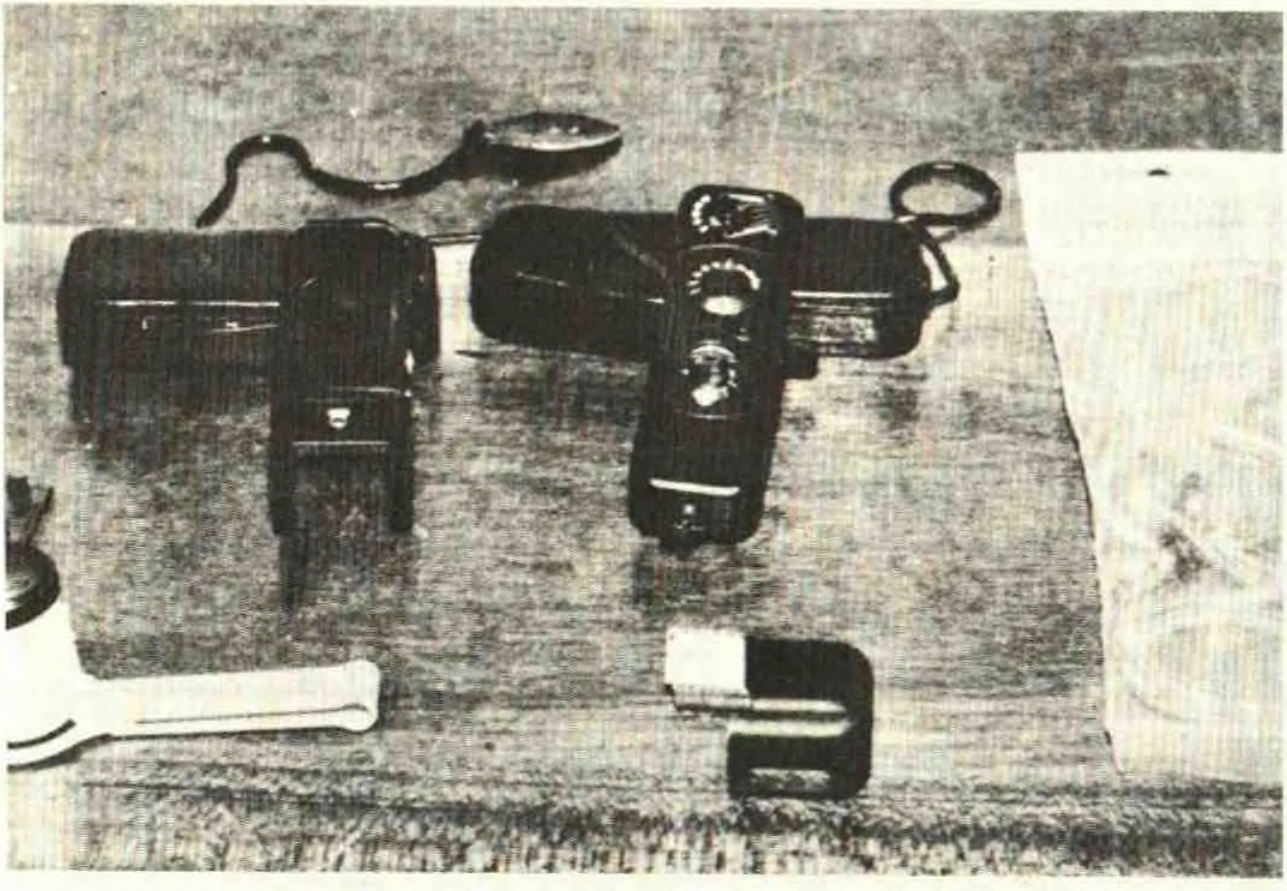
HIS ARREST AND SWAP

Loginov left South Africa for a short time on KGB instructions radioed from Moscow. He flew to Kenya and later returned to Johannesburg on 24 June 1967. Taking up residence at the Astor Hotel, he received more instructions via the KGB broadcast. He was to remain in South Africa for a year and establish a "cover" before moving into America. He pretended to be interested in establishing a business and met many new friends in the world of capitalism. In the meantime, he moved into a flat in Smit Street, Johannesburg. While in Nairobi, he was handed a list of "espionage missions to perform upon his return to South Africa".

However, his days were numbered. Less than a month after his return from Kenya, he was arrested by the South African Security Police. On a cold July night in 1967, Loginov was sitting on his bed, nursing a severe head cold, when he heard a gentle knock on his flat door. Responding, he was shocked to find a tall police officer: "I'm arresting you on a charge of spying!" At that very moment, coded messages were pouring into the room via Loginov's radio receiver. A South African Police radio expert, sitting two blocks down the street, was intercepting the radio messages.

After a three-hour search of Loginov's room, many articles were discovered. A Braun twelve-band radio set, F1000, powerful enough to pick up almost any broadcasting station in the world, a special tape recorder (VHER) used to record coded radio messages from Moscow, earphones, typewriter, a Minox camera, a pad used for taking down radio notes, a moneybelt, a solid gold cigarette lighter, a hollow Pakistani rupee and small pieces of film with a schedule of Moscow broadcasts were among the items confiscated.

Loginov stuck to his legend for some months. But during a period of his interrogation he was tricked by the questioning officer, who shouted at him: "Sprechen Sie Deutsch?" ("Do

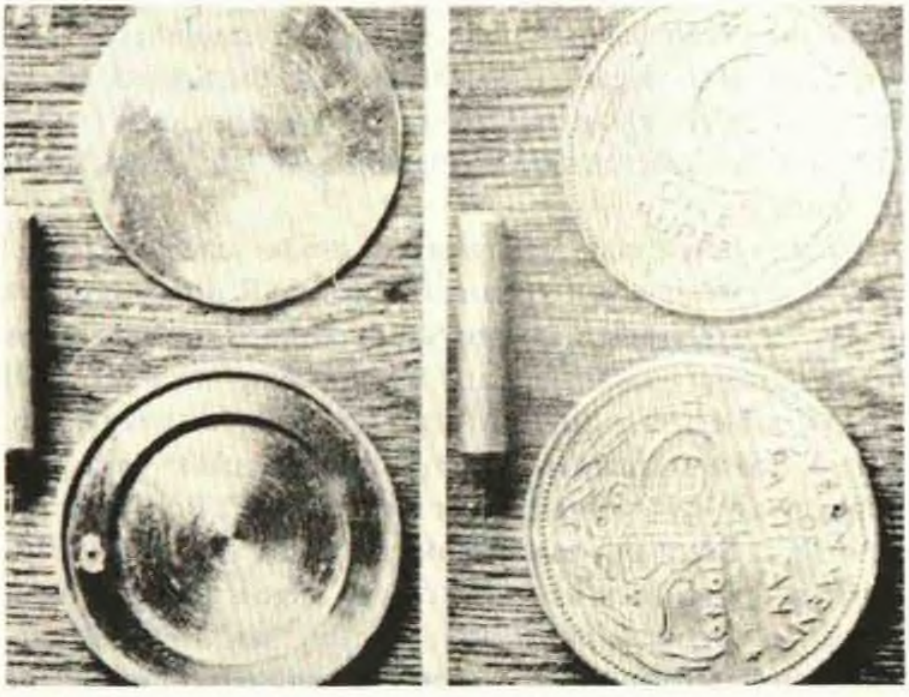


Howard Timmins

Loginov's spy camera and accessories

you speak German?") Angered and alarmed, Loginov whipped round on his heel and shouted back: "Neit!" (Russian for "no"). General van den Bergh smiled and replied: "Oh, you speak Russian!" Totally devastated and realising he had committed a major blunder, the defeated Loginov dropped into a chair and admitted being a Russian spy. A newspaper article said of him: "His wife was recruited by the KGB and sent to Cuba to perform certain intelligence missions against Cuba." Both he and his wife were in the service of the KGB. The same newspaper said of Loginov:

> "His training, missions, travels, contacts, instructions and secret mailing addresses involved Italy, Finland, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Kenya, Indonesia, Iran, Australia, France, Israel, Jordan, Libya, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Argentina and Brazil."[2]



Howard Timmins

Hollowed-out Pakistani rupees used by Loginov to transport microfilm.

Despite some reports, he was not a "small fish".

Some two years later, on 13 July 1969, he was flown to a secret location in Germany and swapped for 11 people being held by the Soviets. In the estimation of the KGB, he was worth the price of eleven for one. Since then, Loginov has been spotted at the Russian Embassy in Washington D.C., apparently once again involved in the work of the KGB.[3]

It would be naive to believe that Loginov told "everything" during interrogation. Nothing was said about other KGB "illegals" operating in South Africa during the time of his stay, or of those with whom Fischer and his friends must have had contact. However, the adventures of Loginov did not end the visits of the Kremlin personnel to South Africa. One outstanding defector from the iron grip of the KGB came to the country to share his story with the people of the land.

CAPTAIN MYAGKOV AND SOUTH AFRICA

Lubyanka prison in Moscow houses the headquarters for the Soviet KGB (secret police). From this "pit of hell" (so named by those who have passed through Lubyanka's

horrors and come out alive to tell the story) the long arms of the KGB reach across the world.

Frequently various KGB officers brave the storm and take the extreme risk of defecting to the freedom of the West. A few years ago, one such defector visited the Republic as the guest of the Freedom Foundation of South Africa. He was Captain Alexei Myagkov, a former KGB counter-intelligence officer. He was considered one of the "highest officers ever to defect to the West". His factual revelations regarding Africa, and especially South Africa, were astounding.[4]

Myagkov said there might be "as many as 400 KGB agents operating in South Africa".[5] His statement that "all the Soviet Union is doing in Angola and Mozambique is geared towards getting to South Africa" came as a revelation to the uninformed general public. Further, his statement that "the Russians would like to have the whole of Southern Africa, and South Africa is the key to that ambition" has been an established fact among security officials. However, one of the biggest problems faced by the Soviets was "not having an embassy in South Africa". Without this, they are greatly hindered in their attempts to subvert and overthrow the Government. As an alternative, "they work through embassies in neighbouring states".[6]

He further explained how certain young people are persuaded to leave South Africa and are then sent to a special school in Samarkand, USSR, for seven to twelve years of special training. They are then sent back into South Africa as servants of the KGB, where they get to work organizing conspiracies and manipulating other people He said "these people have caused trouble here in South Africa". One point he stressed is that these KGB trainees have been drilled and taught to "commit suicide should the going get too hard and they feel they might give away too much under interrogation". Possibly this would explain the "deaths" of some of South Africa's detainees over the years.[7]

In the whole of Southern Africa, he estimated that there is a total of between 3 000 and 5 000 active agents. An American publication revealed that "39 000 Soviet-bloc advisers are now being based in Southern Africa".[8] There are hundreds of espionage agents among this number.

WAYS OF ENTERING SOUTH AFRICA

As in the case of Loginov, entrance into any target country is relatively easy. One can be sure that among the thousands of foreign immigrants and tourists entering South Africa annually, there are both KGB and GRU intelligence officers. Among the refugees fleeing from neighbouring countries to the Republic, numerous highly trained agents of the KGB or other Eastern European intelligence services are placed. There is simply no way of checking every person entering the country to ascertain their past status. It was reported that "South Africa is offering direct help to the oppressed Polish people" and that Pretoria has opened a commercial office in Vienna, one of the functions of which will be relaying word into Poland that any Pole who manages to escape to Austria will be given top consideration for jobs in South Africa.[9] This was a clear signal to Polish Intelligence, under the KGB, to arrange for agents to be among those "oppressed people" seeking freedom. The consequences of these "humanitarian deeds" will become a serious factor in the future of South African peace and security.

In April 1977, when "nine Polish Government officials and engineers arrived in Johannesburg to study the greatly advanced technology of the new R100-million coal-to-ammonia complex at Modderfontein", this event was hailed as a "positive expression of

friendship" between South Africa and the rulers of Poland. History proves that in every delegation coming from behind the Iron Curtain there are highly trained espionage agents, all under the direction of the KGB. In this particular case, they would have been experts in the field of industrial espionage. These nine "officials" came to South Africa only because the KGB somehow considered it to their advantage. The over 300 000 mineworkers coming into South Africa annually present something of a similar problem. There is simply no fool-proof answer to this serious question.

In the activities of Bram Fischer, it is beyond question that he maintained some type of contact with the KGB residential director for South Africa. This is an aspect of the Fischer case that no one has written about, for the simple reason that there is little or no valid information on which to build the thesis. Only bits and pieces of sound intelligence are obtained from time to time, and this normally becomes classified information. One KGB defector who found his way to South Africa actually took up residence in the country.

Sunday Express

Miroslav Malek, the former Yugoslavian counter-intelligence officer who came to South Africa

THE SPY IN A NIGHTCLUB FIGHT

In 1970, there was the sensational story of the former Yugoslavian counter-intelligence officer named Miroslav Malek, born in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, on 1 August 1943. At the age of 18 he was sent to a secret spy school and given special training in KGB espionage techniques. He was later recruited by the KOS, the Yugoslavian Secret Counter-Intelligence Service. Disenchanted with communism, he finally defected to Switzerland in 1968 and later entered South Africa. His entrance was unknown even to the media!

Malek came to light when he was involved in a fight and shooting spree in a Johannesburg nightclub and was supposed to have been deported from the country.[10] Clearly, here is a case of a KGB trainee who was granted entrance into the Republic and lived here for several years. Did the authorities know of his secret past and career with the KGB? Or was this shocking discovery made only after he had obtained residence within South Africa? Is it true that he actually "worked" with a section of the South African Police? There are serious questions about the Malek affair that have never been answered. And they won't be either!

APRIL WHO ARRIVED IN DECEMBER

Only a few months before the story of Malek became news, another visitor entered South Africa. His passport stated he was Henry Dirk Marais. He arrived in the country in 1970. After spending some time in the Reef area, he finally moved to Durban. He appeared to be another coloured man on the streets or in the shops of that vast coastal city.

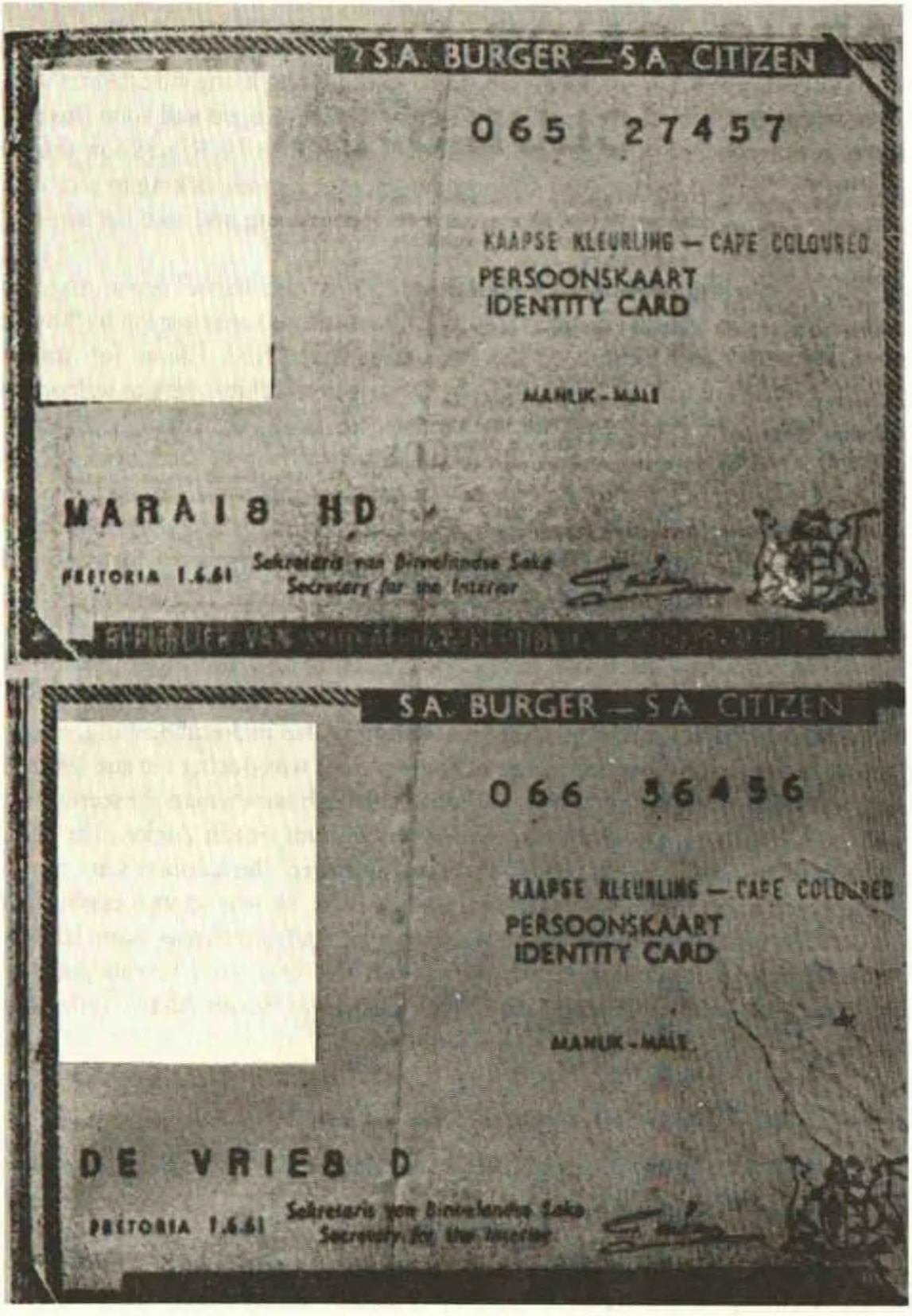
His real name was James Edward April, a terrorist who had fled South Africa for Rhodesia in 1967 during the Loginov period. From Rhodesia, he was smuggled[11] out of the country and finally sent to East Germany to be trained by the ANC in a terrorist camp. Later he went to Russia for further training in political warfare and sabotage. This was supervised by the KGB.

After undergoing a facial and hairstyle change as well as bodily appearance, armed with a false passport and two forged identity documents (in the names of H. D. Marais and D. de Vries), he re-entered the Republic in December 1970 at Jan Smuts Airport. En route he had stopped off in London at CPSA-ANC headquarters for final instructions. He was carrying an innocent-looking book called "Pennygreen Street" by Arthur LaBern. It was, in fact, a vital secret code link between April and his comrades waiting in London. His number one contact in England was a person bearing the code name and address of John Bell, c/o George Eldridge, Cromwell Way, Essex. It was discovered by the South African Police that every page of the book ending with the figure 8 had been treated with a special chemical to make writing invisible. When arrested by an Indian police lieutenant, April was in possession of a supply of this same chemical.

In Durban, he made several contacts and worked to establish new friendships. While in a pub and conversing with a new friend, this person noticed April's odd-looking watch. He saw its build and design was peculiar. April began to boast about studying overseas and told his friend the "watch was of East German manufacture". The friend borrowed the watch to show another friend, who was in fact a policeman! This led to his arrest in Durban and the police seized important documents in his room that related to his secret activities.

The police actually "hoaxed a telegram overseas to April's secret contact" and gathered important information about his ANC-communist links in England. At his trial in the Maritzburg Supreme Court he was sentenced on 31 April 1971 to 15 years on Robben

Island by Mr. Justice Kennedy. After an emotional address, secret agent April assured all present: "The African people will eventually be the victors over the fascist South African Government. Time is on our side..."[12] Thus James April, a coloured man from Cape Town, servant of the KGB and masterminds of the ANC, did not complete his mission. The KGB lords of East Germany and Russia failed again, but that did not dampen their fiendish interest in South Africa. It continues to this present moment.



KGB-prepared identity cards used by James April in 1970-71. Photographs removed to comply with "Section 44 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959), as amended"

SOUTH AFRICANS RECRUITED ABROAD: JAMES ROSE

Not only are the communist governments of the world seriously attempting to destroy white rule in South Africa and establish a Marxist regime but they are constantly on the lookout for "prospective" South Africans who travel abroad, persons whom they may recruit or use for various special intelligence or espionage projects, both against South Africa and in the general cause of world communism. Two examples may be given to illustrate this fact. (See the story of how the Czech secret agent Jaro Hladik got into South Africa in the first part of chapter twenty-seven.)

James Rose (an alias) was a young South African who found life rather dull in the vast city of Johannesburg. While in a local pub, James met a Hong Kong industrialist who gave his name as Robert Bush (clearly an alias). A friendship developed and soon Bush offered him a very good job, with passage paid, in Hong Kong. Little did Rose know that he was stepping into a trap set by the Red Chinese undercover agents seeking to recruit South Africans into communist service. He travelled to Hong Kong and into the arms of Red China.

Rose was then skilfully led into a well-planned "financial collapse" pre-arranged by the communists. Being in serious financial trouble, he was offered another job by "the Peking government" if he was willing to be "smuggled into Red China for training... accompanied by a beautiful Chinese girl". On his arrival in Peking, he was welcomed with great hospitality by officers of the recruitment division of Peking's secret-service headquarters. At the conclusion of a nine-month "course", he had been thoroughly brainwashed and was ready for the service of Chinese Marxism-Leninism.

He was later smuggled back into Hong Kong. Upon his arrival, he discovered that during his nine-month absence in Red China he had been employed by a Hong Kong trading corporation! This company "appointed" Rose as "their representative in South Africa" and he returned to his native country with a plausible cover. He established an office in Johannesburg to promote large-scale exporting and importing. He soon had a prosperous business in the heart of the city. He was building his espionage "cover".

Meanwhile, he contacted another undercover agent, also in Johannesburg, and soon a small army of subverters were following his orders. This was during the late 1960s, in the aftermath of the Loginov affair. Posing as a respectable businessman, he secretly devised and directed all sorts of subversive campaigns throughout South Africa. The secret file from which this story is taken states that he "damaged the country's economy and discredited the Pretoria Government". In January 1970, he was so well established that secret orders from Peking directed James Rose to send his "undercover agent" overseas to open a new business on the American continent.[13] This true story reveals that the Red Chinese were also involved in the turmoil that erupted in South Africa during the late 1960s.

THE GIRL FROM KIMBERLEY AND THE CUBANS

Two months before Fischer's arrest in July 1964, Jennifer Miles, a girl from Kimberley, set out to explore the world. Arriving in Canada in January 1965, she began working for a firm of stockbrokers in Toronto. While convalescing from a severe case of hepatitis, she read various articles about Cuba's Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. Inspired by some demon, she suddenly began to see Cuba as a romantic, sunny island being transformed into a utopia by dashing, brave men of vision. She became obsessed with a passion to go to Cuba.

Diamond Fields Advertiser

Jennifer Miles from Kimberley, the girl who was bewitched by the Cubans

Finally her dreams came true. On 1 January 1968, this young South African girl stood in Havana with a multitude of Cubans and thrilled to an address delivered by Castro himself, though she understood little Spanish. Plunging herself into the "Cuban system", she was being secretly observed by the DGI (Cuban secret service). At the end of January, she was informed that "the Cuban Government was moving her into the Hotel Riviera as their guest".

She was soon instructed to return to Canada, to cover all traces of her visit to Cuba and move to Washington D.C. to seek work in the South African Embassy. By December of that year, she had acquired part-time employment in the embassy. By April 1969, she had settled well into her new "cover" right in the midst of South Africa's embassy in Washington D.C. Meanwhile, she was in constant contact with the DGI and maintained regular "dead drop" pickups and receptions.[14] Then she received new directives from her Cuban masters.

She flew to New York and placed a tiny black package carrying secret messages in a pre-arranged location, a crevice at the base of an apartment building. However, it was discovered by the caretaker, who, on reading its contents, became suspicious and took it to

the FBI. This was the beginning of the end for Jennifer's career as a Cuban agent. She was traced to the South African Embassy and placed under surveillance. Her moves were carefully observed and contacts with various Cuban agents recorded. In early December 1969, she received a warning from her Cuban overlord that "there is danger". She was given orders to fly to Paris. The Cuban DGI had been tipped off about "possible" surveillance. Meeting her contact in a cafe opposite the Eiffel Tower, she was reassured and given new instructions about her return to Washington and her work in the South African Embassy. By early 1970, she was again in the midst of the diplomatic circus in Washington. Her personality and beauty mesmerized most of her acquaintances.

By May 1970, the FBI once again became deeply concerned about her contacts. However, South African Intelligence had been advised about Jennifer in 1969. They, too, were "watching". On the morning of 3 October 1970, she was sent on a special errand by a diplomat at the embassy to a Washington hotel room. Upon entering the room, she was confronted by two FBI agents! Believing that this shock confrontation may cause her to run to her Cuban contact, the FBI let her leave, after fierce questioning. To their sheer delight, she appeared at their large Washington field office two days later and volunteered to confess everything.

Partly because of her co-operation she was allowed to return to South Africa rather than be prosecuted. Meanwhile in South Africa, "Jennifer publicly denied ever having been a Cuban spy."[15] Jennifer's case is but one from the scores that could be given of South Africans abroad who were recruited for the service of communism. Volumes could be written on this subject.

THE MOUMBARIS-HOSEY TRIAL AND THE RUSSIANS' PROMISE

Continual attempts to infiltrate South Africa with trained agents of various sorts have been the established pattern not only of the communist intelligence services, but also of the combined CPSA-ANC leadership. Court records contain scores of such cases, each one proving the unflinching determination of Moscow and its puppets to conquer the Republic for their own purposes.

The famous Moumbaris-Hosey case[16] of 1973, is one of the many that could be cited. Alexandre Moumbaris, a naturalized Australian, was arrested on the Botswana border in July 1972. Later, his 23-year-old bride was deported to France to live with her parents. Then an Irishman named John Hosey was arrested by the Security Police. These two whites, along with four blacks, stood trial for 93 days, charged under the Terrorism Act.

One of the strangest stories of cloak-and-dagger plotting to overthrow the South African Government came out of this trial. Stories of suitcases with false bottoms, used for smuggling communist material from London into the country, of black recruits smuggled out of South Africa to Russia and other Red states for all types of specialized training; and of lessons in weaponry, topography, shooting, explosives, military engineering, sabotage, the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism and the ANC, trade unionism and socialist philosophy. Even a special course in "irregular warfare" was given. The astonished court was told how "Russia had promised to help the blacks fight against the Government of South Africa."

South Africans wanted in the country, such as Oliver Tambo, Joe Slovo[17] Dr. Y. Dadoo, Ronnie Kasrils and others, were named by a State witness as sharing in the plot. Plans for illegal entry into South Africa at night at Port St Johns, communist propaganda pamphlets, ANC banners, clenched fists, displays of Soviet-manufactured

weapons and mines all were part of the picture. The SACTU also shared in the plan to bring about the overthrow of the government.[18] As the trial continued in South Africa, people in London suddenly became interested. Canon Collins and the anti-apartheid organizations in London staged protests on behalf of the accused, who were proven guilty and sentenced. Moumbaris was given a term of twelve years in prison and Hosey received a six-year sentence. This was in June 1973. On 12 December 1979, Moumbaris, along with Stephen B. Lee and Timothy Jenkins, escaped from Pretoria Central Prison. They surfaced in London.

During the excitement generated by the press over the Moumbaris-Hosey trial, the KGB in Western Europe was busy preparing still more agents to enter South Africa. Even before the sentencing of the pair and their comrades, a KGB operation located in Amsterdam was preparing another "sensitive move" into South Africa. The key figure in this attempt was a well-known Afrikaans poet. His name was Breytenbach.

The Australian, Alexandre Moumbaris, plotted with top communists and came into South African to work for the overthrow of the government. He escaped from Pretoria Central Prison in December 1979 and surfaced in London

BREYTENBACH, SOLIDARITÉ AND THE KGB

On 4 May 1978, an Egyptian-born Jew named Henri Curiel was gunned down as he entered the elevator of his apartment building in Paris, France. Curiel was a founder of the Egyptian Communist Party and described himself as an "unconditional Stalinist". He was also the first cousin of George Blake, a senior officer in Britain's secret intelligence service (MI6), later unmasked as a high-ranking KGB spy. In 1950, President Nasser kicked

Curiel out of Egypt for subversive activities. Moving into Europe, he organized a clandestine movement called Solidarité.[19] A Cuban agent named Carlos also assisted Curiel in building the Solidarité network. This agent was personally trained at Camp Mantanzas, near Havana, under the eye of the notorious General Viktor Simenov of the KGB. Simenov was stationed in Cuba as the "operation boss of the Cuban secret service". Carlos led the way in Solidarité, skilfully guiding Curiel into the arms of the monsters from Moscow and Cuba. Later a young Afrikaner was cunningly directed into the same trap.

Breyten Breytenbach moved to Paris in 1961. Later, in 1971, the South African poet was recruited into the Solidarité International Network. At that time, fierce anti-South African feelings were smouldering in the heart of Breytenbach, possibly due to the race laws of South Africa. These prevented him from returning and living there with his lovely young Vietnamese wife. There is no doubt that the organization into which this youthful poet was recruited was, in fact, a KGB operation.

A French weekly was the first publication to throw any reasonable light on the highly secretive movement. Solidarité was exposed as being financed by a branch of the USSR State Bank located in Paris, which is a KGB operation. Both its founders were French communists of long standing. The article reported that French Intelligence believed Curiel was in "constant contact with the KGB".[20] A day after this report was released it was "hotly denied" by Curiel.[21] He further denied having assisted Breytenbach to enter South Africa illegally in August 1975. However, the fact remains that one could hardly expect a person of Curiel's character, devious background and sordid reputation to admit such things.

Sunday Times

Breytenbach and his young Vietnamese wife

THE BUILDING OF OKHELA-ANC

After his recruitment into the KGB-controlled Solidarité, which had international terrorist links with the PLO, the Baader-Meinhof gang of Germany, the Japanese Red Army and others, Breytenbach assisted in forming a sub-group named Okhela. He was aided by ANC personalities, KGB Colonel Joe Slovo (who left South Africa just before the Rivonia raid) and Barend Schuitema.[22] Donald Moerdijk, Jobst Grabow and many others were later named in the plot. Okhela is the Zulu word for "spark", and "spark" in Russian is "Iskra". This was the name of Lenin's famous revolutionary newspaper. Okhela was also called "Atlas". This anti-South African movement was based in Amsterdam. It was to "harness the energies of white revolutionaries, particularly Europeans and South African students..." for the purpose of overthrowing the South African Government. It printed a shocking document called The Okhela Manifesto, which was later to be distributed across South Africa to potential revolutionaries. Oliver Tambo himself figured in the creation of Okhela, along with a high-ranking KGB officer stationed at the Russian Embassy in Lusaka, Zambia, Dr. Vasily Solodovnikov.

After establishing the subversive organization Breytenbach and his wife legally visited South Africa in 1973. He was secretly busy during this period making "contacts" for further "operations" within the Republic. Among his contacts during his first trip to the Republic was Dr. Ampie Coetzee, a lecturer at Wits University, who was approached about "keeping a parcel of false documents for certain Blacks". Numerous other contacts were made during this first trip, among whom was Mrs. Burten Rhoem, wife of a Pretoria atomic scientist. In court, Mrs. Rhoem described herself as the "Pretoria connection" for the conspirators of Okhela.[23] She was instructed to "acquaint herself with methods of bugging telephones and converting radios into transmitters",[24] and "how to split hard-cover books, use fake linings in briefcases and shoe heels and shaving-cream tubes to conceal messages".[25] Mrs. Rhoem's brother residing in Rome, a film editor, was also named in the trial. He was a close friend of Breytenbach's. The poet stayed with him before his illegal trip to South Africa during which he was arrested.[26]

BREYTENBACH'S ARREST, TRIAL AND SENTENCING

On 1 August 1975, an Alitalia flight from Rome, Italy, landed at Jan Smuts Airport. Aboard was a charming young man carrying a false passport in the name of Christian Glaska. He made the acquaintance of a pretty young South African Airways hostess who also was returning to Johannesburg from Rome as a passenger. Annatjie van Schalkwyk was attracted to the young man and invited him to her flat, where he spent three days. During this time, she "drove him round Johannesburg", thinking he was just another visiting Frenchman.[27] On 4 August, this "charming Frenchman", who was in reality Breytenbach, flew to Cape Town and booked into the Crest Hotel. He attended the Afrikaans Language Festival held in Paarl on 14 August. Breytenbach made various "contacts" during this illegal trip to South Africa.

However, while attempting to leave the country on 19 August, after a stay of 18 days, he was arrested at Jan Smuts Airport. During his trial, the State called a total of 40 witnesses to testify in the case. Charged under the Suppression of Communism and the Terrorism Act, things looked grim for the young poet. But, to the surprise of all concerned, Breytenbach entered a plea of "guilty" to the charges laid against him and gave a full confession (or was supposed to have done so). There is every possibility that Breytenbach confessed in order to protect those of his associates, mainly young people, who had been

detained. It came out in court that, among his plans, he had plotted a "missile attack on a Rhodesian airliner, to demolish Beit Bridge, and freeing Nelson Mandela from Robben Island by submarine".[28] Yet he is a "great humanitarian", according to some writers!

Because of his plea "the State only called six of the original forty witnesses and then released those who were detained". A curious assortment of people and "co-conspirators" were named during the hearings and court sessions. Among those named were Gordon Young, Glen Moss, Paulus Maree, Laurence Dworkein, Norman Lewis, Nicholas Martens, James A. Polley, who was at that time a lecturer at the University of Cape Town, and Karel Tip, president of NUSAS. Horst Kleinschmidt, of the banned Christian Institute, was also named. He later fled the country. The former Methodist clergyman who also fled South Africa, the Rev. Donald Morton,[29] and (of course) the World Council of Churches were included in the list.

While the KGB masterminds back in Amsterdam shrugged their shoulders at the failure of their Atlas-Okhela-ANC plot, their "useful idiot", Breytenbach, stood in court and actually apologised for the "ridiculous and stupid things I have done" and offered his personal regret to the Prime Minister of South Africa![30] Meanwhile, the officer in charge of the affair, Colonel J. C. Broodryk of the Security Police, spoke in defence of the guilty Afrikaner writer.[31] Breytenbach was sentenced to nine years on 26 November 1975. He went into the maximum security section of Pretoria Central Prison.[32] He followed comrades of similar purposes and fates. These included Dennis Goldberg, serving life from the Rivonia trial, and Marius Schoon, serving ten years for sabotage, along with numerous others.[33] (Goldberg was released from prison under a government amnesty and departed for Israel in March 1985.)

Smarting at the loss of such friends as Breytenbach, Timol, Moumbaris, Lee, Jenkins and others, the CPSA quickly formed the Internal Reconstruction and Development Department (IRDD). Based chiefly in Lusaka, this organization is directed by Sathyandrath R. Maharaj, also known as Mac, Solly and Matthews. This is the intelligence wing of the CPSA. Operatives attached to the IRDD receive sophisticated KGB-type training. Information collected by IRDD agents is used to plan party activity in South Africa, including sabotage and guerrilla attacks. It is interesting to note that

> "Maharaj was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment for sabotage in 1964. Released in 1976, he was banned and restricted under the Suppression of Communism Act. He lived with his brother in Merebank, Durban for six months, utilising that time to re-establish party machinery in the Durban area. During July 1977, Maharaj fled to Maputo. Assisting him in Lusaka headquarters are Mohammed Moosa Moosajee, Ray Alexander Simons, John Pula Montchabi, and senior workers Alfred Nzo, Oliver Tambo and Tom Nkobi."[34]

Sunday Times

Security Police question Benjamin Pogrund in his office. He was later arrested

Sunday Times

Laurence Gandar, editor of the Rand Daily Mail, searches through a desk under police supervision. He was arrested along with Pogrund. (See documentation note number 33)

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

1. Most details edited from
   Loginov, Spy in the Sun
   Howard Timmins, Cape Town 1969
   By Barbara Carr
2. *Sunday Times,* 10 September 1967, carried a front-page story
3. One of the best publications dealing with the Soviet Secret Police is
   KGB
   Bantam Books, New York 1974
   By John Barron
   However, lacking in this outstanding book is a chapter dealing with the escape and story of Colonel Michael Goleniewski, which has been deliberately crushed by the CIA "insiders" lurking in Washington and New York.

   For a real controversial shocker regarding the KGB strategy of deception and disinformation see the amazing book
   New Lies For Old
   The Bodley Head, London 1984
   By former KGB officer Anatoliy Golitsyn
4. Myagkov's story is found in his book
   Inside the KGB
   Arlington House Publishers, New York 1976
   By Aleksei Myagkov (Myagkov's name has several different spellings in the documentations)
5. *To the Point,* 16 March 1977, p. 7
6. Senior KGB and GRU officers are regularly spotted in Soviet and Eastern bloc embassies or consular services situated in Luanda, Gaborone, Maseru, Harare and Lusaka.
7. *South African Digest,* 11 March 1977, p. 11
8. *U.S. News & World Report,* 23 May 1983
9. *The Review of the News,* Belmont, Mass., 15 December 1982, p. 48
10. *Sunday Express,* 16 May 1970, carried the full story
11. For years, the ANC has been smuggling recruits out of South Africa to be trained in various communist countries, chief of which are East Germany and Russia. (See *The Silent War,* Galaxie Press, Rhodesia, 1971. By Shay and Vermaak, pp. 147-151)
12. Edited from the *Sunday Times,* 16 May 1971
13. Edited from the excellent book
    The Subverters of Liberty
    W.H. Allen, London 1972
    By Bernard Hutton, pp. 87-92
14. "Dead drop" is a pre-arranged location for the reception or depositing of a secret message.
15. Miles' story is edited from the first documentation of number 3, pp. 208-222.
16. Documentations for this example are edited from the *Natal Witness,* 20 and 21 March 1973; *The Star,* 20 March 1973, 4 April 1973 and 20 June 1973; *Sunday Times,* 10 June 1973; and *Rand Daily Mail,* 10 April and 16 and 21 June 1973
17. In the *Sunday Times,* 29 May 1983, Slovo is described as a "Moscow communist — a KGB colonel who has a dacha on Lake Baikal — and is the leading ideologue in the ANC-SACP alliance".
18. The SACTU is totally under the control of the Soviet KGB and is its most important "front"

within trade union circles. (See chapter 18 under heading, The South African Congress of Trade Unions)

19. An exhaustive study is given of Carlos in the book
The Carlos Complex; A Study in Terror
Hodder and Stoughton, London 1977
By D. Dobson and R. Payne

20. *To the Point*, 21 June 1976

21. *The Star*, 22 June 1976

22. Barend Schuitema had earlier fled South Africa, but illegally entered the country in 1973 heavily disguised. He had a fake passport and was seeking to recruit youths for the Atlas/Okhela plot. He left South Africa undetected.

23. *The Star*, 22 November 1975

24. *Sunday Times*, 23 November 1975

25. *The Star*, 22 November 1975

26. *The Star*, 25 August 1975

27. Miss Annatjie van Schalkwyk told of posting overseas letters for the poet. Also, *The Star*, 27 August 1978, says the police shadowed Breytenbach from the "time he arrived in South Africa". This reveals a prior tip-off.

28. *Sunday Times*, 30 November 1975, and *The Aida Parker Newsletter*, 3 March 1983

29. Morton fled South Africa and immersed himself in certain radical, left-wing and openly Marxist organizations in the West. His praises have been sung by such groups as the WCC and the American NCC. Even the leading USA Red publication *The Daily World*, 13 June 1972, p. 2, carried his story in full sympathy.

    Morton's "testimonies" before the UN Special Committee on Apartheid were a pot-pourri of half-truths and gross lies. He was a co-founder of a radical outfit called South African Military Refugees Aid Fund (SAMRAF). This body seeks to encourage young South Africans to refuse military training and offers shelter and financial support to those who do so. Morton is a classical example of a phoney clergyman who, having departed from the saving Gospel of Christ, has turned to the cesspool of foul and filthy revolutionary politics to cure the woes of men.

30. *The Star*, 25 November 1975

31. *Sunday Times*, 30 November 1975

32. Breytenbach's court ordeal was not over. In mid-1977 he was alleged to have smuggled letters out of prison to revolutionary contacts. In court again, it came to light that the Security Police were behind the plot, seeking to locate other Okhela contacts known to Breytenbach. This was done by enticing Breytenbach through a young warder who pretended to be sympathetic. (Edited from *Die Vaderland*, 18 July 1977; *The Citizen*, 18 July 1977; *Rapport*, 17 July 1977; and *The Pretoria News*, 18 July 1977)

33. "Raymond James Thoms ... a former SABC and newspaper employee, was sentenced along with (Marius) Schoon for an attempt to blow up the Hospital Hill, Johannesburg, police station on 20 July 1964." (See *Bram Fischer, The Man With Two Faces*, A.P.B. Publishers, Johannesburg, 1966. By Chris Vermaak, pp. 111, 121)
    Later, Thoms gave evidence for the State in the case against Harold Strachan, who was charged with contravening the South African Prisons Act. Strachan had written "scandal" articles about the prison system in the country and these were widely circulated overseas by the press. They were also reproduced in the *Rand Daily Mail*. It was later discovered that the whole thing was a plot by certain political prisoners to internationally smear the South African prison system. Also named in this were Norma Kitson and Benjamin Pogrund, an assistant editor on

the *Rand Daily Mail*, and Laurence Gandar, editor of the same newspaper. (See also chapter 21 under note number 25.)

An updated report concerning Schoon and his crowd tells us that he and his wife have been associated with veteran ANC leader Joe Ngqabi at the party office in Gaborone, Botswana. Along with Isak Mkopo, they are deeply engaged in controlling numerous agents working in the newer militant trade unions. These agents and terrorists, on their way to South Africa, receive last-minute briefings at this party office. (Edited from number 34 below.) A further interesting note is that the SACC gave to Schoon the amount of R4 000 some years ago! (See *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into South African Council of Churches*, Pretoria, 1983, p. 339)

34. *A Short History of the South African Communist Party*
By Gerard Ludi, November 1975, pages not numbered

This same document also states that Indres Naidoo, former convict and saboteur is also associated with Maharaj in CPSA activities. Assisting them are such persons as Ronnie Kasrils and Mohammed Timol, who was allegedly trained by the Soviets for his work. Observers have spotted Maharaj and his comrades often crossing the border into Swaziland, which is only a two-hour drive from Maputo. It is known that they often visited Stanley Mabuzele, who was the CPSA man in Swaziland.

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

SOWETO, OKHELA, SILVERTON, KOZLOV AND SASOL

COMMUNISM AND THE SOWETO RIOTS

Only five months after the sentencing of Breytenbach came more trouble for South Africa. It all started in early April 1976. A middle-aged woman and her son, in his early twenties, travelled to London. While there, this woman secretly met Joe Slovo in Trafalgar Square. Her son stood some distance away and did not take part in the meeting and conversation that followed.

Over twenty years before this clandestine meeting, communist Slovo was still a resident in Johannesburg. Slovo, or "Teddy Bear" as he was referred to in those days, was quite a ladies' man. One of his night-time lovers in Johannesburg was the woman he met in Trafalgar Square. The young man standing in the distance was in fact his son! Slovo's communist wife, Ruth First, knew nothing of this little reunion.[1]

This secret meeting had nothing to do with spreading Marxism-Leninism in South Africa. The woman was not concerned with communism and, seemingly, never had been. The meeting and contact was purely on a "sentimental basis". Unbeknown to Slovo, several photographs were taken of him standing and talking with the woman. During the conversation that followed, Slovo made a passionate plea to her to take his boy and leave South Africa, for big trouble was going to occur in June of that year. This was in April. Two months later the Soweto riots exploded. How did Slovo know of this? It could only have been by pre-arranged plan. The KGB's Joe Slovo knew that the Soweto riots were coming, two months in advance. This clearly proves the CPSA, in which Slovo is the top personality, knew in advance what was going to happen in the vast black township. The Government Commission of Inquiry was only half correct when it later wrote: "There was no evidence of active participation in the riots by the CPSA as an organization."[2]

THE KNOWN ACTIVITIES OF CPSA-ANC

Obviously, no one will ever know the full story of the involvement of the banned CPSA in these riots. The sprawling black township, located not far from Johannesburg, exploded in June 1976. Violence, terror, arson, looting, death and murder engulfed the entire area. Millions of rands worth of property was damaged, over 800 were arrested and over 200 killed. Evidence of a basic communist or ANC plot is lacking at this stage. Yet, Slovo's statement proves that he and his comrades knew something was coming. He warned his ex-lover and son to "get out of South Africa".

A mass distribution of revolutionary literature was one of the conspicuous elements overshadowing the riots, not only in Soweto, but in almost every township where trouble flared. Hundreds of these were both CPSA and ANC in content.

"In the criminal case of the State versus Jenkins and Lee, one of the accused admitted to having compiled,

typed and duplicated 15 pamphlets for the ANC and the CPSA between August 1975 and March 1978. Ten of these were posted to some 1 300 persons through South Africa."[3]

Many of these were found in Soweto during and after the riots.

In many of the pamphlets, "readers were encouraged to become Freedom Fighters and to join the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe".[4] Obviously the young blacks could not have joined had the facilities not been available to do so. In another court case, the State versus Rabkin and others, two of the accused pleaded "guilty to a charge of having had in their possession, compiled, produced and distributed pamphlets promoting the objects of... the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the CPSA and PAC".[5]

Papers of this nature were even distributed in the heart of downtown Johannesburg. They called on readers to "join the revolutionary people of South Africa".[6] The Commission of Inquiry found that the CPSA and ANC, along with numerous other black movements, supported the riots in various ways. It further found that the "CPSA itself also prepared and issued inflammatory pamphlets".[7] How could the CPSA have done so without having had workers, agents and dupes on the scene? Further, the commission found that

> "several persons who held leadership position in other movements, were avowed communists. Whether they were members of the CPSA is not known."[8]

Numerous organizations shared in the upheaval. One in particular was the South

Beeld

Thousands gather in the streets of Soweto as the sprawling township explodes in violence and death in 1976

Louis Fouché — Rapport

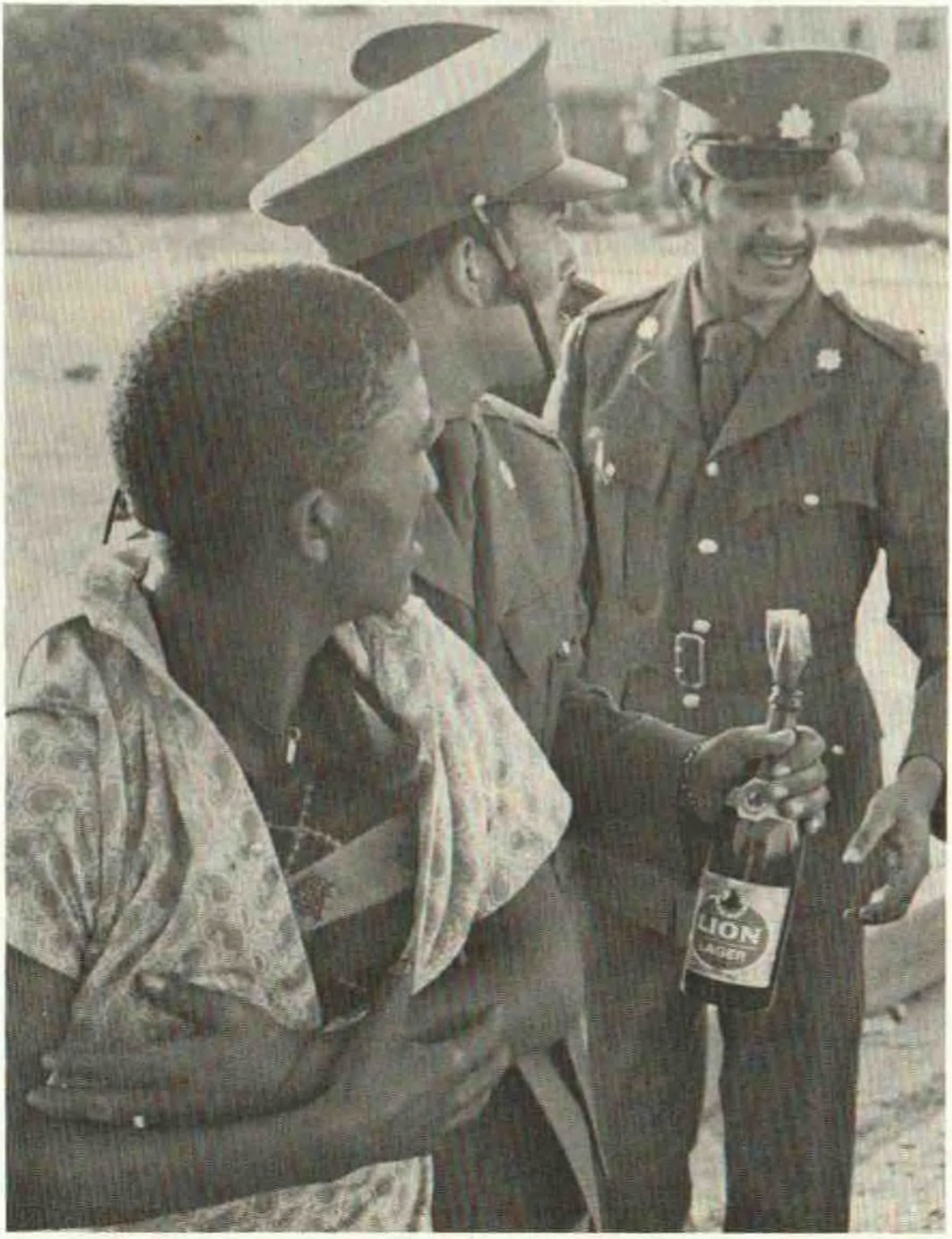
Savage mobs armed with hundreds of weapons went wild during the Soweto riots

Beeld

Dr. Melville Edelstein was murdered during the Soweto riots by those he sought to help. Note the wooden case marked "Beware" thrown alongside his body

African Students' Organization (SASO).[9] This leftist body has, over the years, become an ideal target for communist infiltration and manipulation. It is a fertile field for sowing the seeds of Marxism-Leninism. The commission found that numerous SASO members and leaders were deeply involved in "inciting the school-children in their home districts".[10] In various centres across the country, SASO members whipped up innocent children and sent them into the front line of battle to catch the bullets and the teeth of the police dogs. Several medical students who were part of SASO gave inflammatory speeches to the students in their areas.

One official CPSA document admitted that the ANC's slogan, Amandla, became an important password to distinguish friend from foe in the streets during the struggle.[11] It is worthy of note that a band of students from Wits University marched down the public streets carrying this very "password" painted on large signs and banners. It is photographically illustrated in this chapter.



Beeld

Police arrest a youth carrying a Molotov cocktail during the Soweto riots

COMRADE WEINBERG RECEIVES ORDERS TO FLEE

Another line of proof of CPSA-ANC involvement in the riots was the fact that Eli Weinberg, a former associate of Fischer who was sentenced in the Rivonia trial (see chapter 24), came to the fore. Receiving instructions from a secret ANC contact, he was ordered to leave South Africa just as the riots began. His instructions were to travel to Tanzania via Swaziland.[12] This he did and he was later joined by his wife, Violet. Things did not work out as the party bosses contemplated, for Weinberg died in Tanzania on 16 July 1981. He had joined the CPSA in 1932 and had served them faithfully through the liberal trade unions.

The eyes of faraway Moscow were fixed on the terrible riots tearing at Soweto. Their official newspaper later reported that

> "during the Soweto riots, Mandela's portraits were placed on walls and over various places in the township. Excerpts from his speeches and letters were circulated amongst the blacks."[13]

It cannot be stated as a fact, as one American newspaper did, that the "communists were to be blamed for the Soweto riots".[14] However, it is just as erroneous to believe that they were not there doing their part, whipping up hatred and tensions, doing their best to discredit the police and every black and white person working to restore peace to the strife-torn township. It is well known that Soweto seethes with crime, murder and terror, and that good, decent blacks fear for their lives as they move in and out of the township.[15] Along with numerous other townships, Soweto will continue to be a prime target for the evil work of Marxism.

Beeld

Left-wing Wits students and dupes march in opposition to the police trying to restore order in Soweto. Note the banners bearing the communist password for the riots, "amandla"

THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION SERVICE AND SOWETO

For years the American Government, through its Information Service, has spent millions of dollars in "cultural programmes" for South African blacks. Under the direction and control of the US Embassy in Pretoria, various "reading rooms" have been established. For years, the USIS, located in Johannesburg, has provided a large and outstanding selection of books, pamphlets, films and tapes for the information and cultural service of South African blacks and other interested persons.

The USIS offices have also on occasion allegedly been used for questionable purposes. As far back as 1959, Robert Sobukwe's movement, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), was founded "in the luxurious offices of the USIS in Johannesburg. At least, so declared Henry Winston, a former chairman of the American Communist Party."[16] It was in these same offices that "a Sunday afternoon meeting between UN Ambassador Andrew Young and an audience including some of the country's best-known political activists" took place.[17] It seems impossible that such meetings could have taken place without the prior knowledge and approval of the US Ambassador or someone in authority.

It is alleged that these offices have been used into the late hours of the night "for duplicating illegal revolutionary pamphlets" and socialist propaganda. The library and reading section has very often carried outright Red propaganda, socialist, revolutionary and straight communist literature and publications. Numerous American "civil rights" leaders who have been identified as leftists, communists or open Red sympathisers had their publications on the shelves of this "reading room". The serious publication, H. du B. Reports, February 1978, described them as "inciting literature on slick paper".

A BRANCH OFFICE IN SOWETO

In late November 1975, some seven months before the riots exploded, the USIS extended its "cultural programme" to Soweto. A room was opened in Donaldson Hall, Orlando East, with plenty of reading material. Sharing in the joint effort was a group called the African Music and Drama Association (AMDA). No Americans or white South Africans worked at the Orlando extension. It was manned by blacks only and contained at least 600 books, many of them dealing with the American civil rights clashes and the "strategies" used by the leaders to "overthrow the whites", and 100 musical recordings, tapes and films. The "front" stayed open till 10 at night.

Observations revealed that the facilities were used by such groups as the Azanian Poets' and Writers' Association and numerous blacks who were leaders in the subsequent Soweto riots, but who later fled the country.[18] ANC sympathisers and known revolutionaries have been sighted moving in and out of the "reading room".

During the various cultural sessions held at this venue, most of the "readings" given were "political poetry dealing with the liberation of the black man" and were attempts to relate the methods used in the American civil rights struggle to the situation in South Africa. Very few whites attended the propaganda sessions.

There seems little doubt that some of the sources used to help inflame the rioters during the strife that broke loose must have been the information placed in the hands of certain riot leaders. Much of this information was made available by the American Government through its "reading rooms".

Prior to the riots the South African Government had little knowledge of the poison being dispensed to militant black youths. It seems beyond question that the revolutionary literature duplicated by the youthful militants before the eruption of the riots is still in

secret circulation today. And some of it is with the compliments of the American taxpayer and the CIA-manipulated USIS and its "reading rooms".

These observations raise a natural question: Who are the "moles" or "useful idiots" within the structures of the American diplomatic services and the CIA who provided certain South African blacks with such inflammatory material? It should be understood that whoever they are, they do not represent the majority of persons serving in these positions. As always, they are a tiny handful of super elite "trusted persons".

To believe that they did not realise that this material would, in time, fall into the hands of the socialistic-minded, Marxist-inclined, revolutionary youths smacks of gross ignorance. A part of the blood-soaked blame for the suffering and death that raged across Soweto and other African townships during this period must be apportioned to those responsible for these deeds.

About three months after the riots "Mr. Ed Holmes, former chief of the CIA in Africa, arrived in South Africa to make an on-the-spot investigation of the riots". One witty observer suggested that Holmes was checking to see if "the CIA had gotten its money's worth out of the effort". (For more details regarding the CIA, see chapter 32.)

THE OKHELA-ANC "NATIONALIST FACTION"[19]

In 1979, a year after Curiel, the founder of Solidarité, was shot to death in Paris, a terrible row exploded amongst the comrades of Okhela-ANC. The respected leader of the ANC Nationalist Group in exile was the veteran ANC campaigner Robert Resha. After his death in July 1979, the pure nationalists openly and fiercely opposed the communist influences within their organization. Non-communist ANC president Oliver Tambo refused to commit himself. The CPSA responded by calling an ANC executive emergency meeting. It ended with Ambrose Makiwane, Tennyson Makiwane, Jonas Motlou, Alfred Tomba Mquota, Onitsitso Sethlapelo and Tami Bongo being summarily expelled from the organization. Expulsion in this case means these ANC exiles in Europe were cut off from the funds lavished on the organization.

Tennyson Makiwane, who had fled in 1960, returned to South Africa years later and was granted asylum in the Transkei. As he represented a serious threat to the "image" of the CPSA-ANC combination, he was gunned down during early 1980.

As a result of this serious split, a so-called "nationalist faction" emerged within their ranks. As Okhela and the ANC were interdependent, obviously all concerned were seriously affected by the faction. Breytenbach's Okhela movement, ably assisted by the "punk revolutionary" Barend Schuitema, came out in full support of the "nationalist faction". During this conflict a series of Okhela discussion papers was released by the nationalist faction's Amsterdam headquarters. These papers were a revelation of the inside activities of these anti-South African organizations. They openly identified persons and gave the reasons for the factions and splits. One of the earliest papers released complained that "since the very beginning, the revolutionary movement in exile had been under the domination of the South African Communist Party". Another stated that the CPSA leaders within the Okhela-ANC combination did not want to see an independent communist state rise in South Africa but a Soviet-dominated and fully subservient regime. This was totally compatible with basic communist philosophy.

When comrades argue, they usually say things they later regret. Amid the heat of the quarrel, another Okhela dissent document came out that fiercely attacked former friends and supporters. To the delight of Western intelligence services, they named these former

friends. This particular Okhela paper was aimed at the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund (one of their biggest supporters), the WCC and the left-wing American religious group called the NCC. It even named various individual church groups in America. These were all described as "inconsistent jelly-fish" who were following a programme "controlled by members of the CPSA". These charges were a revelation. The angry comrades openly listed the names of the groups pumping support into a movement dedicated to violence and bloody revolution across South Africa.

This ANC "nationalist faction" attempted to regroup into a purely nationalist movement apart from communist domination. Despite success in producing such a movement, this new ANC group set out on a course just as horrific and blood-thirsty as that of the old CPSA-ANC and their KGB mentors. Another of the Okhela papers, issued late in 1978, states that they were planning new acts of sabotage and terrorism against "South African targets in Europe, that white revolutionaries were prepared to engage in international terrorism in support of the ANC's nationalist faction". It also spoke of new adventures which were "mild" in comparison with those assignments in which comrade Breytenbach had failed! Other proposals such as seeking support from the murderous IRA, the PLO and similar groups were listed. The paper spoke of recruiting young South African students for various services.

DEALING WITH THE DISSIDENTS: CERTAIN UNIVERSITIES

With the new dissident group rattling their sabres in the faces of their former comrades, the old CPSA-ANC regulars (under the guiding hand of the KGB) hastened to expel the entire "nationalist faction" and then discredit all forms of open disagreement. Discrediting them was an easy task, accomplished through their own long-time contacts within the IRA and PLO and various other terrorist organizations now being approached by the Okhela-ANC nationalist dissidents. As all of these terror groups depend upon the Kremlin's support for their existence, they had no option but to obey without question the directives from the old CPSA-ANC bosses regarding the faction seeking their support. As a result of the ruthless faction fighting for a "pure nationalist organization", the dissidents found themselves out in the cold. Yet, one may rest assured that such anti-South African fanatics as Barend Schuitema and his kind will not give up easily, regardless of how harsh their expulsion from the parent body may have been. One report said they were now looking to Red China for support.

One of the greatest dangers in a radical organization such as this is its propaganda appeal to young idealistic students, both within South Africa and those travelling overseas. Numerous young people are being prepared within the lecture rooms of certain South African universities and theological institutions. Professors and lecturers, possessed by the demons of a humanistic-materialistic philosophy, cleverly discredit the system of free enterprise,[20] and the true standards and norms of our Western society. They seize upon exceptions and twist them into rules, they glorify vice, violence and sin as the normal and proper "lifestyle" and suggest public rebellion and physical conflict are legitimate forms of protest against the system.

In numerous cases they have "driven God from the classroom" and replaced His dictum, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge" (Proverbs 1:7), with their own academic infallibility. They are described in the Apostle Paul's classic statement: "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools" (Romans 1:22).

Parading round their lecture theatres like pompous peacocks, they elegantly pervert and

poison the minds of tender youths entrusted to them for a well-rounded, objective and sound education. Often, Christian standards are mocked and the Holy Bible is held up as an object of scorn and openly ridiculed or reinterpreted along social, political and economic lines. It is thus made an instrument of and "basis" for their foul philosophy. And, of course, free-enterprise capitalism is the chief enemy and is blamed for everything except dandruff and bad breath. It must be overthrown and destroyed, then replaced with some form of Marxist socialism. Such learned pseudo-academics prey on youth like wolves on lambs. They are among the best friends of godless communism and, in a unique sense, serve it well, even though some are probably unconscious of this ugly fact.

One can be grateful that these pseudo-academics who flaunt their intellectual superiority are often countered by the presence of a true academic style of scholarship void of such continual socialist poison, anti-Western and anti-God harangue. Giving both sides of the story is a part of objective education; but when students are pressured and persuaded to cast in their lot with the Devil and his crowd, then it has clearly gone too far.

It has been noted that "spotters" who are in sympathy with overseas groups such as the Okhela-ANC faction are working within South African universities, selecting young men and women whom they consider useful to their cause. When these students travel overseas, the news travels ahead of them. At a convenient time, the "contact" is made to attempt to recruit them into the movement. The shocking exposures in various South African court cases have proven this strategy has often been successful.

In years to come, it will be interesting to see how many persons in class and lecture rooms in South Africa are, in fact, in the pay of, or consciously sympathetic to, the KGB-GRU-CPSA-ANC network operating within and without the Republic. And how many are conscious Soviet operatives. A revelation of this nature will prove more stunning than those of the Gerhardt spy trial (see chapter 31.)

SILVERTON, MANDELA AND BREYTENBACH

During most of 1979, the CPSA-ANC and KGB-directed campaigns against South Africa were aimed at small police stations in isolated areas, various public buildings and offices. On 25 January 1980, three ANC-Umkhonto we Sizwe terrorists armed with Soviet AK-47 assault rifles and hand-grenades, took over the Volkskas Bank in Silverton, Pretoria. In the skirmish that followed, 25 people were taken hostage.

Word spread like fire across Silverton and Pretoria. Newsmen, police and curious spectators swarmed to the bank. The ANC terrorists wanted to bargain with the authorities. Among their several demands, they called for the "release of Nelson Mandela". It should be noted that Marxist organizations and ecumenical church councils such as the SACC, the American NCC, the WCC, and even "conservatives" have made the same demand for years. So also have Moscow and its captive slave states through radio broadcasts and propaganda publications. Joining in the noise, individual leftists and communist organizations and fronts round the world have clamoured for the release of Mandela. Even a British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, called for the release of the ex-advocate Mandela, convicted of high treason.

The three ANC invaders also demanded the release of Breytenbach and James Daniel Mange. The latter was the leader of a twelve-man ANC terrorist team who had been trained in Cuba and were later smuggled, along with their weapons, into South Africa from a staging point in Mozambique. However, they were detected and arrested by the

SAAN

The Volkskas Bank in Silverton, raided by CPSA-ANC terrorists in 1980

police. They were convicted in November 1979, and the leader, Mange, was sentenced to death.

In an effort to show the firmness of their demands, the killers shot a young female teller in cold blood. Others were to follow if their demands were not quickly met. The situation became critical. Their cowardly deed provoked an immediate police counter-attack, during which the terrorists threw a live hand-grenade into the group of hostages, killing another woman and wounding eleven others. All three of the terrorists were killed[21] and one policeman was wounded in the battle that followed.

Newspapers quickly reported the event around the world. The media moved into action and described Mandela as a "61-year-old lawyer" who was "regarded as the most probable head of a black government if one is ever established in South Africa". The Reverend Sam Buti, of the SACC, said of the event: "The black man saw and interpreted the Silverton episode as heroic, the white man on the other hand labelled it as an act of terrorism."[22] Both the mass media and Buti had missed the mark.

Why were interested observers not told that, from London and Maputo, KGB Colonel Joe Slovo[23] himself had engineered the whole affair and that the ANC, in full co-operation with the KGB, the Marxist rulers of Mozambique and others (who cannot be mentioned at this stage) were the supervisors and directors of the abortive mission? Who would describe the dirty work of Slovo and the KGB as "heroic"? Buti said "the black man", but he failed to list any names.

Irrefutable proof of the CPSA-ANC connection was placed in the hands of the South

African authorities on 6 June 1982. On this eventful date the hated and greatly feared Jorge da Costa, one-time chief of Mozambique's national security, defected to South Africa.[24] Scores of top-secret documents were handed over to the South African security authorities by this man. He is the highest Mozambican security chief ever to defect. His move was a disaster for the Marxist rulers of Mozambique.

Scope magazine carried his full story complete with translations from many of the stolen documents. A personal friend of Slovo and Samora Machel, Da Costa speaks with clear authority. Regarding Slovo, he declared:

> "There is no doubt in my mind that Slovo is behind every operation launched by the ANC against South Africa. He has a brilliant mind and is one of the best-informed people about this country."[25]

Rapport

The end of the Marxist road for the CPSA-ANC bank raiders at Silverton

Rapport

Rapport

Rapport

In a state of shock, the innocent victims of the CPSA-ANC attack at Silverton are escorted away for treatment

KGB MAJOR KOZLOV, A FOURTH-TIME VISITOR

Six months later, the KGB appeared in the country, only this time in person. Mr. Svenson was enjoying his fourth visit to sunny South Africa. He had travelled widely in the Republic and decided to pay a visit to South West Africa. On 24 to 27 July 1980, he, along with a busload of other tourists, travelled to the famous Etosha Pan on a game-spotting trip. Fellow-tourists on the bus later described Kozlov as "friendly, outspoken and even loudmouthed". Everyone seemed to like this visitor to South Africa. Not a person on that bus tour knew that the friendly, burly, talkative man was, in fact, a Russian secret agent. He was Major Aleksei Kozlov of the KGB. Major Kozlov's elation was in for a rude shock. He boarded the plane on 28 July for the flight back to Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg. Upon entering the terminal building at Jan Smuts, a neatly dressed man stepped before him and said: "You are under arrest!" With these thunderous words, spoken by Security Branch Brigadier J. C. Broodryk, the career of the KGB agent ended in South Africa.

Like his counterpart Loginov, Major Kozlov, having passed through many storms of intense interrogation, began to talk. The Security Police had "three bulky dossiers of detailed information" given by the Russian agent. They dealt with such things as

> "a well-known white South African (his name was not released) who was one of the ANC's top representatives inside the country, details about ANC sabotage targets across the Republic, precise information about the ANC and CPSA involvement in trade union activities, plus intelligence about the Kremlin's work in Western Europe."[26]

According to London's Daily Telegraph, Major Kozlov was arrested as a result of a tip-off from West German intelligence. When arrested, he was travelling on false Swedish and West German passports and using the names Svensson and Svenson. He had been based in West Germany before his visit to South Africa.[27]

KGB Major Aleksie Kozlov, in a side-view photograph

Photo of exhibits used in Kozlov's court case. Note forged passport in centre carrying the name of Eric A. Svensson

Like his comrade Loginov, his importance to the Kremlin was reflected in his going price. The Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, announced in Parliament in May 1982 that

> "Major Kozlov had been exchanged for nine people, including the South African soldier who had been held prisoner for four years, Sapper van der Mescht, and eight very important Western intelligence agents who had been in custody behind the Iron Curtain for some considerable time."[28]

As long as the Soviet Communist Party exists, or any other genuine communist organization, South Africa will continue to be the target of penetration, infiltration and espionage, all with the final design of overthrowing the government, establishing a Marxist-Leninist state and thereby controlling the inestimable mineral wealth of the country and the invaluable Cape of Good Hope sea route.[29] If this object is ever accomplished, among the next targets will be the USA. South Africa is but a stepping-stone in the advance of world communism towards the goal of conquering the United States of America. They will use every possible means to achieve this objective.

These examples of KGB and various types of communist spies caught within the Republic are not even the tip of the iceberg. The Loginovs, Kozlovs and Aprils do not speak for the hundreds that are never detected. They or their comrades are at work even now as you read these lines.

SASOL, SLOVO AND THE UNITED NATIONS

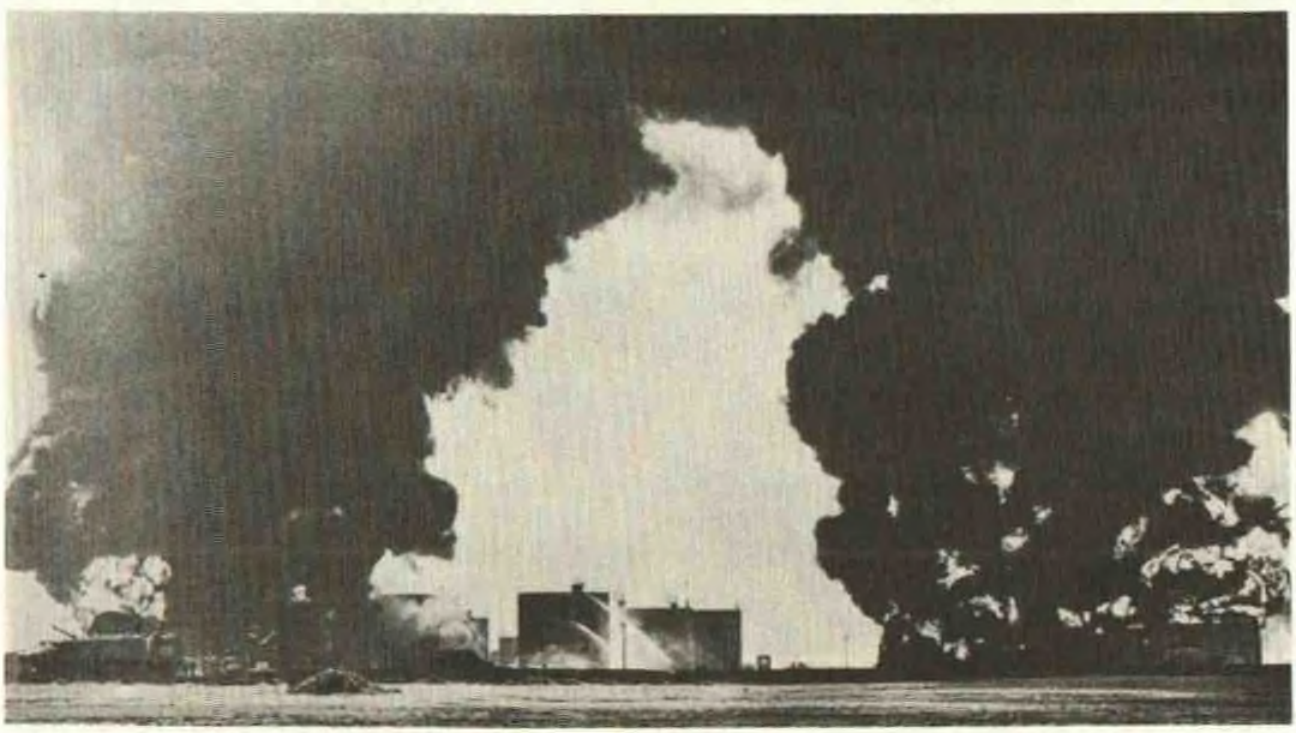
One month before Kozlov's arrest and with his full knowledge, the CPSA-ANC combination struck again in South Africa. The date was 1 June 1980. ANC cadres, operating secretly within the country, launched simultaneous attacks on three facilities of

the South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation (SASOL). The sabotage efforts resulted in about R7-million damage to these important installations. KGB Kozlov had prior knowledge of these attacks and actually visited these areas during his "tours" through South Africa. This point alone proves a clear working contact between the KGB's highest authorities outside the country and the ANC operatives within the Republic.

It was announced from the ANC base in Tanzania by Oliver Tambo that the raid was carried out by members of the Umkhonto we Sizwe wing of the ANC.[30]

The announcement also stated that the SASOL installations had been attacked because of their strategic position in the economy of South Africa. Meanwhile, the London-based spokesman for the ANC confirmed the words of comrade Tambo. Again, the mastermind behind the whole plot was KGB Colonel Joe Slovo, also a member of the CPSA Central Committee. Assisting Slovo in his deeds against South Africa was the Russian Ambassador in Lusaka, Vasily Solodovnikov, a high-ranking KGB official. This is the same KGB officer who had "contact" with Breytenbach before his abortive mission to South Africa.

Evidence of Soviet-KGB-GRU backing of the ANC and SWAPO is overwhelming.[31] Even the notorious United Nations has issued proof of communist support of the ANC. This occurred when the chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid called on UN members to submit statements of what their governments were doing to implement sanctions against South Africa. The Soviet Union jumped at the request, along with five of her captive slave states. The Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania and Bulgaria handed in their reports.[32] These reports state that the Soviets and their slave satellites are openly and flagrantly supporting the ANC,[33] SWAPO and the CPSA in their efforts to overthrow the Government of South Africa. Other groups named in the various reports are the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the Women's International Democratic Federation. All are Moscow organizations.



SAAN

Storage tanks burn at SASOL after an attack by the CPSA-ANC terrorists in 1980

U.S. Senate Subcommittee

"Ah, comrade!" Communist Party boss Erich Honecker embraces ANC boss Oliver Tambo during a meeting in East Germany

U.S. Senate Subcommittee

South African Nokonono Delphine, who testified before the American Senate Subcommittee in 1982, related her horrible experiences with the CPSA-ANC-KGB. (See documentation note number 33)

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

1. Slovo's wife (Ruth First) was drilled in communism from a small child. Her parents, Julius and Matilda First, were furniture manufacturers, both being charter members of the CPSA. Julius for a time served as treasurer of the ANC. Matilda was known as a "radical communist". Ruth joined the Junior Left Book Club, a group of intense children who spent hours discussing the decay of capitalism and the triumph of communism. (See *The Treason Cage*, Heinemann, London, 1958. By Anthony Sampson, p. 169)

   Joe Slovo came to South Africa in the early 1900s from Lithuania as a truck driver turned lawyer. He fled South Africa in 1963 and Ruth followed him in 1964. She was allegedly killed in a mysterious postal bomb blast in 1981 while teaching at the university in Maputo. Several members of her family were also involved in party activities in South Africa. (*African Intelligence Digest*, 1 March 1984, Phoenix, Arizona, USA, p. 4)

2. Report of the *Commission of Inquiry into the Riots of Soweto and Elsewhere* from 16 June 1976 to 28 February 1977, Pretoria, 1980, p. 571
3. Number 2, p. 510
4. Number 2, p. 511
5. Number 2, p. 511
6. Number 2, p. 513
7. Number 2, p. 571
8. Number 2, p. 572
9. In 1964, a row broke out in NUSAS about the position of blacks within the liberal organization. A subsequent breakaway enabled blacks to form their own South African Students Organization (SASO) in 1969. Its purpose was "to promote black consciousness".
10. Number 2, p. 575
11. Countless thousands of CPSA papers, duplications, documents, books and all sorts of publications have been issued over the years from party headquarters in London. These have been distributed over the Western world. One can access invaluable general party information from these sources.
12. *Sunday Times*, 12 September 1976, carried the story of his flight to Swaziland.
13. Pravda, 18 July 1978
14. *Borger News-Herald*, 2 September 1976, USA
15. *The Star*, 21 April 1981, carried an article showing that Soweto has one murder every 80 minutes, not counting the scores of other crimes being committed in that cesspool of suffering.
16. *Secret U.S. War Against South Africa*
    S.A. Today, Johannesburg 1977
    By Aida Parker, p. 10
17. Number 16, p. 11
18. One example of this was Drake Nkoka, a leader in the Soweto riots. He fled to Botswana and there "used CIA funds to organise a channel for students wishing to jump the border, often with the intention of going north for terrorist training". (Number 16, p. 11)
19. Most quotations under this heading are from
    Red Locusts
    Western Goals Publishers, Alexandria, VA, USA, 1981
    By Lawrence P. McDonald
20. A clear distinction must be made and maintained between the system of free-enterprise capitalism and that of monopoly capitalism. The latter is nothing more than a capitalist form of

communism operating within the borders of the free non-communist world. Some of the World Bankers, the Wall Street monopolists, Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), Order of Darkness, Illuminati, Bilderbergers and others make up this financial mafia. Even though these and similar groups may contain men and women who are "innocent of the hidden motives" and described as "sincere capitalists", nevertheless the organizations as such are the enemies of any free society.

They are dens of international power-drunk thieves. In some cases, they attempt to gain control over entire governments to use them to their financial advantage. They have in cases assisted in bringing communism into existence and have saved it from financial collapse on various occasions. They are working towards the goal of some sort of world control, and plan to use the power of money to bring this to pass. Their unscrupulous agents and dupes are planted in key positions in the larger world governments and intelligence services. This often explains the curious and anti-Western moves seen in such organizations as the CIA, MI5 and MI6 and their respective governments. They are basically controlled by the money lords, who, working with both communists and capitalists, call the shots to their own calculated advantage.

A clear example of this "working with the enemy" is seen in the illness of the former Soviet Communist Party boss and KGB head Yuri Andropov: "America collaborated secretly with Russia in an attempt to save the life of ... Andropov. An eminent American specialist conferred with a Soviet doctor over his kidney condition ...and America provided special dialysis equipment to treat the Soviet leader" (*The Star*, 13 February 1984). (See also chapter 32, under heading, The Chief Culprit: American Governments)

21. Long before the 1977 terrorist raid, ANC agents were "instructed to commit suicide rather than betray its cause" (*SA Digest*, 4 March 1977). This may explain the deaths of certain ANC personalities while in detention.

22. *Your Kingdom Come*
SACC, 1980
Edited by M. Nash, p. 8

23. *The Star*, 10 March 1981. Slovo and comrade Reginald September were both members of the ANC's Revolutionary Council. September was a listed Red trade unionist who fled South Africa for London.

24. *The Star*, 8 June 1982

25. *Scope* Magazine, 11, 18, 25 February 1983

26. *Sunday Times*, 16 May 1982

27. *The Citizen*, 12 May 1982

28. *South African Digest*, 14 May 1982, p. 3

29. South Africa's strategic value derives from its geographic location. The Cape of Good Hope is the most important control point in the Indian Ocean. The country that controls this point is in a position to keep a watchful eye on shipping movements in two oceans. More than 12 000 ships call at South Africa's ports annually, and between 11 000 and 14 000 ships sail annually round the Cape without calling. This can only increase in future years; also the communists realise that South Africa has the highest level of social and industrial facilities and development of any country on the African continent.

30. *The Star*, 10 March 1981. The Commissioner of Police admitted that "SASOL was the work of the CPSA-ANC". The ANC publication *Sechaba*, August 1980, contained a long article in which the units of Umkhonto we Sizwe claimed credit for the SASOL blasts.

31. Not only does the Soviet KGB-GRU support the ANC and SWAPO, but South Africa's second Nobel Prize winner, Bishop Tutu, does the same! Tutu told the nation over SABC radio upon his return from America: "I support the ANC but not their violence." (See also *Sowetan*,

3-2-82 for a similar comment.) Tutu's notoriety rocketed to an all-time high when, giving a public lecture at St Paul's Cathedral in London, he stated: "If the Russians were to come to South Africa most blacks would welcome them as saviours because anything is better than apartheid." (*The Citizen*, 20 November 1984.) Such irresponsible utterances as this should gain a Nobel Prize for nonsense. Continually, Tutu claims to speak for "the Christians of South Africa". This is another of his unfounded and irresponsible statements. He speaks only for his following of radicals, liberation theologists and socialists, and not for the majority of South African Christians, black or white. (For more of Tutu's comments, see number 35 under documentation for chapter 17)

Typical of the majority of their kind, the WCC also continues to support the organizations promoting terrorism and murder across South Africa. Recently the WCC announced that "SWAPO had been given $100 000, the PAC $30 000 and the ANC $70 000". (See *Ecumenical Press Service*, 84.09.44)

32. From *United Nations Documents* A/CONF. 107/5 dated 5 May 1981. A supplement was listed as A/CONF. 107/e Add. 1

33. A shocking update and inside picture of the ANC was given by Miss Nokonono Delphine testifying before the American Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism in 1982.

While working at Fort Hare, she had become the leading woman organizer in the Black Consciousness Movement and South African Students' Organization. She worked with Steve Biko. After Biko's death while in police detention, she helped organize his funeral.

Fleeing to Botswana, she was placed in ANC custody. She went into indoctrination classes led by CPSA-ANC personnel. She related how the CPSA controls the ANC, and told of her trip to Moscow, studies and rape by KGB officers after being accused of being a spy for America. She also told of seeing, after being sent back to Lusaka, Zambia, people murdered by injection and the dismemberment of three young people by members of the CPSA and the ANC. The SACTU was also involved in the killings. Finally, she told of her escape. It reads like a modern-day horror story. (See the full story in *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism of the United States Senate*, March 1982, Washington, D.C. Vol. 1 pp. 349-387.)

For the fate of Bartholomew Hlapane, who testified with Miss Delphine, see number 15 under documentation for chapter 21.

CHAPTER THIRTY

FOREIGN COUNTRIES RECEIVE AND SUPPORT THE CPSA-ANC

OVERSEAS SUPPORT FOR THE CPSA

For over three decades, South African terrorists, leftists and communist organizations have been sending representatives to various overseas countries (especially America) to develop powerful propaganda support and practical aid in the form of hard cash and weapons. In some cases, these foreign representatives have been proven Marxist-Leninists, fighting for the final victory of their Moscow or Peking lords in their own native countries.

They faithfully present themselves to the gullible overseas audiences as "freedom fighters" and the "only true, legitimate representatives of the captive peoples". Consequently some have become a smashing success within radical circles. Pseudo-liberals, materialists, humanists and anti-God, anti-capitalists of various breeds and shades readily champion the "just causes" enunciated by these visiting "representatives". From the South African point of view, the most popular groups represented overseas are the ANC and SWAPO. The CPSA, by virtue of its title, has purposely played a low-key role at most meetings, yet maintains direct contact via its ANC-SWAPO front leaders, American Communist Party personalities, various Marxist sympathisers and, of course, the hidden hand of the KGB.

Directives for all such operations follow this course: Orders originate in the Kremlin, are relayed to the CPSA and then are filtered into and through the various other groups considered by Moscow to be of lesser significance, but of great immediate puppet value. Moscow's minion in all the double-dealing is the CPSA, and every decision is calculated to bring this organization closer to the final goal of ruling South Africa under the Kremlin's directions. If this goal is ever realised, every other organization, including the ANC, regardless of how important it may consider itself, will bow to the CPSA-Moscow connection, or be dealt with accordingly. And naturally, standing on the sidelines, Peking also wants its slice of the South African cake.

IT BEGAN OVER THIRTY YEARS AGO

In 1951, certain ANC officials and the American black activist, Bill Sutherland, met in London. During this meeting, the editor of the ANC newspaper (African World) told Sutherland about the planned Defiance Campaign soon to occur in South Africa. It was being secretly organized by the CPSA through various radical groups, such as the ANC and the SAIC. On his return to the United States, Sutherland approached George M. Houser, director of a group called American Committee on Africa (ACOA), to convey the news of the Defiance Campaign. Houser, in turn, wrote to Walter Sisulu, then secretary-general of the ANC, and to Y. A. Cachalia, of the SAIC. Both men responded and "decided to set up an ad hoc organization called Americans for South African Resistance (AFSAR) in support of the Defiance Campaign".[1]

Rapport

A secret underground ANC terrorist shelter discovered in South Africa. Note candles, blankets, newspapers and bottles

Rapport

The hidden ventilation hole of the ANC shelter

Almost simultaneously with the commencement of the Defiance Campaign, Z. K. Matthews, head of the ANC's Cape branch, arrived in New York as a visiting professor of "world Christianity" at Union Theological Seminary.[2] Matthews became known as "the New York-based ANC leader". He received a steady stream of information regarding the campaign in South Africa. Matthews in turn supplied this intelligence to Houser's radical organization ACOA. A series of bulletins were published by this group and propagated in America, resulting in thousands of dollars being raised. Through Matthews, the money was sent to the ANC in South Africa. This was in the early and mid-1950s.

MONEY TO SUPPORT MARXISM

A few years later, Houser's ACOA, which is not a legal organization in any sense of the word, sent some $75 000 to South Africa to pay for the legal defence of various CPSA, ANC and SAIC members in the famous treason trials of 1956-59 (see chapter 18). It also sent the then Dean of the Harvard Law School, Erwin Griswold, to South Africa as an "observer" without making known to the public the ACOA sponsorship of such deeds. ACOA lawyers and board members included interesting persons such as Peter Weiss, of the far-left National Lawyers Guild (NLG), and exiled South African attorneys Joel Carlson and Michael Davis. When Houser retired from the ACOA front organization as executive director in 1981, his place was taken by Jennifer Davis, a South African "exile" who works for the publication Southern Africa.[3] Davis' record is well known to informed South Africans. "The initial purpose of the ACOA was to... generate support for the ANC's demonstrations against South Africa."[4]

In 1966, the ACOA set up a group called The Africa Fund, which over the years has pumped multiplied thousands of dollars into Africa's numerous leftist, communist, terrorist and revolutionary movements. (These are usually well intermixed.) Birds of the Red feather type frequently inhabit the ACOA nest in New York City. Members and friends of the banned CPSA are seen moving in and out of their headquarters, plus strange persons "speaking with a definite Eastern European accent". As would be expected, the apostate American National Council of Churches also has its finger in the ACOA pie.

THE ACOA BABY

In 1968, the ACOA established a full-time office in Washington D.C. A few years later, in 1972, the ACOA established a Washington Office on Africa (WOA), which is allegedly a front organization working for the aims of communism, particularly in South Africa. Miss Christine Root was the associate director of this group at its inception.[5] When one knows the mother (ACOA) that produced this "revolutionary child", one may understand the Bible quotation that states: "As is the mother so is her daughter" (Ezekiel 16:44). The WOA was just like its mother, the ACOA.

Since its birth, the WOA has pretended to operate as an independent organization. However, only the most guillible would believe this typical and standard line. A careful look at the WOA's list of sponsors over the years proves instructive: these include such far-left groups as Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Church of the Brethren, Episcopal Church, United Methodist Church Board of Global Ministries,[6] Office for Church Society and numerous radical unions, leftists and Marxist organizations across America.

In America, the WOA has worked hand-in-hand with such radical, far left and revolutionary groups as the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), American Friends Service

Committee (AFSC), the unholy Southern African Committee and the International Defence and Aid Fund.[7]

WOA SUPPORTS MARXIST ORGANIZATIONS

The WOA, like the WCC of Geneva, feels no shame and offers no valid explanation for its support of violence. Some of the benefactors of the WOA "grants" are Africa News, the Southern Africa Committee, Eritreans for Liberation, Pan Africanist Congress, South African Freedom Day Coalition, South African Christian Council Refugee Program and, again, the International Defence and Aid Fund.[8] These are only a few.

The WOA, since 1980, has been under the direction of Jean Sindab, who did "years of research in Zambia", assisted by such famous radical personalities as Christine Root, David Neigus, George Wright and Janice McLaughlin. In 1978, the leadership of the WOA held a meeting and produced another brainchild, this one bearing the name of Southern African Working Group. The final aim of this group is to smash and utterly destroy the government in South Africa and to bring about some sort of socialist rule. As in all such organizations, South African communists and their partners in crime are often spotted in "fellowship" with the members and leaders of each movement. The ANC and CPSA are often represented, but this is kept at "low key" for special reasons.

The Soviet division of the world theatre of absurdity, the United Nations, greatly influences the activities of these groups and one may rest assured that the KGB is alive and well in each of these anti-South African organizations.

THE LISBON MEETING 1977

On 16 June 1977, the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (both known Soviet fronts) opened a "World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism" in Lisbon. The purpose of this gathering was to "prevent foreign investments in South Africa and demand embargoes against the racist Government of the South African area". Personalities of both the CPSA and the ANC were represented in this collection of Marxist clowns and political puppets.

The collaboration between CPSA and other communist parties and revolutionary movements was well reflected in this meeting. The conference co-ordinator was Carl Bloice, of the American Communist Party and a member of its Central Committee. He is also long-time editor of the People's World, a party publication. This paper has, over the years, vigorously supported terrorist groups operating in Southern Africa. It carries regular articles praising the CPSA and the ANC.[9]

The sponsors of this meeting included South African Magazine and the radical Operation PUSH, headed by the Rev. Jessie Jackson, the black American leftist who visited South Africa in 1979. He was brought to the country by the SACC, which is totally understandable. Once here, he blatantly preached disinvestment in South Africa, advocating sports and economic sanctions. America's popular Time magazine gave Jackson a cover story and well described him as belonging to the "hierarchical leftists".[10] Jackson has for years marched with radicals, Marxists and revolutionaries in the streets of America. His leftist organization, PUSH, has become "involved with the pro-Palestine Liberation Organization — PLO — as well as backing for ANC and SWAPO".[11] Jackson's international relations director is Jack O'Dell, identified under oath as a member of the American Communist Party.[12]

Also present at the Lisbon meeting was the Castro-controlled Puerto Rican Socialist

Johan Campher — Rapport

A young military man is assisted away from the blast scene

Johan Campher — Rapport

Stunned, this wounded woman seeks help from a man

These photographs show the results of the CPSA-ANC bomb blast in Pretoria, 1983

The CPSA-ANC bomb blast in Pretoria indiscriminately killed and wounded both blacks and whites. Terrorists' philosophy teaches them you can help people by wounding, hurting and killing them

The Pretoria News

A young man sits trapped beneath the rubble from the explosion

Johan Campher — Rapport

A wounded African attempts to get to his feet. Note half of a car steel tyre rim just behind him, while the other half lies to the middle right of the photo

Party (PSAP) and various other leftist and communist organizations. The CPSA found great sympathy and comfort in such gatherings and received tremendous support for its assaults on South Africa.

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE 1981

On 8 June 1981, a communist-infected meeting was held in Washington D.C. It was named "Building Forces Against United States Support For South Africa". This conference was held on Howard University campus.[13] Among the weird and wonderful collection of participants were such characters as Randall Robinson, Oliver Tambo and Canon Robert C. S. Powell, of the American National Council of Churches. Sharing in the events were the usual line-up of CPSA, ANC and SWAPO delegates and (of course!) representatives from the United Nations. Personalities from the World Peace Council (WPC), Cuba, Algeria, East Germany and Red fronts across America were also there. Again, the CPSA and their "struggle against racism in South Africa" were hailed as a "true people's organization representing the will and voice of South Africa". The suckers present swallowed the bait.

A rare photograph of the dreaded Lubyanka Prison in Moscow. This building also houses the notorious Soviet KGB. Numerous South Africans trained in Russia pass through this place

THE UNITED METHODIST OFFICE CONFERENCE 1981

When the announcement was given of a "Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa", the Kremlin issued orders via the American Communist Party. Dupes across the United States serving within the ranks of major Soviet front organizations were instructed to "rally and support the conference". They did.

Scheduled from 9 to 11 October 1981, and organized by the United Methodist Office for the United Nations, the solidarity conference organizers were pawns in the hands of the KGB. Their affiliates in the American Communist Party and other fronts were sent into action. Literature distributed by the organizers stated that Oliver Tambo, of the ANC, and Sam Nujoma, of SWAPO, would be present for the "opening plenary".[14] Along with their comrades in the ANC and SWAPO, the CPSA received great honour and prestige, plus enormous financial, moral and physical support from this gathering.

Regarding the work of "liberation" being performed by the CPSA-ANC combination, please note a few of the photographs in this chapter showing a very small portion of the consequences of their bomb attack in Pretoria in May 1983. They speak for themselves.

At the beginning of 1982 the ANC promised that it would step up its "armed struggle to dismantle ... South Africa".[15] This could never be attempted without the assistance of Moscow, the KGB, the WCC, the CPSA, the United Nations and various other groups.[16]

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER THIRTY

1. *Congressional Record,* 9 September 1977
   By Hon. Larry McDonald, p. 58
   Subject: *American Committee of Africa – Transnational support for Terrorism*
2. Union Theological Seminary is America's oldest known religious hotbed of communists and their dupes. Its long-time leader, Dr. Harry F. Ward, was famed for his communist preaching. (See *The Unholy Alliance,* Arlington House Publishers, New York, 1975. By C. Gregg Singer, pp. 135, 202, 236, 357, 358 and 362)
3. This publication praises the terrorists seeking to overthrow South Africa. It is openly pro-Soviet and filled with Marxist jargon.
4. *American Opinion*
   Belmont, Mass., USA, January 1983, p. 53
5. Number 1, p. 60
6. This Methodist Board of Global Ministries has financed a variety of radical causes including the PLO and a 1981 Conference on South Africa run by Carl Bloice of the Central Committee of the American Communist Party. The Board gave $4 000 to this communist-sponsored project.
   (*American Opinion,* Belmont, Mass., USA, June 1984, pp. 53, 84)
7. *Congressional Record,* 19 February 1981
   By Hon. Larry McDonald, pp. 72-74
   Subject: *The Anti-African Lobby, Washington office on Africa*
8. Number 7, pp. 73-76, names over 100 sponsors of the WOA and its various aims. It is a bizarre listing of some of the most radical movements in America, including a sprinkling of communist party members.
9. *Red Locusts*
   Western Goals Publishers, Alexandria, Va., USA 1981
   By L. P. McDonald, pp. 48-53
10. Number 9, pp. 39-40
11. *Time,* 6 April 1970
12. *The Review of the News*
    Belmont, Mass., USA, 18 August 1982, p. 66
13. *Laymen's Digest,* 15 April 1980
14. Number 9, pp. 48-53
15. *The Herald,* Zimbabwe, 29 January 1982
16. "The banned ANC has received more than R118-million this year (1983) from various countries and affiliated organizations of the United Nations... The World Health Organization (WHO) had supplied the ANC with R200 000 which was supposed to be used for refugees. The UN general budget (set aside) more than R500 000 for the ANC... This year's figure (for ANC) was now at R120 000 and was still rising." (*The Citizen,* 21 June 1983)

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

THE MANY-SIDED ONSLAUGHT CONTINUES

ROCKET ATTACK ON VOORTREKKERHOOGTE

While the CPSA-ANC-SWAPO "stage personalities" were busy in America and elsewhere raising both cash and emotional sympathies for their murderous organizations, their comrades were busy back home in South Africa.

In the early part of 1981, an unsuspecting Pretoria businessman leased his five-bedroom luxury farmhouse, located not far from Pretoria, to Nicholas Francis Henry Heath, 33, accompanied by bonnier Lou Muller, 27. Both were British visitors to South Africa. Little did this businessman realise that these two were secret agents who had entered South Africa to establish a "cover" for the rocket attack on the Voortrekkerhoogte military complex near Pretoria. They had entered South Africa from Maputo.

After Heath and Muller had rented the house for R500 per month, trained ANC terrorists moved in during early August in the guise of labourers and domestic servants. They brought with them "piece by piece", a Soviet-manufactured Grad P rocket-launcher, AK-47s, several Mokorov 9 mm automatic pistols, plenty of ammunition and other equipment. It was proved that Heath and Muller lived in the house until four days before the attack. They were supposed to have returned to their native England, but Scotland Yard detectives could later find no trace of them. They gave false addresses on their travel documents, going under the names of Mr. and Mrs. Heath.[1]

Just prior to the arrival of these two South Africa haters, two other whites entered the country to play their part in the plot. They were a Briton, Davis William Hedges, and a Belgian, Fuido Luciaan van Hecken. They purchased three cars, later to be used by the fleeing ANC terrorists.

Exactly two weeks before the attack, Van Hecken and Hedges disappeared into Swaziland. Later, Van Hecken surfaced as "a lecturer at the University of Maputo". He was last seen in Western Europe.

Another white who figured in the attack was a former South African, Dr. Edward Wethil, now resident in Canada. He, like his comrades, had entered South Africa earlier in the year. His work was to purchase a truck and drive it to Maputo in May 1981. In Maputo he linked up with Mr. and Mrs. Heath, who drove his truck back to the farmhouse at Mooiplaas (near Pretoria) where they stayed. The "Heaths" disappeared exactly four days before the rocket attack.[2]

FIVE ANC TERRORISTS ARRIVE

Meanwhile, word was relayed via underground channels to five ANC terrorists from Mozambique who were waiting in Mabopane, Bophuthatswana. After a sneak attack on the Mabopane police station in which two policemen and a civilian were killed,[3] they made

their way to the farmhouse near the Voortrekkerhoogte military base. Upon arrival they performed a Marxist metamorphosis and were changed into "domestics and labourers" on the farm.

A few days later, on 12 August 1981, under cover of darkness, they launched the attack on Voortrekkerhoogte located about 7 km away. The military complex was shaken by the blast of four 122 mm rockets.[4] Little damage was done and one domestic worker was slightly wounded. In their rush to flee the scene of the launching, the terrorists shot and wounded a 17-year-old youth named Zahed Patel.[5] Then they hurried back to their Mooiplaas hideout, where they remained whilst a massive manhunt was launched for them.

Pretoria News

The farmhouse rented by the terrorists was just outside Pretoria. Here the ANC terrorists found shelter and planned their attack on Voortrekkerhoogte in 1981

After a period of four days, they left the country and made their way back to a military training camp located in Mozambique. There can be no doubt that the entire plan had something of an "international touch". It was cunningly devised and carefully orchestrated to the smallest detail. Agents from Canada, Great Britain, Belgium and Mozambique were all involved in the execution of the attack. Thousands of rands were needed and careful communications and a detailed blueprint of operations were involved. With Maputo serving as the "contact place" for both the black and white terrorists, one can rest assured the shadowy mind of Joe Slovo and the long arm of the KGB were also involved. It is noteworthy that Slovo's wife, Ruth First, had also served as a "lecturer at the University of Maputo", the same work assigned to the Belgian, Van Hecken, after he had fled South Africa.

Later, the Kremlin's stepchild, the ANC, made a public announcement from its Lusaka, Zambia headquarters, taking full credit for the attack.

RUSSIANS ON SOUTH AFRICA'S BORDERS

Only a few weeks after the Voortrekkerhoogte attack, South Africans who glanced at the Rand Daily Mail on the morning of 3 September 1981, were once again stunned as they looked into the face of a captured Russian soldier! The Citizen carried a large bold headline: **S.A. CAPTURES RUSSIAN OFFICER.**[6] During August 1981, the South African Defence Force went into Marxist Angola to "clean out SWAPO strongholds and bases actually manned by Soviet officers". During the battles that followed, we read that "the South African forces shot dead two Russian lieutenant-colonels during operations inside Angola against SWAPO and captured a Russian NCO".[7]

The Russian soldier was Sergeant-Major Nikolai Pestretsov, 36. He was captured while travelling in a military vehicle in a convoy with members of SWAPO and FAPLA. Several fierce battles raged. During the fight at Ongiva, nine Russians (six men and three women) escaped capture. Sixteen other Russians (eleven men, three women and two children) also escaped capture in the battle at Xangongo. At least four Russians were killed in the fighting.[8]

Pretoria News

This Soviet-manufactured Grad P or DKZ-B fired the rockets into the military complex at Voortrekkerhoogte

Photographs were published on television and in major newspapers, showing the results of the trip into Angola by South African forces. It has been proved that the Kremlin had sent about

> "R6 666-million worth of military supplies to sub-Saharan Africa in the past five years... the most important clients were Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique".[9]

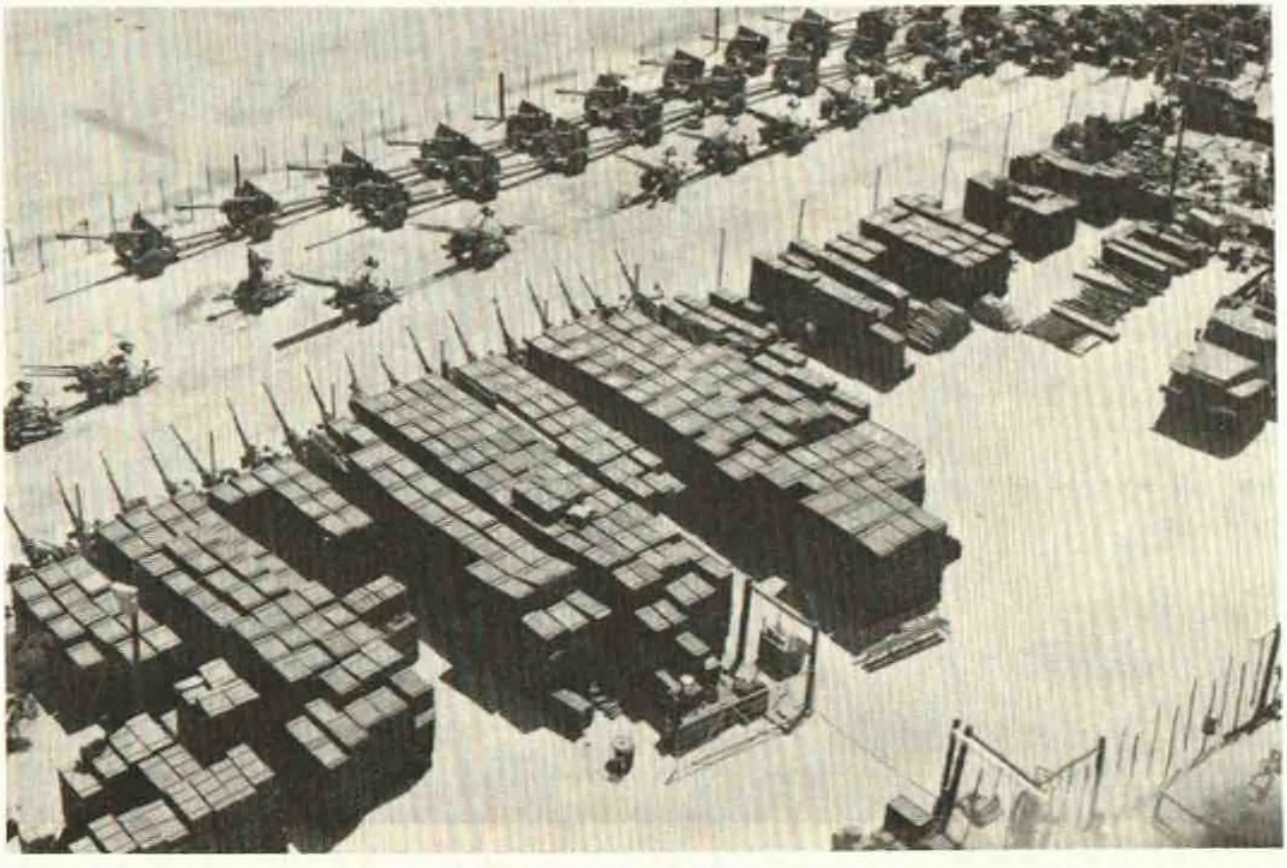
South African forces captured about 4 000 tons of military equipment and ammunition worth about R200-million. Among the vast arsenal captured were Russian T34 tanks, PT76 amphibious tanks, BRDM-2 amphibious scout cars and hundreds of other vehicles of all sorts, together with rockets, mortars, landmines, rifles, machine-guns, anti-aircraft guns and SAM-7 missile-launchers. Vast amounts of documentation and valuable information came into the hands of the South Africans.

It is well known in intelligence circles that thousands of Russian, Cuban and East German military advisers, intelligence officers and agents of various designations are now in Angola. In order to lift suspicion from the KGB, reports tell of the Soviet GRU becoming the predominant actor on the Marxist-Leninist stage of Angola.

The ceaseless communist onslaught against South Africa presses ever closer and becomes more serious with neighbouring states gradually falling into Marxist hands.

Russian and Cuban officers giving instruction to Africans in Angola. Note portraits of Engels, Marx, Lenin and Neto

Russian soldier Nikolai F. Pestretsov captured by South African forces inside Angola in August 1981



A small portion of the thousands of tons of Soviet equipment captured by South African forces during a raid in 1981 against SWAPO bases in Marxist Angola

These innocent blacks were "liberated" by the "Christian freedom fighters" in Angola. Dr. David Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, said: "We cannot brand them (terrorists) as enemies of democracy and disciples of Moscow because they are fighting for their rights"

THE MULTIFACED MARXIST MONSTER

The attempt to overthrow the government of South Africa and establish some sort of Marxist-Socialist rule takes on various forms. The many cloak-and-dagger methods illustrated in the previous pages of this book are but a small portion of the whole. With demonic genius, the masterminds of communism have studied the anatomy of revolution and developed every aspect of it. Revolution must be pursued at every level of capitalist life. Nothing is spared for the final triumph of Marxism. Overt and covert, every strategy to bring down the system of free enterprise and establish socialism is being used against South Africa. The communist battlecry, "Use everything that works", is being applied at every step of the way. The socialist monster has many faces.

ATTACK THROUGH SPORT

During the controversial South African rugby tour of New Zealand in 1981, the world sat and watched in amazement the highly organized riots and demonstrations aimed at the visiting South African team. Little consideration was given to the behind-the-scenes preparations and planning for the riots and demonstrations. Millions of dollars were spent on planning, committee meetings, food, lodging, travel, printing and special transport services. Where did the money come from? It was obvious to all who observed the demonstrators that most were suffering from a serious deficiency in brain function. Their inability to express any form of respect or courtesy for the visiting sportsmen and their complete disregard for law and order shone through the whole shameful affair.

Mr. Robert Muldoon, the then Prime Minister of New Zealand, following the riots and demonstrations, gave the other side of the story. "They (the rioters) were formed by the left-wing elements all over the world." He stated that they were, in part, financed by the "Workers Communist League... which was funded by the Soviet embassy". Mr. Muldoon ended his statement with: "We have authenticated instances of students being paid to demonstrate."[10] Both the Soviet embassy in New Zealand and the Workers' Communist League are tools of the KGB. Large amounts of support for the demonstrations came from these sources. "Non-communists" also supported the demonstrators. One came from South Africa.

During one of the trials of the New Zealand rioters and protesters a surprise witness appeared. He was Bishop Tutu, the famed leader of the South African Council of Churches (SACC). Tutu stood in the witness box as a "defence witness" for the rabid and wild "anti-apartheid demonstrators". He told newsmen he was demonstrating "solidarity" with them.[11] The rioters enjoyed support from the Soviet Embassy, the Workers' Communist League and a bishop from Johannesburg, South Africa.

Communist endeavours against South Africa in the field of sport is seen in the "suspensions" imposed on the Republic between 1968 and 1980, by eleven different sporting bodies of the world. Six of the votes came directly from the Soviet Union.[12] This reveals the extent to which the Soviet Union and its Marxist friends will go in order to isolate South Africa in the field of international sport. The main tools for this isolation are the so-called anti-apartheid organizations of the world.

ATTACK THROUGH THE ARTS

Scorn is continually heaped upon the South African security system and the use of "preventive detention". This comes from various levels, but especially the liberal-ecumenical churches and institutions of education.

Eight British missionaries, including a 3-week-old baby and four young children, were visited by the "Christian freedom fighters" in June 1978 at Elim Station in former Rhodesia. They were massacred

"A detainee day play was to be held in the Central Methodist Church in Durban. Tickets could be purchased through the Students' Representative Council (SRC) of Natal University."[13]

It was one big mockery of the prison system.

A "pro-detainees concert held at Wits University"[14] was a collection of motley, long-haired radicals flashing the clenched fist salute and shouting various revolutionary slogans. Such stage drama is nothing new. South Africa haters have used it for years in their fanatical bid to bring about "changes" in the country and the emergence of a "new system". Comrade Mary Benson (already mentioned) wrote a "stage drama" and named it Robben Island. It was sponsored by Canon Collins and his friends in London and Christian Aid. Even Dennis Brutus, the "sports agitator" against South Africa, produced a collection of poems called "Letters to Martha and other poems from South African prisons". This was as far back as 1968.[15]

One revolutionary publication carried a very attractive ad for the sale of the booklet, Poets to the People, by South African poets. The ten poets whose poems for sale were: Dennis Brutus, Barry Feinberg, A. N. C. Kumalo, Mazisi Kunene, Hugh Lewin, Oswald R. Mtshali, Arthur Nortje, Cosmo Pieterse, Mongane Wally Serote and Scarlet Whitman. All royalties went to the International Defence and Aid Fund.[16]

A symposium entitled "Cultural Resistance" held in Botswana was a mixed gathering of Marxists, socialists, near and far left-wingers, various exiled persons, South African students, activists and ANC members. A public announcement was made. "It was decided that art should be placed in a political perspective which was relevant to the liberation struggle."[17]

ATTACK THROUGH RELIGION

The Johannesburg Cathedral is often the scene of wild protests against the "system". Amid the roar of slogans, clenched-fist salutes, ex-Robben Island detainees, listed persons and united shouts for "the revolution is coming", these ecumenical "churchmen" revel in such shameful commotion being enacted in the house of God. It is notable that certain men of the South African Council of Churches are the leading lights in these blasphemous displays. The preaching and pleading for men to repent of their sins and come to the saving knowledge of Christ, to begin a new life through the miracle of true Christian conversion, are simply not heard. Obsessed with the wretched untruth of "liberation theology", the saving Gospel of Christ is shamefully shoved aside, or reinterpreted by these "politicised churchmen" into a tool for varying political actions against the State. It is a travesty of divine truth.

Cape Town has seen numerous examples of these "churchmen" in action.

"On Sunday the 20th of May, a meeting took place in St. George's Cathedral... on PEACE IN NAMIBIA. It was organized by the 'End Conscription Committee' and presided over by Mary Burton of the Black Sash. She assured the audience of about 300 (mostly students) that the 'total onslaught' against South Africa was a mere myth. It was not the Cubans, the communists and SWAPO (said the main speaker, Rev. Z. Kameeta, who is vice president of the Council of Churches of Namibia) who were a threat to Namibia... but the South Africans and their army. It was the 'institutionalised terrorism' of the S.A. authorities and their 'hatred of humanity', which were at the root of the conflict."[18]

Typical of this standard pseudo-liberal judgement and the heart's disease of the "politicised" clergymen, the communist-backed, supported, inspired, trained and directed SWAPO terrorists, whose record of planned intimidation, kidnapping and horrible

murders has filled volumes, are exonerated of blame and the government and people of South Africa are declared the hooligans!

For years the leaders of the liberal ecumenical organizations have described the terrorist organizations and their directors as "Christians", "good men", "doing a work of compassion", "beloved leaders", and Bishop Tutu of the SACC even went so far as to say "the ANC president Oliver Tambo was a deeply religious man..."[19] (Note carefully the photographs inserted into this chapter showing some of the "liberations" produced by these "Christians" and their "freedom fighters".)

With the appearance of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in August 1983 on the South African scene, the banned ANC now has an alleged internal arm, operating for the most part freely within the country. While Bishop Tutu "agrees with the aims of the (external) ANC" but "not their methods", Dr. Allan Boesak has become the "patron" of the new radical political organization operating within South Africa. Pamphlets carrying the letterhead of the United Democratic Front contained messages written by the CPSA from its exile headquarters in London. The final sentence of one particular pamphlet was the last sentence from Marx's Communist Manifesto, except for one word change. This is the same Dr. Boesak who stood before the WCC's Sixth General Assembly in Vancouver, Canada, and "pleaded for church support of the oppressed to take up arms in their struggle for freedom".[20]

The average South African has no idea of the propaganda statements being made by some of their church leaders, and how many of these very statements give enormous encouragement and moral support to their sworn enemies; or how their SACC headquarters located in Braamfontein has over the years been associated with terrorists, the extreme left, subversion and varied forms of sub-Christian activities. Why was the SACC continually mentioned in the treason trial, in 1983, of Carl Niehaus and Johanna Lourens? What is a "Christian organization" doing mixed up in such a mess? (Niehaus was found guilty of treason and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.)

One of Niehaus' tasks was to furnish photographs of the Johannesburg municipal gasworks to the ANC for sabotage. The camera for this work was to have been supplied by the SACC's Inter-Church Media Programme.[21] The subsequent photos were to have been developed in the SACC's darkroom.[22] The plans of the gasworks were drawn in Niehaus' office at the SACC building.[23] Why does the SACC and some of its personalities periodically appear in trials of this nature?

The truth is that false theology has become the handmaid of religious-socialistic-revolutionary politics. It progressively begets error upon error. Hence, a Cape newspaper reported of Bishop Tutu these words:

> "Some people thought there was something odd about Jesus' birth. Many Christians try to run away from this because it may be that Jesus was an illegitimate son. If you look at the line of women mentioned in the Bible it is always the women who have a dubious kind of history..."[24]

Another popular and well-known liberal ecumenical associated with the SACC said in a Johannesburg court: "Christ could be seen as a 'social, economic and political revolutionary, over and above his religious significance'."[25] These words were credited to Dr. Manas Buthelezi.

Such radical statements fly into the face of historical, conservative Christianity. Two hundred years ago men who dared to make such brazen statements would have been kicked out of the church and summarily defrocked. Today, these same people in South Africa receive into their financial coffers (and over 96 per cent of it comes from overseas sources) well over a million rands annually, a portion of which has been used in recent

Innocent Red Cross workers "liberated" by the WCC-sponsored killers. This was in May 1978

Die Volksblad

"They say our syllabuses are inferior. They want to teach us something different."

The cartoon depicts the tragedy of black children abducted by SWAPO and carried off for military training

years to take legal action against those (basically conservative) people who think it their duty to stand up and express their disagreement with such theological rubbish and political nonsense. Bishop Tutu has stated continually: "We welcome criticism." Yet, numbers of their critics have received that special little letter from the SACC's legal firm in which the sabres of litigation are rattled in their faces.

True, scholarly and genuine academic liberalism has no fear of letting the other man say his piece in decent and amiable language. It is welcomed. The pseudo-liberals seem terrified at the thought of effective, valid and well-articulated contradiction and exposure of their policies, associations and practices. It somehow serves to injure and impair their public image as "humanitarian crusaders fighting for everyone's rights". In these warnings of legal action they are often understood to be practising one thing, while preaching another.

To deny that true, historical conservative Christianity has been one of the bulwarks against the inroads of Marxist socialism in whatever form it may appear, is to deny that fish swim and birds fly. This can hardly be said of the pseudo-liberals, be they religious, political or academic. The religious ones are enchanted by illusions and romanticized dreams of a future social, political and economic Kingdom of God on earth. By changing the system (government) on the outside and establishing their form of socialism, Heaven will have arrived on earth (so they think)! They have scrapped God's word or reinterpreted it as part of their socio-political gospel so that it, too, now teaches some form of revolution, overthrow and socialism. The issue of original sin, and the need for a dramatic and supernatural change, performed by the Grace of God in the human heart, are a serious embarrassment, and courteously explained away or simply left without comment. One American author put it this way:

> "The various brands of Christian Socialism share a tradition of twisting and torturing Christian doctrine to make it fit their ideological imperatives... we are dealing with an effort to portray Jesus as a social revolutionary, a rebel against society, a leveler, a secular king... and indeed a pre-communist..."[26]

The same author continues with these very timely and pungent words:

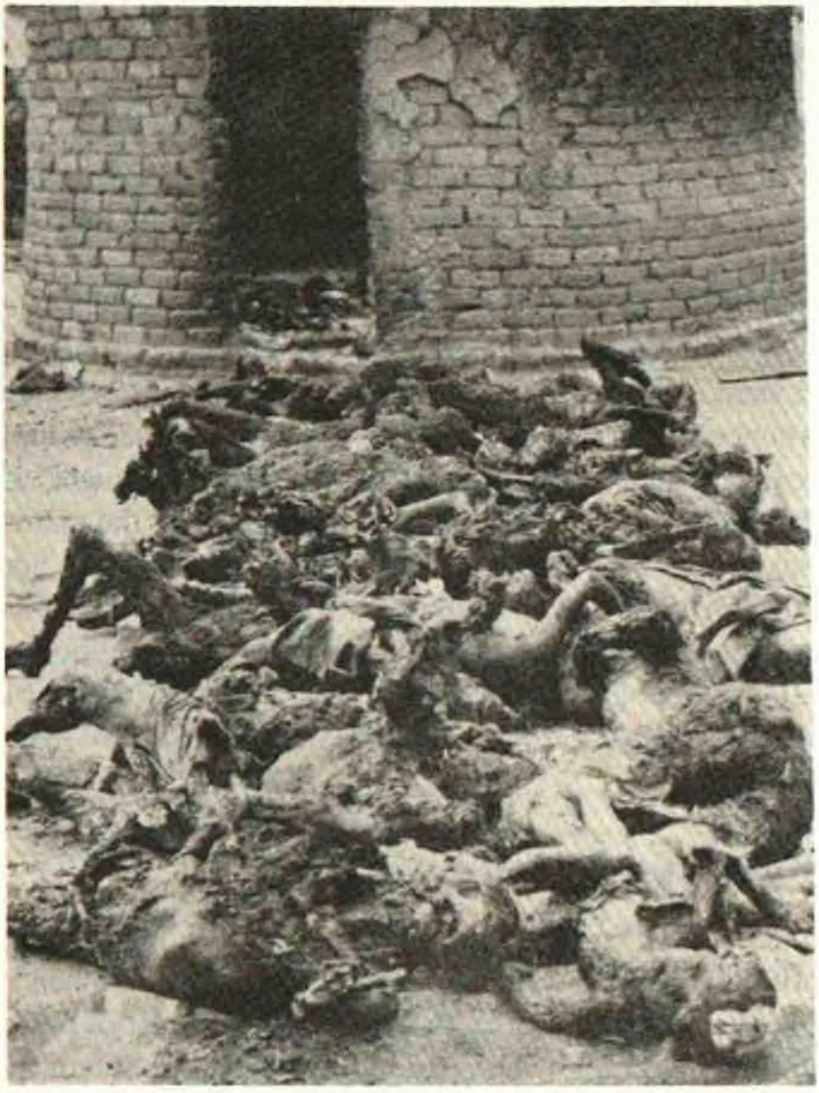
> "The communists are perfectly honest about the irreconcilability of (the) Christian religion with their system; the socialists are less honest and keep hoping at least to derive an ethic common to socialism and Christianity. The liberals are not so much dishonest as muddled: frequently they profess a sincere Christianity while promoting the sort of egalitarianism the faith rejects."[27]

Looking at the whole drama from the strict viewpoint of a dedicated, thoroughly trained and indoctrinated communist, he must feel some level of appreciation in his heart for the actions and radical statements of the sort listed above and scattered throughout this writing. To believe he would be hostile to such liberal ecumenical utterances is to believe the impossible.

This is not to suggest that these men are communists, but it is to stress the point that their distorted theology reveals them to be socialists (of whatever sort), and many of the statements that accompany this kind of philosophy must find some sort of approval within the camp of genuine Marxist-Leninists. It can be no other way. (See chapter 17 under heading, What Communists Say Of The "Non-Communist" Sympathisers.)

ATTACK THROUGH RADIO BROADCASTS

For years the airwaves of South Africa have been filled with propaganda broadcasts of various sorts, beamed from the numerous communist and anti-South African nations of the earth.



"Freedom fighters" herded these men, women and children into this hut, then set fire to the thatched roof. The fifth Assembly of the WCC was told in 1975: "Liberation fighters in Southern Africa are motivated by love, not hate"

Back in 1976, a young black man testified in court of "deciding to go to Zambia for military training after hearing broadcasts on Radio Zambia inviting people to do so".[28] The same youth told of taking "three others with him and seeking to leave South Africa for military training". The author has personally met numerous blacks who have told him of hearing these broadcasts and the "powerful appeal to hate and kill they generate in one's heart".

The following communist or Marxist nations are beaming programmes to South Africa: Albania, Angola, Bulgaria, Red China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, East Germany, North Korea, Mozambique, Rumania, Vietnam and the USSR. Marxist nations specialising in anti-South African propaganda are Angola, East Germany, Red China, Ethiopia and the Soviet Union. Neighbouring countries such as Zambia, Botswana and Lesotho blast the Republic with their message of hate. The languages used by these stations are English, Zulu, Shona, Sotho, Tswana and Venda. The special ANC stations located in Zambia, Angola, Dar-es-Salaam and Madagascar pour their wild programmes into the Republic in such languages as Oshiherero, Oshiwambo, Subiya, Nama, Damara, Simbunda, Swanghair, English and Afrikaans. Along with the ANC-SWAPO

combination, the PAC shares in the hate campaign. They collaborate and preach their messages according to "socialism" in English, Venda, Sotho, Zulu, South Sotho, Tsonga and Xhosa.[29]

Such programmes can only have a tremendous effect in destroying good race relations among the people of South Africa. This vast field of propaganda broadcasting into the country changes yearly, but only to the calculated advantage of the Marxists or their dupes behind the microphones.

One is even more astounded to learn that the South African Government annually does millions of rands worth of business with the very neighbouring countries that allow, and even sponsor, such vicious propaganda. How long this "double dealing" will continue is a question of serious concern. Thousands of South Africans of all race groups are wondering how their country can continue to "oppose communism with all its might" while feeding and financing the very enemies they are opposing. One cannot pet the cobra unendingly. A Chinese proverb says: "He who rides the tiger must not get off!" When questioning a government official about this flat contradiction, the author was informed that "in the history of various nations, there comes a time when butter is more important than bullets". The conclusion of this little political nursery rhyme is: "Sell the Marxists butter today, and they will kill you with bullets tomorrow." After all, they have said so! (See documentation note 22 in chapter 32.)

THE DEPTH OF KGB PENETRATION

On 26 January 1983, a grim-faced Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, called a special press conference at his office in the H. F. Verwoerd Building shortly after lunch. Members of the press sat in death-like silence as Mr. Botha, flanked by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Louis le Grange, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, stood and read a brief, but electric, statement.

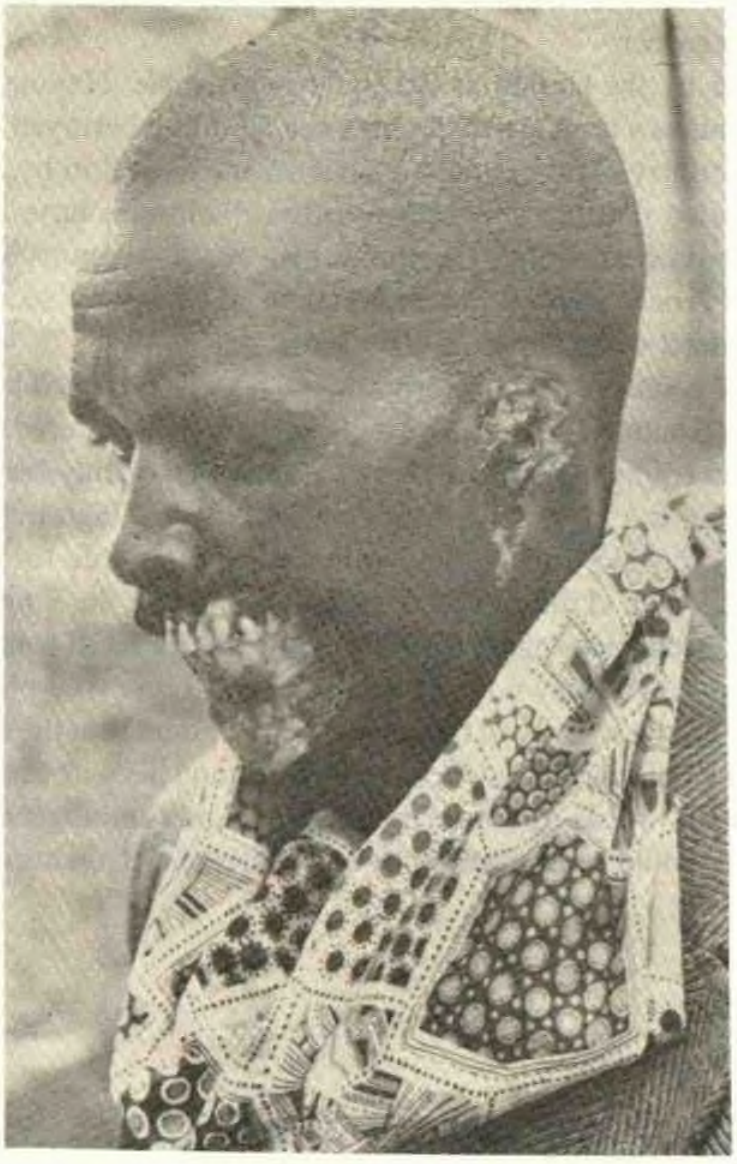
> "A senior officer of the South African Navy in Simonstown, Commodore D. F. Gerhardt, and his wife are being detained for questioning in connection with alleged espionage activities."[30]

Newsmen present fired scores of questions at the serious Prime Minister and his colleagues. A few days later an entire "news blackout" was ordered by the government.[31] No photographs of the detained couple were to be printed under any circumstances.

It was revealed, however, that Gerhardt, 47, and his wife Ruth, 40, were detained in connection with the passing of South African military secrets to the Soviet Union. The Prime Minister said "they are already in Moscow". Gerhardt's arrest sent shockwaves through the South African Defence Force.[32] He had served the navy for thirty years and knew "everything about the Simonstown naval dockyard". His wife Ruth was Swiss-born and met Gerhardt in London fourteen years ago. "She spoke five languages fluently and is said to have a working knowledge of Russian."[33]

As a youth, Gerhardt saw his German-born father, Alfred, interned at Koffiefontein along with John Vorster for activities associated with the radical pro-Hitler organization, the OB.[34] The Gerhardts were very close friends of the former South African Navy chief, Rear Admiral S. C. Biermann, who was "astounded" at their arrest.[35] The tip-off that led to their arrest is believed to have been received from the West German intelligence service known as Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND). There was also the possibility that Switzerland played a part in the tip-off that led to their arrest.[36] A Soviet defector to the US intelligence services set in motion a chain of events that led to the arrest of the Gerhardts.

The trial, lasting 45 court days, was held in camera, but the presiding judge, Mr. Justice



Mr. Chikombe Mazvidza was "liberated" of his lips and ears and his wife was forced to cook and eat the flesh. The President of Zimbabwe, the Rev. Canaan Banana, said: "When I look at a guerrilla I see Jesus Christ..." (The Herald, Salisbury, 2-11-80)

G. G. A. Munnik, Judge President of the Cape, took the unusual step of holding a press conference in the court where the trial had been held. After warning the press not to use "bits and pieces of his statement", the following information came to light.

Gerhardt had been arrested on 20 January, 1983. A large variety of equipment connected with espionage, including miniature cameras and film, had been found in their home. Gerhardt admitted in his defence that he had been involved in espionage since 1962. He confessed to have delivered messages (to Moscow) and had visited there on five different occasions between 1964 and 1983. He used the standard KGB communication methods such as dead letter boxes, drops, radio transmissions, couriers, personal visits to the Kremlin (during which he undoubtedly received further KGB and GRU training), trips to foreign countries, special secret codes, writing, films and numerous false travel documents. Coded radio transmissions were received by Gerhardt, with his wife, Ruth, copying them down. His wife admitted delivering film for her husband to pre-arranged (with the KGB operatives) points on 20 occasions in the 1970s. These included trips to

various locations in Europe, including the Zurich Art Museum in Switzerland, and Tananarive in Madagascar.

The damage done by the Gerhardts is totally incalculable. Having full access to top secret information and as a trained marine engineer, Gerhardt betrayed millions of people, including his own country. After 11 days of intense interrogation by American security officials, it was revealed that the implications of his disclosures have affected the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the British naval weapons systems, including missiles, and the French Exocet missiles system. The entire security structure of Simonstown was passed on to Soviet KGB agents.

The question of how many "dupes" Gerhardt and his wife recruited to serve the cause of treason, both within South Africa and overseas, is yet to be answered. The question of a mysterious Australian employed in a sensitive position who suddenly disappeared following Gerhardt's arrest remains a mystery. After being convicted of high treason, Commodore Dieter Gerhardt was sentenced to life imprisonment and his wife to 10 years. This case reveals the depth and length of indirect KGB penetration within the South African context.

So South Africans were faced again with the ugly truth of a KGB contact working freely and fully trusted under their very noses for many years. These well-planted "moles" had done untold damage to the security of the nation, to the extent that the entire Simonstown complex must now be entirely reconstructed. Gerhardt and his wife are only the tip of the iceberg. One recalls the words of the former KGB counter-intelligence officer, Captain Myagkov, that "there could be as many as four hundred KGB agents operating in South Africa"![37]

The perpetrators of the terrorist murders and some of their African accomplices: Soviet officers and Angolan terrorist leaders walk along a Russian street in earnest conversation

APARTHEID'S PURGATORY: COMMUNISM'S HELL

For those who state that there is no communist onslaught against South Africa, even though its intensity of attack may range from red-hot to ice-cold, there are no words possible to clear their muddled minds. Such statements stem from some sort of mental blackout to past and present historical realities. And never excusing the very ugly and obvious fact that government politicians use the communist threat to "win an election" or "justify a particular policy", it nonetheless remains a proven truth confronting all South Africans of every race group.

To state that certain people of the country would "welcome communism" because they have no say in the political development of the nation, or because of the Group Areas Act, or meetings to air public grievances are banned, or they are exposed to the arrogant pride of and foul mistreatment by certain white civil servants, or the pass laws have been used as an instrument of abuse and even brutality[38] (which charges are too often justified) is to choose a worse alternative regardless of its consequences.

To seek communism as the answer to the system of apartheid is to slide from the smoke and pain of the mythical purgatory to the fires and damnation of Hell. It remains true that men in total desperation will seize at straws in their effort to keep from drowning. However, the answer to apartheid for South Africa's various race groups must not be Marxism-Leninism. That unholy and ghastly system will prove a million times worse than the most vicious and brutal implementation of the horrors of apartheid.

Let no black person be so deluded as to believe that the liberation theologists, the socialists, the leftists and Marxist-bent radicals of whatever sort are working for his deliverance from the whip of racial discrimination and for a better life for him, his people or his family. It is cunning untruth. Nor let any white man be so deluded as to continue in his foul and cruel treatment of any fellow human of whatever skin colour, and think that God and decent men will turn a blind eye. Those in South African society who practise this beastly kind of treatment are as rotten and evil as the communists they say they "oppose". In a unique sense they are performing a service by their depraved actions that pleases the communists just as much as the stupid utterances of the pseudo-liberals and their kind.

The government of South Africa can legislate racism that breaks a man's spirit and burns out his soul, but it cannot legislate human compassion and brotherly kindness. These needed virtues come from within and are created by the love of God, poured out in a man's heart through Jesus Christ our Lord. And these can only be worked out in our daily lives as we make contact with our fellow men.

The depressing extreme so evident among many conservative Christians that all a man should do is trust Christ as Lord and Saviour and be "born again" is only half the truth. They would do well to remember that the same Bible that states the empathic words of Christ, "Ye must be born again" (John 3:7), also states, "Faith without works is dead" (James 2:20), meaning that true saving faith in Christ will produce the practical works of a child of God. True Christians are careful to maintain "good works" (Titus 3:8), not to be saved, but because they are saved.

Those "fundamentalists" who view the return of the Lord Jesus Christ as the only physical help and hope for suffering humanity, and consequently rule out any individual or personal involvement trying to bring blessing and physical comfort, food, clothing or shelter to a needy fellow human as "non-scriptural, carnal or worldly", are actually fostering an unholy sub-scriptural ethic that is foreign to the very Bible they say they believe and defend. It is true that the first and foremost mission and commission of the true church of the Lord

Jesus Christ is a spiritual work of winning souls for eternity. However, the gross and greatly believed untruth that it is a sin to stop along the way and give a man a cup of soup, a shirt for his naked back, a job, food for his wife and children and every possibility of a better deal in this life is a vicious error. (See Psalm 41:1, Malachi 3:5, Matthew 10:42, 25:34-40 and Luke 10:25-37.)

From the Christian viewpoint the balanced truth is that God's word requires every child of His to do his part, first in the spiritual realm but also in the physical and practical. This may be done on the level of each individual Christian's life and work. However, the Bible also forbids Christian deeds of charity to be practised knowingly, in co-operation with the Devil and his imps, to foster the anti-Christ system of Marxism-Leninism and its world accomplices. (See Matthew 23:23-26, II Corinthians 6:14-18, II Thessalonians 3:1-2, II Timothy 4:14-15 and III John 2.)

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

1. Details edited from *The Natal Mercury*, 15 March 1982
2. *The Natal Mercury*, 15 March 1982
3. *The Citizen*, 7 September 1981
4. The DKZ-B that was used in the attack is recognised as the most accurate weapon of its kind. It is manufactured in the USSR and is also called Grad P. (*Die Vaderland*, 14 August 1981)
5. *The Star*, 14 August 1981
6. *The Citizen*, 2 September 1981
7. *The Star*, 2 September 1981
8. *Sunday Times*, 30 August 1981, carried a series of photographs
9. *The Star*, 14 March 1983
10. London *Sunday Telegraph*, 13 September 1981
11. *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 August 1983
12. *The Star*, 19 April 1982
13. *Daily News*, 9 March 1982
14. *The Star*, 21 May 1982
15. Copies of this "collection of poems" and Mary Benson's "Robben Island" are in the Institute for the Study of Marxism, Stellenbosch University.
16. See *Sechaba*, February 1975
17. *Sunday Times*, 11 July 1982
18. *Gospel Defence League*, June 1984.

    When one remembers that the Council of Churches of Namibia has among its full-time officials those who are simultaneously executive members of SWAPO, then Rev. Kameeta's statement clearing SWAPO of guilt is understood.

    It must be remembered that apart from a mild contempt for the church, terrorist groups such as SWAPO and the ANC look upon it as an "instrument for change". The church gives some sort of credibility to the "war of liberation" by clothing it in theological language. Because it can influence opinions in South Africa and overseas, and it has a vast network of structures throughout the land, and a very elaborate system of providing communications, control, and influence, it is tolerated for the time being. (Edited from various editions of *Gospel Defence League*)
19. *Argus*, 16 September 1982
20. *Cape Times*, 29 July 1982

    It is interesting that Robert Mugabe's mouthpiece for his openly announced Marxist-Leninist ZANU party recently referred to Boesak as "Comrade Boesak". (*The Herald*, 22 August 1984)

    Patron Boesak's UDF consists of various grassroots organizations and claims about 2 million members. "Some of the more important UDF affiliates include the Congress of South African Students... the Release Mandela Campaign, the Natal Indian Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the SA Allied Workers Union. The UDF accepts the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter..." (*Signposts*, Vol. 3, No. 5 1984.) On the Freedom Charter, see chapter 18 under heading, Kliptown And The Freedom Charter, and documentation notes number 14 and 15. The Freedom Charter was a communist creation direct from the hand of South Africa's top communist Joe Slovo. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the popular Zulu movement called Inkatha, described the UDF as a "slimy stepping stone" for the ANC. (See *Africa Insight*, Pretoria, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1984, p. 273.)

This is the same Dr. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who made headlines when it was discovered that he, a maried man with a family, was having a secret affair with Di Scott, a youth worker of the SACC. At first Boesak hotly denied the affair, even swearing at the questioning reporters. As expected, the liberal press took his side and accused the police and government of producing and promoting the scandal. Then, to the embarrassment of the whole pseudo-liberal establishment, Boesak admitted it was the truth!

Speaking at a meeting called by the Ecumenical Support Committee at the Rocklands Civic Centre, Cape Town, the famed world ecumenical leader and proponent of liberation theology, admitted the ugly affair. Then he described South African society as "utterly sick" because of the way in which his sin had been publicly revealed. He then spoke of the "fight for dignity" in the land, all in the same breath! There was a time in Christian history when a clergyman guilty of such deeds would have apologized in shame and repentance for his sin, with confession that he was the sick one who had shown little dignity as a man of the cloth. At the conclusion of his speech he received an ovation from "about 3000 people who roared their support" for the patron of the radical UDF. (See *The Citizen*, 12 January 1985; *Sunday Times*, 13 January 1985; *The Citizen*, 8, 9 and 18 February 1985; *The Sunday Star*, 10 February 1985; and *Sunday Express*, 10 February 1985.)

Finally, Boesak recently returned from a four-day "friendship and solidarity" visit to the Marxist-Leninist camp of Mozambique. What was the outcome of this meeting between Christian and communist? Boesak stated: "I will never forget this day. And I will tell my people about it." (See the entire article in *The Star*, 18 February 1985.)

21. *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1983
22. *The Star*, 10 November 1983
23. *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1983
24. *Argus*, 6 November 1980, and *Cape Times*, 24 October 1980
25. *The Star*, 3 April 1976
26. *Pagans In The Pulpit*
    Arlington House, New Rochelle, New York 1974
    By Richard S. Wheeler, p. 133
27. Number 26, p. 51
28. *The Star*, 9 March 1976
29. From the official listing of *Foreign Broadcasts in South Africa*, November 1982, produced by the SABC.
30. *The Citizen*, 27 January 1983
31. *Sunday Express*, 30 January 1983
32. *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 January 1983
33. *Sunday Times*, 30 January 1983
34. See chapter 13 for review of the OB organization
35. *The Star*, 28 January 1983
36. *The Star*, 28 January 1983
37. See chapter 28 for Captain Myagkov's comments
38. See *Sunday Times*, 30 December 1984, for letter stating these very points.

CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE FINANCIAL CONSPIRACY

THE FINANCIAL ONSLAUGHT

The most elementary observer knows that a massive and complex international campaign has for years been operating against the Republic of South Africa. One of the biggest questions regarding this campaign is: Who does the financing? The popular notion that all financing of the scores of groups, persons and various organizations working for the overthrow of South Africa and the establishment of socialism comes from communist countries only is a gigantic fallacy. Much of it does, as mentioned in the previous chapters of this book, but most of it does not.

In dealing with the general subject of the communist organization of any country, one main approach is for the emphasis to be placed on the actual or potential threat it poses. This can only be done by listing the persons or friendly movements who knowingly or unknowingly work and assist the communists towards some particular goal. To place the stress on these things alone is to only give a part of the story.

With this, the subject is usually taken no further. Yet, there is another enemy, considered by some more dangerous than the actual communist onslaught itself. This enemy has existed for many years and grows more powerful as time passes. It is a vast international network with basic headquarters in America and England. It has no aversion to co-operating with and supporting the communist murderers, the left-wing, the radical right-wing and any other group, including the so-called anti-communists, and it frequently does so. It works through front organizations, hundreds of which it has created and financed over the past six decades of Western history. Among some of the most important ones are the American Council on Foreign Relations, the Bilderbergers, and Britain's Royal Institute of International Affairs.[1] (See note number 20, under documentation for chapter 29.)

Its brains are the money-mad demagogues who aim at some sort of socialistic world domination by having full control of the money systems and markets. These villains and murder-merchants are the "respected" money-lords of Western society. They lie, cheat, steal and with ruthless force crush anything or anyone who dares to stand effectively in their way. They are the capitalist anti-capitalists of the non-communist Western world. Standing in the shadows with hands full of hard cash, they support any organization, person or government they consider helpful in bringing them closer to their goal. They have pumped millions into the hands of South Africa's enemies, normally through well-established fronts operating under the guise of charity, trusts, foundations, humanitarian aid and the like.

Through their agents and hirelings installed in various sensitive positions, especially in the largest Western governments, they wield enormous influence.

UPI

American headquarters of the Council on Foreign Relations. This highly secret organization is part of the world financial conspiracy

THE ANTI-WESTERN CIA

As pointed out in chapter twenty-nine, the mysterious and shadowy Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is continually popping up in dubious money deals with and handouts to the enemies of South Africa.

> "Over the years, the CIA has been a mixed bag. With only a minority of hardline anti-communists serving at operational and lower managerial levels, the key policy-makers have been, for the most part, a collection of leftists".[2]

And over the years, there have been regular purges of informed, stubborn anti-communists from the CIA organization. Reports of its infiltration have been brought to the West by numerous Eastern-bloc defectors. Right from its origin in 1947, the CIA has cast a shadow over certain levels of its organization. Intelligence and security officials of South Africa and every other nation struggling with the Reds would do well to remember who acted as one of the advisers in creating the American organization.

Kim Philby was sent to Washington in the mid-1940s to help organize the CIA. During the search for workers he suggested several names of "trusted friends" for employment in the newly founded intelligence service. Philby was also appointed the "official liaison man between London and Washington in all intelligence affairs".[3] After serving in key positions in Britain's intelligence services (MI5 and MI6), the truth came out. The Western world was rocked by the news. The pleasant, smooth-talking Philby had been for over 20 years a counter-intelligence agent for the Soviet KGB! He had betrayed many people and brought death to hundreds of innocent persons who were fighting the battle against communism. He vanished from his post in Beirut, Lebanon, just as the net was closing in for his arrest in January 1963. He later surfaced as a hero in Moscow.

It is a disturbing fact to learn that the CIA was organised by the partial assistance of this man who was a dedicated traitor and loyal communist. And it is ludicrous to believe that

Ace KGB spy Kim Philby at the height of his treasonable career enacted between London, Washington and Moscow

Philby did not, from the very beginning, attempt to place his men in the organization or prepare the way for them to enter. And over the years, these "moles" have, in turn, brought their friends into the organization. In short, the CIA, at certain highest levels of operation, is an infiltrated body and has been for years.[4] This is the only sane explanation for its periodical anti-Western and anti-democratic, pro-left, socialist, terrorist-support policies. On top of all this, as just mentioned, Philby was stationed in Washington D.C. for several years as the top liaison officer between the CIA and the British MI5. Imagine having a KGB counter-intelligence agent as the top liaison man between these two organizations! If one thinks the CIA has not been infiltrated for many years, one need only read the half-truth, half-rubbish put out by the former CIA agents, Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks under the title The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, by Dell Publishing Company, USA.

"THE LIBERALS ARE THE BEST ANTI-COMMUNISTS"

A London newspaper carried a shocking article regarding the CIA and comments by some of the organization's leaders. One of these was: "The CIA realised that the liberals . . . were the best and most effective anti-communists, hence the money" given to their organizations.[5] Such staggering statements by America's "conservative" intelligence agency are better understood as one reflects on its past. Some four years after the flight of

Philby, back to his superiors in Moscow, the British traitor spoke at the 50th anniversary of the KGB. He was the star performer at the grand occasion in Moscow Square. In a sneering tone, he spoke of the Western intelligence services: "The services of the West are full of men like me"![6] And when one remembers that James Angleton, formerly in charge of CIA counter-intelligence, was a colleague of Philby, the plot sickens. Especially when we learn that Angleton himself was "suspected of being a Soviet agent".[7] Shortly thereafter, he rushed into retirement, despite reports that he had been fired. This same James Jesus Angleton was reported to have leaned over his permanent corner drinking table in the famous Washington Army and Navy Club and said to Philby: "I know you work for the KGB!" One wonders if the counter-espionage chief of the entire CIA knew such earth-shaking facts, why he did not do something about it? The discovery that Philby was KGB did not come from Angleton, but rather from the lips of the long-time secret counter-intelligence agent from Poland, Colonel Michael Goleniewski, who defected to West Germany in 1961. (See note number 3, under documentation for chapter 28.)

Over the years, careful observers have concluded, along with another British newspaper: "The CIA has not for many years been a friend of America's hard-line, anti-communist, right wing."[8] One is therefore not surprised when the CIA reports: "It supported the non-communist left around the world."

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "RIGHT" AND "LEFT"

Surely America's top intelligence brains have enough sense to know that the only difference between the "left" and "communism" is the length of an AK-47. The terms "right" and "left" seem to have been in use from the dawn of antiquity, always denoting specific meanings. The ancient Hebrews of the Old Testament saw in the terms divine blessings or curses. To them, the "left" signified dissatisfaction (Isaiah 9:20), divine judgment (Judges 3:15-21), a sign of disinheritance and loss (Genesis 48:13-20) and evil in general. The "right" was the place of power and glory from which all just and divine judgment issued (Exodus 15:6-7), the place of security and stability (Psalm 16:8), the place of true religious blessings and true pleasures (Psalm 16:11), and the place of salvation from one's enemies (Psalm 17:7).

In New Testament language, the "left" and "right" are finally separated forever in an awful day of judgment when the nations of the "left" are damned and those of the "right" are received into God's eternal bliss (Matthew 25: 31-46). The right is also the place where the glorified and exalted Christ was seated after his triumphant resurrection from the dead (Mark 16:19).

In Britain it became the custom to allocate seats to the supporters of the government on the right and the opposition on the left. On the Continent, where most parliaments have a horseshoe-shape seating arrangement, the general rule is that most conservative parties are seated to the right and the radicals, socialists and liberals to the left.

It has become a fact of history that the balanced right is now identified with personal freedom minus the utopian dreams and visions of the socialists, while the left has taken the opposite interpretation. If we then identify, in a general and rough way, the moderate and well-balanced right with freedom, and the left in whatever form with slavery, collectivism, socialism and centralised state control, then we are employing language that makes sense.

Obviously, the CIA, at top levels of policy-making, have either missed these facts of history or have purposely chosen to operate otherwise. Whichever it is, along with the assumption that the organization must be infiltrated by KGB counter-intelligence officers

This photo, taken surreptitiously in London, shows a top CIA operative entering his car. (See documentation number 4)

(after almost four decades of existence, if the CIA is not infiltrated, it would be the greatest miracle in the whole of earth's political history!), we may understand why it says so many strange things and supports so many strange persons and movements.

As already outlined, South Africa has suffered at the hands of the CIA-State Department-CFR network allegedly operating via the American Embassy in Pretoria and elsewhere.

Some years ago, when John Lewis Kelly, the First Secretary of the US Embassy in Pretoria, was questioned about being a CIA operative, he refused to answer either way. Shortly afterwards, he left the country.[9] He was the third US diplomat serving as First Secretary to be questioned about CIA connections. All left the country!

It was alleged that the CIA was involved in air espionage in 1979. US officials flying a Beechcraft Super King Air 200, which had been converted into a spy plane, were taking aerial photos of South Africa's "most sensitive installations".[10] They were caught red-handed. The story reveals strange US official attitudes regarding South Africa. Such actions were not exclusive to the Carter administration of that period. Why are certain persons in the CIA hostile to South Africa? Who is engineering the dirty work?

WHO AND HOW?

As far as South Africa is concerned, standing behind many of the acts of terrorism and subversion are not only the Soviets and their dupes, but the original and basic manipulators are often the money-lords who have the aim of conquering the Republic and bringing it into their orbit of "one-world" rule. These villains are found in the numerous overseas-based organizations, a few of which have been previously mentioned, in the American government, the CIA and similar bodies. One in particular which stands near the top of the list is the wretched Ford Foundation, a CFR tool.[11]

Although a vast amount of "humanitarian good" is accomplished by this anti-South African organization and others of similar nature, it still remains a solid fact that such

groups have over the years continually supported almost every conceivable cause that is anti-Western, anti-free-enterprise, anti-God, anti-Christ and anti anything that is good, decent, moral and patriotic. They have dished out millions of dollars in support of socialism, communism, the radicals, terrorism, the left and ultra-left, the radical right and the confessed enemies of the Western way of life and belief. And South Africa has felt the fists of these money merchants in her face countless times over the past three decades.

But how is the dirty work actually accomplished? Who, specifically, are some of the benefactors of the millions issued under the cover of "grants" or "humanitarian aid". During the disastrous Carter administration, millions were sent into South Africa through American embassies in neighbouring states. Surveillance operations set up near these diplomatic stations have sighted scores of South Africa's sworn enemies moving in and out of these places. Personalities of the ANC, PAC, SASO, BPC and CPSA, banned persons and known communists of various sorts frequent the American embassies in neighbouring countries. In recent years the American Embassy in Botswana has been a favourite haunt of these South Africa haters. It is here that large sums of money are allegedly received and then smuggled into South Africa.[12] Various other channels are also used to bring funds into the country, which cannot be mentioned at this stage. A few of the groups and persons which have received money are listed below.

UPI

"Psst, comrade Carter, we need several billion! You know, another drought." Leonid Brezhnev greets the former American President Jimmy Carter

WHAT IS THE MONEY USED FOR?

"This is how the Ford Foundation allocates funds for South Africa:

1. It has provided millions to the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under the Law, with this money being used for legal defence of terrorists and others accused of trying to undermine the South African Government."[13]

During the famous 1976 SASO trials, at least R340 000 was provided from overseas for the defence, and some of it came into the Republic through a London firm of attorneys. A mysterious Natal lawyer who received the money refused to name his sources. The Lawyers' Committee sends millions into the country for the support of revolution and subversion. It is a front of the Ford Foundation, and the whole show is under the hard control of the CIA via its worldwide network.

"2. According to evidence given before the Schlebusch Commission by Paul Pretorius, a former NUSAS president, Ford has also funded a host of other groups, including SASO and the Christian Institute (now banned), through the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF) in Switzerland."[14]

The mysterious Natal lawyer mentioned above turned out to be another supporter of the ANC, the activist Shun Chetty of Durban. He was involved in numerous questionable financial transactions with the SACC and sections of its top leadership. Chetty fled South Africa in August 1979 and his name was subsequently struck from the roll of attorneys for professional misconduct.

The IUEF, also mentioned above, was a leftist money think-tank located in Geneva. It also fully supported the ANC with large financial grants and was dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of the existing order in South Africa. On at least two occasions Bishop Tutu called on the IUEF at its headquarters in Geneva to discuss funding. Money sent to the SACC in South Africa was channelled via the WCC to disguise the source as being the IUEF!

The Ford Foundation and others have pumped vast amounts into the coffers of South Africa's known enemies operating both within and without the Republic. Even selected radical student leaders have received "grants" from the American organization. For example, about R5000 was placed in the hands of Neville Curtis, former NUSAS president, and a friend to travel to the USA to meet and confer with some of America's Black Power personalities. One wonders what they discussed. Surely it was not their Sunday school lessons!

Another group called the Field Foundation (with Andrew Young as a board member!) handed out some R5000 to the exile South African lawyer Joel Carlson. Carlson now operates from his base in America.

Aida Parker, in her little booklet Secret U.S. War on South Africa, lists dozens of front organizations through which money is being poured into South Africa. And it falls into the hands of her most vicious enemies. The CIA is named as the main channel through which the rotten business is executed.

A long-time example of the cash flow to one of South Africa's enemies is found in the following section. The example of Ronald Segal could be multiplied a thousand times. It dates back over 25 years and continues today. Here is the story:

SEGAL, THE MAN WITH PLENTY OF MONEY

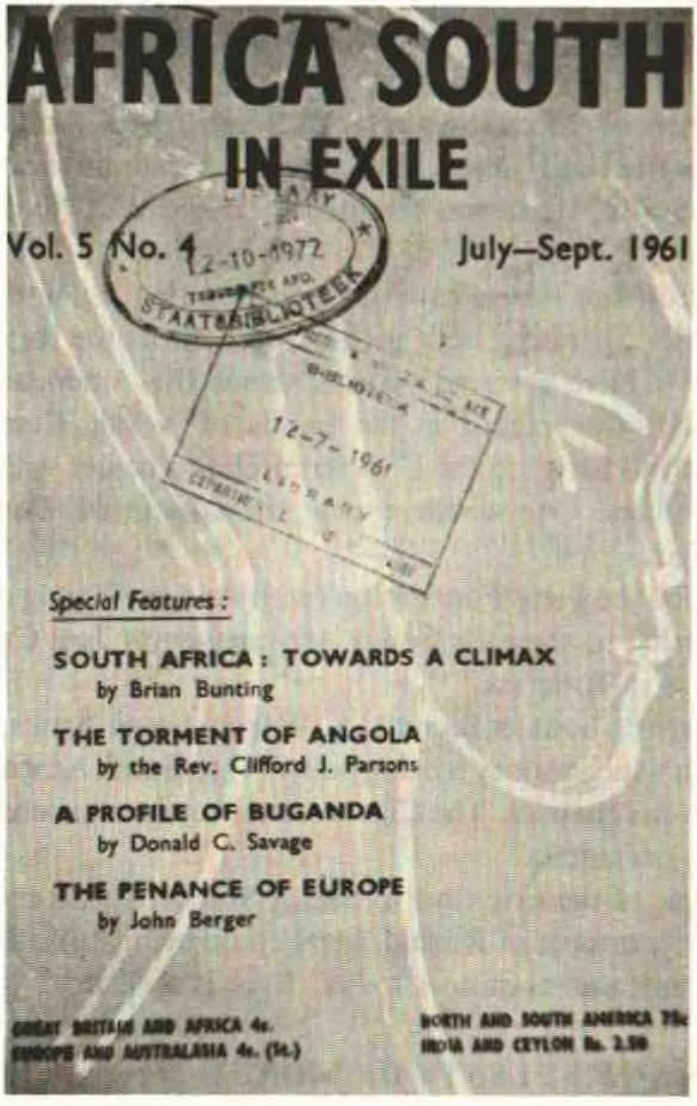
Ronald Segal was born in Cape Town in July 1932. He was educated at the University of Cape Town and Trinity College, Cambridge. His first trip to America was in 1957, for the

purpose of doctoral studies on a Philip Francis du Pont bursary. He only stayed in the US for five months. To the surprise of his friends, he returned to Cape Town with a "new purpose in life", which was to publish a quarterly magazine.

With a strange never-ending flow of money, Segal produced the first issue of his magazine, called South Africa (later called Africa South). It was dated October-December 1957. Over the first four years of its existence, it gathered a considerable acceptance among the liberal, anti-government, pro-socialist intellectuals of those days. It found its way into the hands of world figures who were noted for their bitter hatred of South Africa and their love of varying shades of Marxist socialism and the radical left.

During the turmoil caused by the communists and their dupes in the mid and late-1950s and early 1960s, Segal's publication, along with The Guardian were the most acceptable and widely circulated both in South Africa and overseas. Though Segal's magazine did not have as large a circulation, it seemingly arrived in more effective hands. It was loaded with clever, radical anti-government propaganda and smacked of socialism. Segal boasted of being "a socialist but not a communist".[15]

Finally, in June 1960, it was banned in the country. Then, as would be expected, it resurfaced in London with a slight name change. Now it was called Africa South in Exile. In the late 1970s, it was still reaching a rather elite class of people and provided a broad intellectual front against South Africa and for socialism.



State Library — Pretoria

A sample of Segal's publication, Africa South In Exile

SEGAL, THE DELIVERY BOY

Three months before Segal's magazine was banned, he was occupied with other duties as well. His part in organizing strikes and boycotts of the products of companies controlled by Afrikaners is well-documented. Then, with the killings at Sharpeville, inspired by the PAC, Segal moved into action again. On 20 March 1960, he drove Oliver Tambo, ANC acting president, across the border from South Africa to Botswana. He returned to Johannesburg on 29 March. Then, on 30 March, only nine days after the Sharpeville shootings, Segal got word that the police were looking for him. He at once drove back across the border to Botswana and escaped arrest. With documents ready and waiting (they had been prepared by the Indian government), he and comrades Oliver Tambo and Dr. Yussuf Dadoo flew to London. In London, he was given a hero's welcome. He became a sponsor of Defence and Aid, Christian Action and, of course, the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM). Segal even went on the payroll of Penguin Books and was commissioned to produce a "Penguin African Library" series. The list of "authors" Segal commissioned to write and research for his new work is very enlightening. They were: Rosalynde Ainsley (in several documents her name is spelled Ainslie), Sonia Bunting, Mainza Chona, Basil Davidson, Ruth First, Thomas Hodgkin, Patrick van Rensburg and Colin Legum.[16] The colour spectrum of this line-up ranges from pink to blood red.

Segal, for over twenty years, has devoted much of his life to a vicious anti-South African crusade. He is a close friend of Joe Slovo. One writer reveals that he was a member of the secret and exclusive "Congress Group", which serves as an "inside think-tank" for the ANC. Some of the covert members of this ANC core were Reginald September, Rica Hodgson, Sonia Bunting, Abdul Minty, Benjamin Turok, Robert Resha, Ruth First and Vellay Pillay, to name a few.[17] The big question is: Where does the money come from to keep this and similar groups operative round the world. They must have money to continue. They never seem to run short of it.

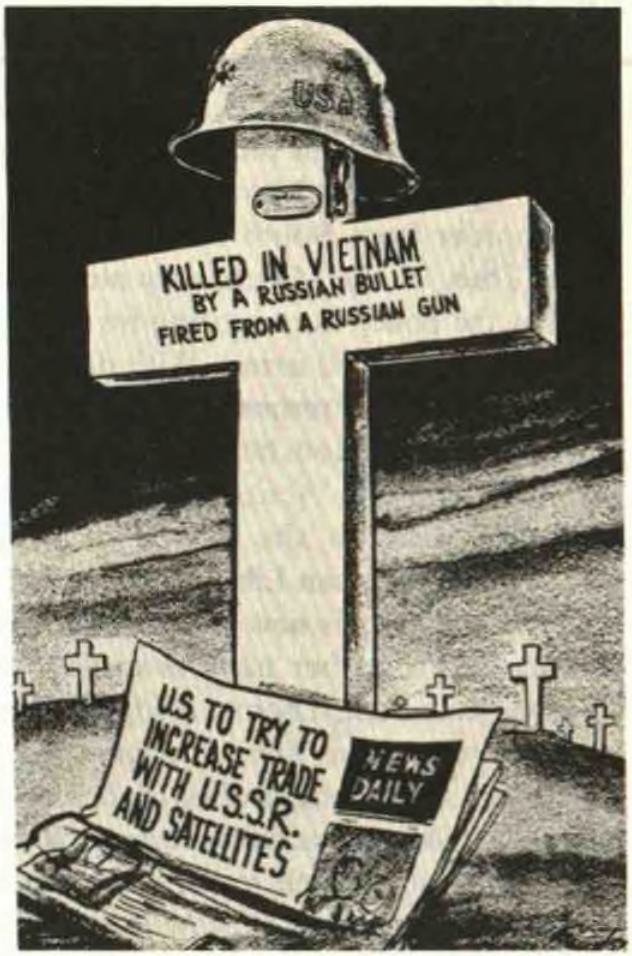
The Australian League of Rights gives part of the answer to this mystery. They point out that the Ford Foundation gave R550 000 (in 1977) to the International Association for Cultural Freedom in Paris, which was formerly known as the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

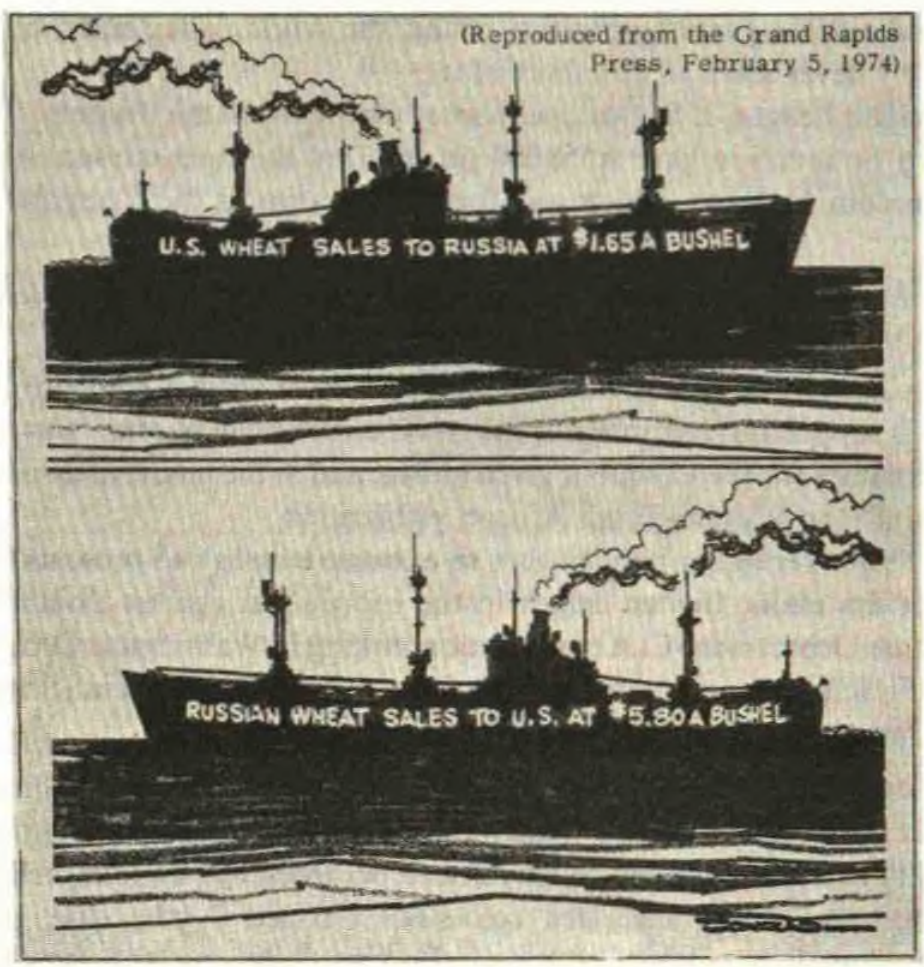
> "This group has for many years subsidised some of the most virulently anti-South African publications, notably Africa South and Africa South in Exile."[18]

Here is one source of Segal's never-failing income. Here again is evidence that the Ford Foundation is supporting communists, the ANC and radicals of every sort as reflected in the listing of names for the Congress, given above, and in the financial assistance given to "socialist Segal" and his anti-South African publication.

Again, Aida Parker in her booklet goes to extreme lengths and presents fact upon fact showing that the major hidden culprit in the money war against South Africa is the American State Department-CIA combination lurking in Washington D.C. This double-headed beast reaches around the world with thousands of financial tentacles with which it attempts to "make" or "break" any desired target.

Not only do the Soviet Union, its various captive slave states, Red China, the WCC, Christian Aid of London, the SACC and numerous other organizations and governments receive, send or use money for anti-South African purposes, but, standing at the top, are the anti-Western, socialistically dedicated colossuses directed by the elite, power-hungry monopolistic capitalists of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, the Bilderbergers, the New Age Movement and similar organizations.


USA
KILLED IN VIETNAM
BY A RUSSIAN BULLET
FIRED FROM A RUSSIAN GUN
U.S. TO TRY TO INCREASE TRADE WITH U.S.S.R. AND SATELLITES
NEWS DAILY


(Reproduced from the Grand Rapids Press, February 5, 1974)
U.S. WHEAT SALES TO RUSSIA AT $1.65 A BUSHEL
RUSSIAN WHEAT SALES TO U.S. AT $5.80 A BUSHEL

These two cartoons depict how trade with communists often works

They are jockeying on the stage of human history, preparing the way for the antichrist and the political control he will bring on the world scene. These super-rich, monopolistic capitalists worship, as total devotees, the twin gods of money and power. And they are living under the shelter of the world's largest capitalist societies as they perform their hellish work.[19] (See note number 20 under documentation for chapter 29.)

When America's super-rich David Rockefeller, supposedly the very epitome of the hated capitalist system, can dance arm-in-arm with the butcher of the Ukraine, Nikita Khrushchev, at New York Airport, and be received with a hero's welcome in communist capital cities across the world, something is seriously out of order.

It simply illustrates the truth that certain capitalists (who are not capitalists at all) are, in fact, bosom friends and co-sponsors of the most tyrannical system ever to appear on the stage of human history. These same beasts are working for changes in South Africa that would bring the total destruction of the true free-enterprise system and the conservative Christian faith. Being interlinked with Marxism-Leninism in its various offshoots, these men, with communism, form a contradictory combination which stalks the Western nations of the earth, slowly reaching for its goal.[20]

About the only difference between these money-monsters and genuine communists is that the communists use bullets, bayonets and brute force to silence and crush all considerable opposition, whereas the money-lords use name, fame, financial power and savage monopoly control to silence their effective detractors.

Surely the good Lord in Heaven has a big, long front seat reserved in the hottest section of Hell for both groups.

THE CHIEF CULPRIT: AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS

Most of the previously mentioned organizations and secret movements such as the CFR, Bilderbergers, Order of Darkness and New World Movement work through and in co-operation with the American government, represented in the main by the State Department-CIA combination. It sounds totally impossible that the system of capitalism, as basically reflected in the United States, has been the builder and sustainer of world communism, especially the type found in the USSR and Red China. Yet it is true.

The greatest barrier to mature understanding of the continual success and increasing power of communism is the notion that all capitalists are the bitter and unswerving enemies of all Marxists and socialists. The very idea is complete nonsense. Since the turn of the century there has been a regular and strongly increasing, but basically concealed, alliance between international (especially American) political capitalists and international (especially Soviet) revolutionary socialists, to the full mutual benefit of both.

Since the days of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia (1917-1921) the entire Soviet system from start to finish has been built and maintained mostly by American governments and their monopoly capitalist cronies. These ugly facts have been researched with expert precision.[21]

In brief, all American presidential administrations, from that of Woodrow Wilson (1913) to that of Ronald Reagan, have followed a foreign policy that builds up the Soviet Union. And they have attempted to keep this censored from the American public. Fifty years of trade with the Kremlin by the United States and its allies have, through the transfer of free-enterprise technology, created a formidable economic and military power that sneers at the entire free Western world. And America, along with some of its allies, has received back its own technology on the battlefields of war, violence, subversion, riot, espionage and hate.

As far back as 1911, American political cartoonist were ridiculing monopoly capitalism's planned support of Bolshevism and the communist cause. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch (1911) carried Robert Minor's drawing showing Karl Marx surrounded by America's leading money-mongers, all rejoicing over the triumph of Marxism in Russia. The Wall Street financiers include John D. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, John D. Ryan, George Perkins and Teddy Roosevelt (standing behind Marx)

The CPSA, from its headquarters in London, receives some R4 000 000 annually from its Moscow lord. Moscow, in turn, is financially supported by the American government via its big-business, monopoly-capitalist deals.

Lenin best described Soviet policy towards Western capitalists when he wrote in 1921 these startling words:

> "The capitalists of the entire world and their governments, in the rush of conquering Soviet markets, will close their eyes to realities and will thus become blind, deaf mutes. They will open credits which will serve as a support for the communist party in their countries and will provide us with essential materials and technology, thus restoring our military industries, essential for our future victorious attacks on our suppliers. Speaking otherwise, they will be working to prepare their own suicides."[22]

Over the years Wall Street, Chase Manhattan Bank, Pepsi Cola, Ford Motor Company, the Allen Group, General Electric, Chrysler Corporation, Singer Company, Corning Glass Works and scores of others have worked long and hard to prepare for their own suicides. In time they will reap (from communism) what they have sown.

Through such treasonable trade they have kept the system of Soviet communism alive in the very face of its socialistic failures, and, in so doing, have assisted in sustaining the communist movements around the world, of which the CPSA is one.[23]

Time

"Capitalist pigs" and "communist liberators" dedicate the American-sponsored and built Pepsi Cola plant in Novorossik , U.S.S.R.

Dick Nolan

U.S. monopoly capitalists sweat it out in a Moscow sauna, to the tune of big profits

If there is any subject that will incite the fierce wrath of certain experts, journalists, authors, editors, bankers and politicians, that of the mysterious financial conspiracy will. They will not like the above lines and will haul out the weapons of effective and destructive words. These will be used to slander, ridicule and discredit. In their typical and successful manner, they will viciously employ the most scathing adjectives in the thesaurus of hate in their struggle to burlesque this taboo subject and shipwreck it on media shoals of "generalization", "lack of evidence" and "absurd, radical, right-wing, emotional language". The numerous silly and half-crazy books written on this subject are always pointed to as "proof" that this highly and explosive topic of the financial conspiracy is, in fact, a dream of the extreme ultra-conservatives. Beware of those who propagate such things and attempt to explain away this mystery. No doubt a few are sincere, but they are sincerely wrong.

Selling rope to the hangman. The Soviet flagship "Kaisimov" docks at Houston, Texas, to be loaded with U.S. goods

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

1. Numerous books are available on this subject. Some of the best are:
   The Naked Capitalist
   The Ensign Publishing Company, Utah, USA 1978
   By W. Cleon Skousen

   Hidden Dangers of the Rainbow
   Huntington House Inc., Shreveport, La., USA 1983
   By Constance E. Cumbey

   Architects of Conspiracy: An Intriguing History
   Western Island, Boston, USA 1984
   By W. P. Hoar
2. *Review of the News*
   Belmont, Mass., 1 February 1978
3. A good review of Philby is found in
   The Third Man
   Arthur Baker, London 1968
   By E. H. Cookridge
4. There are hundreds of sincere, patriotic men and women serving in the CIA dedicated to the battle against Marxism-Leninism. As stated, the "moles" are planted strategically at higher levels and, from here, issue their directives.
5. The (London) *Sunday Telegraph*, 26 May 1968
6. *H. du B. Reports*
   St. George, Utah, January 1980
7. Number 2, 14 March 1979
8. The (London) *Sunday Times*, 3 June 1973
9. *Sunday Express*, 25 October 1981
10. *Rapport*, 15 April 1979. The story was carried by most major South African newspapers e.g. *Sunday Times*, 15 April 1979; *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 April 1979; *Die Transvaler*, 16 April 1979; *Pretoria News*, 17 April 1979; *Beeld*, 17 April 1979; and *The Star*, 12 April 1979
11. For an exhaustive study of the money trusts in America, see
    Foundations
    Devin-Adair Company, New York 1958
    By René A. Wormser
12. *Secret U.S. War on South Africa*
    S.A. Today, Johannesburg 1977
    By Aida Parker, pp. 9-10
    The American Embassy in Pretoria gave the SACC the sum of R26 988 in 1981. (See second documentation of number 18 below, p. 318)
13. *Intelligence Survey*
    Melbourne, February 1978, p. 7
14. Number 13, p. 8
15. Number 12, p. 50
    See note number 6 under documentation for chapter 4 for the difference between socialism and communism. Also see note 20 below for further comments regarding socialism.
16. Number 12, p. 51
17. Since the founding of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in London in 1960, it has become a

"catch-pot" for every sort of political screwball. Under the cover of a plausible and well-meaning organization, it has deceived multitudes. It cannot be mere coincidence that its ranks are filled with communists, socialists, revolutionaries, radicals, perverts and academics espousing wild and extreme left-wing views. As far back as 1963, the British Communist Party openly expressed its support of the AAM with these words: "We will give full support to the efforts of the Anti-Apartheid Movement..." (*The Puppeteers*, Tandem Books, London, 1965. By H. Soref and I. Greig, p. 8.) Standing with the communists in such support are both the World Council and the British Council of Churches.

18. Number 13, p. 8
The Ford Foundation sent R28 044 to the SACC in 1979.
(*Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the South African Council of Churches*, Pretoria, 1983, p. 318.) See number 12 above.

19. Number 12, p. 50-52
Proof of the CIA support for long-standing ultra-left organizations is recorded in the *Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations, 4th-6th Interim Reports 1974-1975*, Pretoria, p. 147.

20. This goal is some sort of world socialism, be it the Marxist type or whatever. Socialism has created the illusion of quenching people's thirst for justice. Socialism has lulled their conscience into thinking that the steam-roller which is about to flatten them is a blessing in disguise. Even the decline of upright contemporary thought has been hastened by the misty phantom of socialism. More than anything else, socialism has given new life and vigour to public hypocrisy and caused it to thrive and spread. It has enabled Western Europe to ignore the annihilation of sixty-six million people on its very borders.

    The grand myth of today is that socialism represents some sort of ultra-modern structure, an alternative to "dying capitalism". Yet it has not a single precise definition; it defies logic. Any of the latest African dictators, standing in the blood of their own people, can announce themselves "a socialist" and the Western world rushes to their aid. All the noise about "socialist democracy" and "Marxist equality" is about as truthful as talking about "boiling ice" or "selling deep-freezes to the Eskimos". Modern society is hypnotised by the demon of socialism. Basically, Western governments and their subjects are living on self-deception and grand illusions in the world of politics and reality concerning the history and truth regarding socialism.

    So-called intellectuals, world politicians and the mass of pseudo-liberal churchmen cannot learn except by carrying their deadly error to its logical conclusion, as Saul of Tarsus did when he embarked on his journey to Damascus. They will not know what scientific socialism really means and how it feels and what it can do until, like millions now in eternity, they also hear the rasped out command: "Hands behind your backs... march" and "you are going to be shot!" (Edited from *Intelligence Survey*, September 1977)

    Among "churchmen", the sickest are those who preach about "socialism being the answer to our world's problems, if stripped of its atheism and anti-religious teachings". Such people know nothing and are in fact a form of encouragement to the godless men of Marxism-Leninism. They emit vapours of deadly poison from their pulpits and into their parishes by such error, usually couched in pieces of truth. Their congregations are being fed a foul mixture of theological-political medicine from spoons in which the communists have spat. It is a dirty business to say the least. Those who knowingly support such phoney "churchmen" are as guilty as they are.

21. The impeccable evidence to this effect may be found in the two classics on this subject:
National Suicide, Military Aid to the Soviet Union
Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y. 1973
and
Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution

Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y. 1974
Both by Antony C. Sutton

22. Quoted in *The Mindszenty Report*, Saint Louis, USA, Feb. 1976
For an updated report see article by Dr. Miles M. Costick, president of the Washington-based Institute of Strategic Trade. Dr. Costick calls it "Suicidal outflow of technology to the Soviet bloc". (*The Citizen*, 15 September 1981)

For a serious documentary on how American financiers (monopoly capitalists) provided the money and material Hitler used to launch World War II, see
Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler
'76 Press, Seal Beach, California 1976
By Antony C. Sutton.

23. In brief, it can be stated that the monopoly capitalists and the money-lords seek to use the terrorists, the left, the radical right, the socialists and communists and others to get what they want; while the terrorists, leftists, socialists, communists and radicals gladly accept the support and help of the monopoly capitalists and the money lords to get what they want.

Up to this point in history no one has written what the two will do when it comes to a "showdown" between themselves! The book of Revelation in the Holy Bible, chapters 17-19, may contain some of the answers.

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

THE WORLD'S CONCERN OVER SOUTH AFRICA

The mass media, the liberals, the Reds, the money lords, the United Nations and the ecumenical pseudo-religious leaders and others have succeeded in projecting a gross error into international thinking regarding South Africa's problems. The average South African of every race group is acutely aware that this country is in a serious position. Virtually the whole world has risen up in open opposition to the government and its policies of dealing with the various races. One writer put it this way:

> "It goes without saying that institutionalised and legalised racial discrimination lies at the very root of South Africa's image in the world. Drastic steps to eliminate discriminatory measures at all levels have therefore become imperative."[1]

This is only a partial explanation of the problem. If the "world" is so concerned about the question of "racial discrimination", why has this same "world" never risen up in violent opposition to the greatest, most grotesque and longest-existing form of mass racism ever witnessed by observant humanity? The unparalleled tyranny of communism, its total destruction of whole ethnic groups, the horror and death imposed on its own citizens, and millions of captive slaves as well, has been documented for this same "world" to see and believe. It has done the opposite: The villains and murder-merchants of Marxism-Leninism are smiled upon by this "world" and allowed to represent themselves as bearers of the flag of freedom for all mankind, while little South Africa has become the international punching bag for the political hypocrites of the "international community". And the fact that the "international community" flatly refuses to deal with the savage Soviet Union for its unmatched historical record of terror, oppression and cold-blooded murder of millions does not excuse those people in South Africa who beat down their fellow men.

The governments of the nations of earth such as South Korea, Taiwan and even South Africa (apart from its racial policies) that have stood firm against every communist attempt at subversion and overthrow are the targets of many of the members of this inglorious "international community". They would do anything within their power to remove these anti-communist-type governments and replace them with fellow socialists who work for their "new order".

The money lords and their accomplices running the show have laboured day and night to drum up international hatred for South Africa. And one must agree that their success has been astounding. South Africa has been described as "a skunk among nations". Her total image has been distorted, misrepresented, lied about, fractured and smeared. She is bitterly hated by this "peace-loving" world community of nations, most of whom sit aloof like political pest exterminators, plotting and planning to destroy the Republic and usher

Financial Mail

Senator Edward Kennedy and the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Desmond Tutu, during Kennedy's farcical visit to South Africa

in a form of socialism. By and large, this world community of nations is a giant political tyrant, determined to dictate its opinions, and will attempt to destroy every government that dares stand in opposition to its obsession and passion for creating the international "new order" and a one-world conformity image.

South Africans of all race groups had a taste of this well-orchestrated bullying attitude of the "international community" during the visit (January 1985) of the controversial American Senator Edward Kennedy. His shady and sordid political and moral record only qualifies him for the zoo, and not to act as a true representative of the American people or even the true spirit of genuine American or South African liberalism. It is interesting that Bishop Tutu (recently appointed as the new Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg) was often seen swinging around "Teddy Bear's" neck and on the public platform with the inept American political zero. The Financial Mail, 11 January 1985, contained a scathing article in which it incisively called into question the entire Tutu-Boesak-Kennedy affair, which was a classical example of religious-political skulduggery. A typical hypocritical politician, Kennedy trudged around South Africa telling the people and leaders how to solve their problems, when his own life and record deserve a place in The Guinness Book of Records, under the heading "Greatest Human Failures." During his abortive mission Kennedy continually used the words (when exposed to the T.V. cameras and media) "the international community says". Every informed South African of every race group got the message. It was clear who he was speaking for.

South Africa is near the top of the "international community" hit-list. It's impassioned

clamour and concern over South Africa are basically perverted, selective and false. Its true motives are mostly hidden.

The few responsible world leaders today who are sincerely concerned in assisting South Africa to solve and resolve her serious racial problems will not attempt to do so by sponsoring the greatest killers in all human history, the tyrants of terrorism, international communism and their monopoly-capitalist supporters.

MAKE WAY FOR THE "RED" ROBIN HOOD

Into this ugly situation, as portrayed within South Africa, has stepped a "Red" Robin Hood. Because the government of the land (the Afrikaner in particular, and the white man in general) has been presented worldwide as history's greatest oppressor and destroyer of human rights, there has appeared over the years a wonderful and strong hero, ready to deliver these oppressed masses. And who is the brave one? None other than Marxism. Millions of minds have been conditioned to believe that the only reason for the appearance of Marxism-Leninism on the South African scene is to overthrow the white oppressors and give liberation and freedom to all its people.[2] No bigger lie has ever been told or believed. Those blacks, coloureds, Asians and numerous whites who think they see in the system of Marxism and its various counterparts a friend, one who is concerned about their plight and needs, are totally out of touch, unfamiliar with historical truth and blind to reality. Masquerading as a friend of the oppressed and downtrodden masses, communism has stepped into an ideal situation, like a modern-day Robin Hood, fighting to destroy the rich and save the poor. It uses the language of liberty, while cloaking its unspeakable totalitarianism in the rhetoric of democracy. It speaks with the voice of Jacob, but displays the hands of Esau (Gen. 27:22). It has mustered into its ranks masses of deceived servants.

The masterminds of Marxism-Leninism have no interest in the plight of any race group of South Africa, or of any other country of the earth. They are not concerned about the process of democracy, freedom, liberation, one-man-one-vote or self-determination for any group. They are concerned, finally and ultimately, about only one goal: The complete communist conquest of the world[3] and the imposition of its hellish, body-killing and soul-destroying doctrines on the populations, regardless of race, colour or creed. This is the very substance of its entire history. Its whole ideology lives and struggles to make the world a communist world. Every May Day, each world communist leader publicly rededicates himself and his people to this cause. Every major, standard communist textbook declares in clear terms exactly the same thing. Only a fool will deny these facts. Communism's interest in South Africa concerns the Cape sea route, the geological treasures, especially gold, and finally it is a small stepping-stone to reach that biggest bastion of hated free-enterprise capitalism, the United States of America. (See note number 29, under documentation for chapter 29.)

Those who are persuaded that the communists will withdraw once the "liberation" of South Africa has been achieved face a very bitter disappointment. With asinine reasoning, they have forgotten, if they ever knew, the horrible "dictatorship of the proletariat", the "introduction of socialism" and the "perfection of human nature". The pseudo-liberals who preach that communism is only opposed to South Africa's racial policies and that once these have been destroyed and all men are "liberated and equal", the "Red" Robin Hood will gallop back to his Moscow Sherwood Forest, risk a trip to the insane asylum with such logic. They would do well to take a good, long look at every black African country that has been swept into the orbit of Marxism-Leninism or even the most

"humane" form of socialism. The results are enough to produce a sound coronary thrombosis. But typical of their species, they refuse to let the facts of experience speak. They are intoxicated by a passion for socialism. They refuse to consider the visible and physical results of Marxist socialism even in the neighbouring state of Mozambique. Liberated from the "hell" of Portuguese colonialism and Yankee imperialism in 1974, self-confessed communist Samora Moises Machel stepped into power and directed the war-embattled country into the new social order of peace, justice and prosperity. This revolutionary process was called Marxism-Leninism (or, better, Marxist socialism).

Ten years later, the wild celebrations and dancing in the streets were over. Something went wrong. Ten years of socialism in practice had devastated the land of Mozambique. The promises of a "heaven on earth" went sour. There were no "free elections"; instead, there were public executions, and shortages of basic goods and staple foods; even salt and soap became a premium in the paradise of the "new order" being created by the heroes of Marxism. Stupid Western governments pumped millions into the Mozambique failure to "prevent it from falling into the hands of the communists"! Then history simply repeated itself. Marxist socialism must have the continued support of capitalism to stay alive. South Africans (and others in the world) were stunned when their "conservative anti-communist government" made peace with the communist leaders of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984 by the two countries evoked mixed reactions in capitalist South Africa. Now millions of rands will be pumped into the "new social order" of Mozambique to save it from economic death. Cursed capitalism rushes to the rescue of its sworn enemy.

The communists of Mozambique (like the Soviets) blame their open and abject economic failure on everything from "drought" to "too much rain"! But of course it's never the system of socialism, killing human initiative and pride of ownership, stealing personal property, taking a man's cattle, personal goods, business, shop, garage, tractors, produce, church buildings — in fact everything — that is blamed for the failure. The ugly fact that history proves that Marxism does not work is a terrifying thought. It must be shunned at all costs. Give it a few thousand years and some good will come forth, so they tell us. In the meantime, the devil of capitalism can feed their slaves and fatten their ungodly leaders with its evil surplus and greatly hated fruits of the profit motive.

Even the proponents of socialism have confessed that the entire socialist economy of "liberated" Mozambique is a shambles. The radical and "socialistic-smelling" publication Work in Progress, February 1985, openly stated: "Nkomati must be seen as a short-term measure to gain a breathing space for economic reconstruction in Mozambique". Why would the "workers' paradise" where everyone is "happy, free, unexploited, liberated, with all citizens equally sharing the wealth, and total peace reigns", need its infallible economic system reconstructed? And even worse, why do they turn to the demonic and eternally damned capitalist system across the border to rescue them? The pseudo-liberals have political epileptic fits at such thoughts and in the face of such terrifying realities.

BARGAINING WILL NOT CHANGE THE COMMUNISTS

The Government of South Africa could change every policy, and by some miracle abolish every form of racial discrimination, make every concession demanded by the "international community", but the communists would remain the same. No kind of contract or pact and no amount of negotiation, treaty signing, concessions or bargaining will change the communist goal to conquer the land. If the innumerable evils created by

and resulting from the misuse and abuse of the system of apartheid were to vanish overnight, it would mean nothing to the communists. They would only change their tactics, never their final goal and purpose. Apartheid is only the pretext used by the Reds to present themselves as the heroes of the hour and saviours of the "oppressed masses". The communists must have their grand pretext. It is the foundation of all dialectical operations. It makes them appear the "good guys". Were apartheid suddenly to vanish from living memory, by the next weekend the Reds would have another "internationally acceptable" reason for calling for the overthrow of the Government of South Africa and the installation of scientific socialism. The pretext in Angola and Mozambique was "colonialism". In Rhodesia it was "settlement" and in South Africa it is "apartheid".

The political seers living in their private world of intellectual fantasy, dreaming of the hour when apartheid will be gone and all men will be equal[4] — thereby bringing lasting peace to sunny South Africa — are having an enigmatic nightmare. They have never learned that equal men are not free and free men are not equal. They do not, nor will they ever, realize that as long as the basic doctrines of Marxism-Leninism are embraced and believed by the masses, South Africa will be at war.[5] Almost no form of reasonable discussion is possible with true Marxist-Leninists. The Reds have drawn hundreds into the dialogue trap. Openly they have stated: "We welcome dialogue because it also means that some ... have stopped rejecting the 'Communist political programme'."[6] Despite this open confession, most Western leaders are deaf to its fearful meaning. Some are telling us that communism is becoming better!

It is a dangerous illusion to draw distinctions between "better" and "worse" communism, between more peace-loving and more aggressive kinds. They are all inimical to humanity, and if one seems restrained in its outward behaviour, this is merely because it has not yet gained military strength. If we know nothing about the forced labour camps in China, North Korea, or Vietnam, this means only that people are held there in even harsher conditions than in Soviet camps; no individual and no information has been allowed to slip out. But we do know that in Addis Ababa the bodies of executed schoolboys are stacked in rows. And clergymen are shot in both Albania and Angola. Marxism is hostile to the physical existence and the spiritual essence of every nation. It is futile to hope that a compromise with communism will be found, or that relations will be improved by concessions and trade.

Communism is the denial of life. It is a fatal disease of a nation and the death of all humanity. And there is not a nation on earth that has immunity against it.

The great excitement in the West regarding the changes in leadership in the Soviet Union has engendered false hopes. A few zigs and zags in foreign policy, in intellectual freedom and emigration signal nothing to us. A survey of Soviet reality shows that a hundred changes in leadership and a thousand symbolic gestures have changed nothing. The situation has not improved. They are still convinced and confirmed Marxist-Leninists. To improve or correct communism is not feasible. Communism can only be done away with, destroyed and swept from the face of the earth. The sick Western nations will never accomplish this task. It can only be done by the united and joint efforts of the millions who are crushed beneath its iron boots and godless fists. They deserve our unreserved and absolute assistance in this noble and long overdue task.[7]

While over half of humanity languishes under the "accomplishments" of scientific socialism, South Africa is the object of a special onslaught. At time of writing there are 76 committees, organizations, programmes, and conferences of the United Nations being mobilized against the land of South Africa. In every conceivable field — in international

forums, sport, culture, literature, politics, economics, trade, ideology, the military, religion, psychology, medicine, science — South Africa is under attack.

If South Africa's Marxist enemies cannot advance on the physical battlefield, with tanks, guns and bullets, they will revert to other dialectical steps, the most successful and popular one being the arena of negotiation. Here the devils of hate and hell will smile, shake hands, drink capitalist's champagne, crack their jokes and sign a score of pacts and treaties, while secretly plotting to destroy the "capitalist pigs" sitting before them and signing on the dotted line.[8]

They do not disdain the slogan "co-operation or conflict" for, either route taken, they still plot to overthrow the hated free-enterprise capitalist system, and to bring in the scientific socialism of Marxism-Leninism. All the big talk being heard on South African radio and television about "nations that have different social, economic and political systems can live together in peace" is fearfully false when the total life's ideology of any of those nations calls for and demands the destruction of the other. This is the very heartbeat-ideology of genuine Marxism-Leninism. Communism's rabid drive for the destruction of true capitalism and expansionism springs from the nature of its philosophy and it is not susceptible to change. There are hundreds of tactical delays and sidesteps, but never any permanent change. Never! Communism is made this way. It lives and breeds this way because it is communism.

Every time South Africa's political and security officials are drawn to a "negotiation table" with the communists, this is interpreted as a sign of weakness on the part of South Africa.[9] It gives the communists the grand opportunity to be presented as humble, peace-loving people, seeking the best for all — and the general media will project them as such to the untaught masses, who believe any lie. Every loud declaration of "human rights" made by the Reds serves only to camouflage further aggression and conquest wherever possible. The only language the lords of Moscow and Peking will ever understand is that of brute force and strength, when necessary, driven into their very teeth. History proves that this is what they finally respect and fear. Only in the face of such harsh and unbending reaction will the communists back off. Lenin's alleged dictum, "If you must shake a man's hand in order to reach his throat, then shake it well", must not be used on the land of South Africa. They will not shake the hand that will break their neck! "Blessed be the Lord . . . which teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight" (Psalms 144:1). If South Africa wants the maximum of peace she must regularly prepare for war. In the final choice, the soldier's pack and gun is not so heavy a burden as the prisoner's chain. A total renewal of the spirit of true patriotism and a burning love and loyalty for one's country must be imbued in the hearts of South Africa's youth. A willingness to take up arms, fight and die if needs be, to keep the savages of communism from reaching their goal in conquering South Africa, is a necessary condition. The alien spirits of pacifism and conscientious objection, as reflected especially in the liberal churches and "peace movements", have their origin in darkness. They must be totally resisted. A besieged nation, be it a physical or psychological onslaught, must defend itself.

Among some of South Africa's political leaders there exists an abysmal ignorance of the enemy, communism.

> "Mrs Blackburn, the Progressive Federal Party MPC for Walmer, said in reply to a question that the ANC and Communist Party would be allowed to operate legally in South Africa if they forswear violence."[10]

One is simply staggered at such words coming from a person in the higher realm of politics in South Africa. God have mercy on the country if the day ever comes when persons of such understanding are elected to rule the nation.

MORE THAN PHYSICAL CONFLICT

The battle for freedom from the tyranny of Marxism-Leninism is not altogether within the physical realm. Standing in the dark background, energising international communism, is a spiritual power known to the saved Bible-believing Christians as Satan or the Devil. One prime aim of the continual onslaught against South Africa is to finally extinguish the light of the Gospel of Christ and the true Christian faith. History proves that one of the most successful tools for this achievement is communism. No movement has slaughtered more Christians and destroyed more churches than the Red terror of Moscow and Peking's materialistic socialism. In the hardline communist lands the Reds are clever enough to allow selected "showcase" churches and a pretence of religious freedom for the benefit of tourists and the sponsoring Western governments who continually pump aid and assistance into their despotic regimes.[11]

> "But the world has never before known a godlessness as organized, militarized, and tenaciously malevolent as that preached by Marxism. Within the philosophical system of Marx and Lenin and at the heart of their psychology, hatred of God is the principal driving force, more fundamental than all their political and economic pretensions. Militant atheism is not merely incidental or marginal to communist policy; it is not a side effect, but the central pivot. To achieve its diabolical ends, communism needs to control a population devoid of religious and national feeling, and this entails a destruction of faith and nationhood. Communists proclaim both of these objectives openly, and just as openly put them into practice."12

Conservative Christians who balance their faith in the finished work of the Lord Jesus Christ, with a firm love and loyalty to their country, are a prime target of communist hatred. Communism has little to fear in the spiritually dead, empty and meaningless so-called Christians of the West. It has even less to resist and hate in the liberal ecumenicals who have perverted God's holy word and turned their "pulpits" into social forums designed to "politicise" their unsuspecting parishioners and to galvanise them into some sort of opposition or action against the State, instead of pointing men to the salvation of Christ, which will change their very hearts, lives, attitudes and social outlook.[13]

Satan seeks to silence the true, effective witness of God's Son in a world gone mad. This is his purpose in the conflict, and his chief tool for over 60 years has been Marxism-Leninism.

NOT ALL PROTESTERS ARE COMMUNISTS

There is a serious identification sickness noticeable within South African society, especially in conservative ranks. In a unique sense, it very often plays into the hands of those whom certain conservatives seek to oppose.

This malady is simply the blanket classification of every person or organization active within the ranks of protest. Far too many South Africans brand every individual and group under the convenient label "communist" when they demonstrate their disagreement with some policy or action of the State. Such a rubber-stamp description is as unjust as the evil work of those they actually intend to oppose.

On the other hand, those persons and organizations wishing to express their dissapproval of some government policy or security action should also use special discretion. Too many of them talk out of both sides of their mouths and expect the observant public to believe them. Bishop Tutu disclaims Marxism on one hand and praises the Marxist ruler of Zimbabwe on the other. This is clear doubletalk that only the most credulous will swallow. One cannot run with the hares and hunt with the hounds. (See note number 35, under documentation for chapter 17.)

Those protesters whose philosophy may embrace a wider range of "humanitarian ideals" than many ultra-conservatives, should make it clear that they, knowingly, have no sympathies with the unholy men and system of communism, that they will oppose it with all their strength, and that they protest totally apart from any form of alliance and identification with Marxism-Leninism.

The liberal personalities and movements of South Africa who praise the ANC, hold secret meetings with Oliver Tambo in London, run in and out of the atrocious Anti-Apartheid headquarters, are constant bedfellows of the world's leading revolutionists and radical socialists, and support and defend the WCC and like groups, will convince no thoughtful and informed person of their sincerity. Through their actions and associations they classify themselves, for kind still seeks kind.

The onus lies with these people to demonstrate with words and especially actions their non or anti-communist stance. It must be unequivocally and clearly stated, not only in words but also in deeds. Let them do so and clear their names. Those who have established their bonafides deserve the total respect of the sincere, genuine anti-communist conservatives who disagree with them on various issues. It can be no other way, for all protesters are not communists.

It is not against the law of South Africa to protest against and oppose the racial laws of the country, though it is fearfully unpopular with many conservatives. One need only read the liberal-leftist-bent press of the Republic and this will become very obvious. Few governments anywhere across the entire African continent would allow the kind of openly public attacks against themselves as are allowed in South Africa's liberal press. There is not a government in Africa that would countenance visits by foreign trouble-makers and rabble-rousers. Here one thinks of Senator Edward Kennedy and the Rev. Jessie Jackson. To the total consternation of most conservatives in the country, both these men were let loose across the nation to create untold problems.

However, as stated above, to protest against the policies of South Africa in cooperation with murderers, terrorists, violent leftists, communists, bombers and killers of innocent men, women and children of all race groups is a totally different story. The international hue and cry, that most persons arrested, tried and sentenced to prison in South Africa are there because they opposed the government's racial policies, and the system threw them into prison to silence their opposition, is too idiotic to waste time and words on. To believe that such abortions of human justice have not occurred in times past is just as foolish. Today this has vastly changed. And with these changes there is still room for even greater changes within the whole realm of human relationships for all the people of South Africa. (See chapter 31 under heading Apartheid's Purgatory: Communism's Hell.)

One can only hope and pray that the South African Government and the people of the land in general will somehow awake to reality and work for the inclusion of the blacks in what is left of the capitalist economy of the country. If this is not done, then the killing system of Marxist socialism will, in time, be imposed upon the land. This fact is ineradicably being written on the wall for all South Africans to read. They had better read it well and act accordingly!

SOUTH AFRICA FORGETTING GOD IN TRUTH

"The nations that forget God shall be turned into hell" (Psa. 9:17). Running through much of the history of South Africa, like a beautiful silver thread, is a Christian heritage, a respectful fear of God and love for his Holy Word. Over the course of South African

history this flame has burnt low; on several occasions it has almost faded into obscurity. But, beneath the grey dust of these cooling ashes, the coals of Christ have continued to burn. This applies to a minority, for in all world history there has never been a totally committed Christian nation. Across the length and breadth of South Africa there must be a turning back to Christ in sincerity and truth. Every form of ungodliness, sin and wicked living must be repented of. Race hatred, sodomy, pride, drunkenness, adultery, fornication, lying and cheating will destroy South Africa and unleash the judgment of God. Amid every gloomy period in world history God calls: "Return unto me and I will return unto you" (Mal. 3:7). The Bible warns: "Righteousness exalteth a nation ... but sin is a reproach to any people" (Prov. 14:34). South Africa cannot forget God and get away with it.

While the "educated" God and Bible-haters mock and howl, let men of sober minds and sincere hearts consider the need for a genuine saving experience with Christ, resulting in an upright life in which men may be treated with honour and dignity.

Political leaders who (in a sense) carry the destiny of millions in their hands, are fools to attempt to chart the nation's course without the wisdom and blessing of the Almighty. This divine aid requires more than a parliamentary prayer from which the name of Christ has been removed to accommodate the pagans. "Hell" and "damn", those once-revered words which filled men's hearts with awesome respect and the fear of God, are the standard oaths on the streets, in the schools, in homes, as well as on national radio and TV. The greatest need of the hour for the people of South Africa, of all race groups, is a genuine sorrow for sin, a total repentance from it and a return to the Saviour of the cross and empty tomb. Sadly, church history reveals that this spirit of humility and brokenness usually only comes via severe judgment and in times of national disaster and doom. There are some exceptions. Will South Africa be one?

But religion is not enough. The world is religiously sick. Men's lives must be changed by a supernatural transforming experience that will cleanse their hearts and give them a new life and purpose. This is found only in the risen, living Lord Jesus Christ. "Christ alone hath power on earth to forgive sins" (Mk. 2:10). "If any man be in Christ he is a new creature..." (II Cor. 5:17).

The basic problem in South Africa is not skin (white versus black) but sin! Man's hatred for man stems from his total alienation and depravity caused by the triumph of sin in his mind, heart, body and life. Sin has blinded and deceived him, perverted his sense of values and destroyed the possibility of contact and communion with his God. Hence, he follows his own devices and these usually take him further from God. The Almighty, in his love for the fallen and lost human race, has provided a way of forgiveness, return and cleansing from sin's control and effects. The Lord Jesus Christ said: "I am the way..." (John 14:6). By his substitute death on the cross for our sins, God has decreed our forgiveness through what he has done. "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved..." (Acts 16:31). Red, yellow, black and white, ALL are precious in his sight. Christ refuses none!

The need for a life transformed by the salvation of Jesus Christ is the message needed but not often heeded. Rather, a nice 10-minute sermon, flattering godless church members, is the message on Sunday mornings. In former days, Christianity was an experience that was practised in the daily lives of men and women who had received the saving Grace of God. Dead, empty, soul-crucifying liturgy and ritual, scholarly, academic, evangelical sermons, doctrinally sound in every detail, but pitifully void of the convicting power of the Holy Spirit, are stupefying thousands of pew-warmers every Sunday. Church members leave the House of God just as they entered: untouched and unchanged by the

message from the pulpit. To have known God, and to forget Him in truth and obedience to his Word, is the highest of insults. "This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me..." (Matt. 15:8-9a). "Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof: from such turn away" (II Tim. 3:5). For those reading these lines whose hearts long for peace with God, new life and hope, it is waiting for you in the promise of Christ: "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (Matt. 11:28). This peace is not a matter of being good and sincere, but of personally receiving, by faith, Christ as your Lord and Saviour.

MASS INFORMATION CAMPAIGN

Along with a spiritual awakening and lives totally changed by the new birth of salvation, there should be a nationwide campaign to inform the general public of the truth and dangers of Marxism-Leninism. It must be aimed at every level of education. Schools, colleges, universities, churches, social organizations, national radio and TV must carry the message. There is no substitute for accurate information.[14] It is written in the Bible that God said to His people, who refused to study their enemy, that they would be "destroyed for lack of knowledge" (Hos. 4:6). A government that cancels its stiff legislation against all forms of subversion and attempted revolution is throwing out the baby with the bath water. The public of all race groups must be taught that the police, security officials, defence forces and intelligence services of the country are by and large working for their final good and stability. The best relationship possible must be established and maintained between these sectors of national life. The military, police and security officials must have the trust and co-operation of the general public, from every walk of life. Law enforcement officials cannot project the image of monsters and expect the trust and assistance of the average citizen; nor can the average citizen defy law and order and expect the powers-that-be to turn a blind eye. A healthy respect for each other's rights is the right balance for a maximum of peace and security in South Africa.

Millions are being spent on every conceivable type of public information scheme. Films, videos, tracts, pamphlets, booklets and books of every fashion are produced covering a wide range of subjects from flies, fleas and frogs to freckles. The concerned and interested citizenry must have placed in their hands well-prepared, sound information in every written language of the country, clearly listing the facts about world Marxism-Leninism and its plans for South Africa and the Western world. Timely suggestions regarding the part every South African can play in combating this ideology should be given. To be clearly forewarned is to be forearmed — and ready for the fight.

Above and beyond our human duties on an earthly level there looms a fact that no man or political system can change: Death and eternity beckons us all! A hundred years from now it will be of no importance to any reader of this book what your political convictions were. Only one thing will count: Were you prepared to meet God? Be wise and make these preparations while you may.

To the beautiful land of South Africa and all of its great people the Son of God is saying: "Without me you can do nothing" (John 15:5). It is either Christ or catastrophe.

The final chapter has now closed but the story and struggle goes on. How will it end? YOU WILL DECIDE. Below are some helpful and time-proven suggestions. They have worked for millions and they will work for you.

"If my people which are called by my name shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I (God Almighty) hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land" (II Chronicles 7:14).

"Be not ye afraid of them: remember the Lord which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives and your houses" (Nehemiah 4:14).

"But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ" (I Corinthians 15:57).

"For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Romans 10:13).

"HARK O FREEDOM, SLEEP NOT. THY WORK IS ETERNAL VIGILANCE"

DOCUMENTATION FOR CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

1. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*
   Africa Institute, Pretoria 1981
   Article by Denis Venter, p. 100
2. The Soviet Union has represented itself as bringing to the people of South Africa "the right of... self-determination". Quoted in
   Present-day Problems in Asia and Africa
   Progressive Publishers, Moscow 1980
   By R. Ulyanovsky, p. 22
3. "Communists do not conceal the fact that the elimination... of capitalism and the building of socialism on a worldwide scale is their ultimate goal." (*International Affairs*, No. 8, August 1974. Article by V. Kortunov)
4. One of the greatest fallacies ever propagated is that "all men are created equal". They are not. The I.Q. test has silenced this popular error. All men are not born with equal mental abilities, opportunities and physical strength. This has never been, nor ever will be, accomplished by sinful man. After over sixty years of controlled "economic determined" environment in the Soviet Union, the savages of the central committee and the KGB still intimidate, terrorise, torture, imprison, exile, banish and murder those not born equal to the perfect Marxist man. The rest of the "unequals" are locked into the socialist paradise by concrete walls, with the aid of landmines and machine-guns. Perfect and eternal equality will only be realised when Almighty God's plan has been finally accomplished and we have "a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness" (II Peter 3:10-14)

   There is no humanly feasible way to create a perfect government, without effecting a supernatural change in the human hearts of every politician and every citizen. This would require an act on the part of Almighty God and, for the most part, neither politicians nor citizens are sincerely interested in God's power to change their lives.
5. The Chief of the South African Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, put it this way: "It is essential for South Africans to prepare themselves psychologically without becoming alarmist or dispirited. There should be greater public awareness, involvement and co-operation to combat terrorism." (*SA Digest*, 1 July 1983, p. 5)
6. Quoted in *The Red Line*, 19 September 1974, USA, p. 2. By Professor N. Kolvosky, Deputy Director of the International Labour Movement Institute of the USSR. Kolvosky is a top Russian communist.
7. Edited from *The Samizdat Bulletin*, Number 120, 1983
8. In the mid-1950s, the staff of the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary examined the Soviets' historical record and expressed the following comments: "The staff studied nearly a thousand treaties and agreements... both bilateral and multilateral, which the Soviets have entered into not only with the United States, but with countries all over the world. The staff found that in the 38 short years since the Soviet Union came into existence, its government had broken its word to virtually every country to which it ever gave a signed promise. (The staff) seriously doubt whether during the whole history of civilization any great nation has ever made as perfidious a record as this in so short a time." (*U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Soviet Political agreements and Results*, 4th printing, Washington, D.C. 1964; also see number 9 below)
9. Debating with the communists is not as simple as starting from a valid premise and proceeding by cogent logic to a sound conclusion. Communist experts use the very machinery of debate to destroy the purpose of debate. History has proven that it is totally futile to "negotiate" with genuine communists except from the viewpoint of absolute brute strength. Even then it is a risky business.

No better proof of this is found than in the classical book, *How Communists Negotiate*. Fidelis Publishers Inc., Santa Monica, California, USA 1970. This powerful narrative was written by Admiral C.T. Joy, who headed the truce talks with the communists at Kaesong and Panmunjom, North Korea, in the early 1950s.

The Soviet approach to peace is no different from that of the Red Chinese. Lenin stated: "Marxism is not pacifism... only if accompanied by a call for revolutionary struggle, the demand for 'Peace' makes sense." An instruction to the high military staffs of the Warsaw pact in 1968 stated: "It is permitted to conduct peace talks and reduce tensions. However, this may be done only and must serve to confuse and weaken the enemy." (Both quotes from a paper issued by the *National Student Federation: Student Moderate Alliance*, Wits University, 1984.) (See also number 8 above)

10. *House of Assembly Debates*, 11 April 1983, cols. 4443-4444
11. Up to the present time, "showcase churches" have been allowed in almost every communist land except Albania, North Korea and Tibet. Even these may change any day according to the decisions of their Marxist-Leninist leaders.
12. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, speech at Buckingham Palace, 10 May 1983
13. For a comprehensive study regarding apostate religion see the two books, *Apostles of Deceit* and the classic *Collectivism in the Churches*, by E.C. Bundy. Obtainable from the Church League of America, 422 North Prospect Street, Wheaton, Illinois, 60187 USA.
14. Communism's best friend is simply our ignorance of communism. The public libraries are loaded with documentaries and publications dealing with every aspect of the curse of Marxism-Leninism. The address at the end of this book is that of a conservative Christian organization dedicated to the dissemination of sound information regarding communism and its friends.

Address all correspondence to
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ABBREVIATIONS

AAM	Anti-Apartheid Movement
ACOA	American Committee on Africa
AFSAR	Americans for South African Resistance
AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
AMDA	African Music and Drama Association
ANC	African National Congress
APO	African Political Organization and African Peoples' Organization
ARM	African Resistance Movement
ASE	Amalgamated Society of Engineers
BND	West German Intelligence Service
BPC	Black Peoples' Consciousness
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COD	Congress of Democrats
CPO	Coloured Peoples' Organization
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
DGI	Cuban Intelligence Service
ECCI	Executive Committee of the Comintern International
FAPLA	People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCI	Free Central Information (New Agency)
FOSATU	Federation of South African Trade Unions
FRELIMO	Freedom Movement for the Liberation of Mozambique
FSAW	Federation of South African Women
GPU	Soviet Secret Police (until 1923)
GRU	Main Intelligence Directorate of Soviet General Staff
HMS	His (or Her) Majesty's Ship (or Service)
HNP	Hertzog National Party
IQ	Intelligence Quotient
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union
IPS	Institute for Policy Studies
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRDD	Internal Reconstruction and Development Department
ISL	Industrial Socialist League
ISL	International Socialist League
IUEF	International University Exchange Fund
IUS	International Union of Students
IWA	Industrial Workers of Africa
KGB	Soviet Secret Police since 1954
KOS	Yugoslavian Secret Counter-Intelligence
LAR	League of African Rights
LP	Labour Party (same as South African Labour Party)
LP	Liberal Party
LRC	Labour Representation Committee
MI5	Fifth Section of British Military Intelligence

MI6	Sixth Section of British Military Intelligence
MK	Military Kommand
MP	Member of Parliament
MPC	Member of Parliament — Cape
MWASA	Media Workers' Association of South Africa
NCC	National Council of Churches (USA)
NCL	National Committee for Liberation
NCO	Non-Commissioned Officer
NEUM	Non-European Unity Movement
NKVD	Soviet Secret Police until 1946
NLG	National Lawyers' Guild
NLLSA	National Liberation League of South Africa
NUSAS	National Union of South African Students
OB	Ossewa-Brandwag (Ox-Wagon Sentinel)
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress (also called Pan African Congress)
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PSAP	Puerto Rican Socialist Party
QC	Queen's Counsel
RAF	Royal Air Force
SP	Secret Police (Soviet)
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACC	South African Council of Churches
SACP	South African Communist Party
SACTU	South African Congress of Trade Unions
SADF	South African Defence Force
SAFSU	South African Friends of the Soviet Union
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SALP	South African Labour Party (same as Labour Party)
SAMRAF	South African Military Refugees Aid Fund
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SANROC	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SAPC	South African Peace Council
SASO	South African Students' Organization
SASOL	South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation
SAWG	Southern African Working Group
SDF	Social Democratic Federation
SRC	Students' Representative Council
SOWETO	South West Township
STB	Czechoslovakian Intelligence Service
SWAPO	South West Africa Peoples Organization
TC	Torch Commando
TLSA	Teachers' League of South Africa
TUC	Trades' Union Congress
UCM	University Christian Movement
UDF	United Democratic Front
UN	United Nations
UP	United Party
US	United States
USIS	United States Information Service
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WCC	World Council of Churches
WFDY	World Federation of Democratic Youth

WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions
WHO	World Health Organization
WOA	Washington Office on Africa
WPC	World Peace Council
YCCC	Yi Chu Chan Club
YCL	Young Communist League
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

INDEX

Please note that headings in italics indicate publications, names in parentheses indicate either alternate spelling or nickname and page numbers in bold indicate photographs. Sub-headings are listed in order of appearance in the text and not alphabetically.

Abantu-Batho, 86, 239
Abduction of children, **521**
Abdurahman, Dr. Abdul, 203, 231
Abrahams, Arthur E, 178
Abrahams, Dr. K G, 381
Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Republic, 4
Action Stations, A Crisis Call!, 230, **230**
Active Citizen Force, 100, 340
Adams, C J, 186
Addis Ababa, **see:** Ethiopia
Advance, **273,** 274, 279
Afghanistan, 316
The Africa Fund, 504
AFM, **see:** African Freedom Movement
African Institute: Moscow, 307, 317
Africa News, 505
Africa People's Organization, **see:** African People's Organization
Africa South, 538-9
Africa South in Exile, 538-9, **538**
African Bakers' Union, 158
African Clothing Workers' Union, **see:** Native Clothing Workers' Union
The African Communist, 305, 334-5, 400, 438, 441, 462
African Democratic Party, 264
African Federation of Trade Unions, 161
African Freedom Movement, 406-7
African Labour Congress, 146
African Liberation Committee, 327-8
African Mineworkers' Strike: 1946, 157, 158, 202, 203, 251-4, **252, 253, 256, 261,** 416
African Mineworkers' Union, 252
African Music and Drama Association, 488
African National Congress, 60, 86, 87, 90, 143, **147,** 147, 153, 156-8, 160, 162, 167, 171, 179, 185, 186, 191, 231, **240, 241,** 246, 247, 250, 252, 257, 264, 265, 266, **275,** 280, **281,** 281, 301, 303, 313, 320, 321, 327-8, 332-4, 346, 356-7, 358, 368, **372,** 381, 383, 387, 406, 411, **498,** 499, 500-1, 519, 553, 555
: Founding and development, 70-1, **70,** 164, 239-43
: Defiance Campaign, 282-3
: Luthuli, A, 289-90, **289,** 297
: Banning, 298, 299 331, **337,** 340-1
: Freedom Charter, 305-7, 317
: Treason Trial, 309-10
: Lesotho, 326, 345
: Sobukwe's PAC, 335-7
: Sharpeville, 338-9
: Mandela, N, 347-8
: Umkhonto we Sizwe, 350-3, 413
: Rivonia radio transmitter, **352, 379**
: Military training, 360
: Hlapane, B, **362,** 366
: Rivonia trial, 388, 392-3, 396, 398, 400
: Fischer trials, 427, 447
: April, J, 470-1
: Moumbaris-Hosey trial, 474
: Breytenbach, B, 477-8
: Slovo, J, 480, 493
: Soweto riots, 482-7
: Terrorism, 488-90, **503**
: Silverton attack, 491-2, **492, 493, 494**
: Sasol, 495-7, **497**
: Pretoria bomb blast, **506, 507**
: Voortrekkerhoogte, 511-2, **512, 513**
: United Democratic Front, 520, 529
: Propaganda, 462, 523
: Overseas support, 502-9, 510, 536-7, 539
African National Congress, National Action Council, 295, 348
African National Congress Women's League, 249, 293
African National Congress Youth League, 241, 242, 249, 281, 293, 297, 335, 360
African People's Organization, 87, 90, 143, 203, 231, 280, 313
African Political Organization, **see:** African People's Organization
African Resistance Movement, 363, 368, 372, 381, **404,** 405-12, **408, 410,** 414, 415
African rights, 86-7, 140-3
see also: League of African Rights
African World, 502
African Youth League, **see:** African National Congress Youth League
Afrikaans Language Festival, Paarl 1975, 477
The Afrikaans Resistance Movement, **see:** Die Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging
Afrikaner nationalism, 187-8, 207, 209-10, 212, 349, 365-6
Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, 497, 505
Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, 381
Agent Q-018, **see:** Ludi, Gerard
Agent Q-043, **see:** Schroeder, Klaus

Ainsley, Rosalynde, 299, 326, 539
Ainslie, Rosalynde, **see:** Ainsley, Rosalynde
Albania, 523, 552, 560
Alexander, Dr. Neville, 387
Alexander Rachel (Ray), 186, 191, **194, 195,** 202, 257, 263, 279, 294, 400, 478
Algeria, 349, 360, 508
Alien Act, No. 1, of 1937, 207
All African Conference, 347-8, **347**
All-African Congress, 251
All-African Convention, 185, 281
All South African Congress Against War and Fascism, 185
Allen, C S, 418, **420,** 447-9
Allen, T F, 101
Allen Group, 543
Allied Building Society, 326
Amalgamated Engineering Union, 37, 186
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, 24, 68
Amalgamated Society of Engineers, 33-4
see also: Amalgamated Engineering Union
Amandla: ANC Slogan, 486, **487**
Amateur Photography Magazine, 326
America, **see:** United States of America
American civil rights struggle, 488
American Committee on Africa, 502-4
American Communist Party, **405,** 414-5, 488, 502, 505, 508-9, 510
American Congress, 302
American Council on Foreign Relations, **see:** Council on Foreign Relations: American
American Embassies, **see:** United States Embassies
American Friends Service Committee, 504-5
American Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, 246, 307, 317, **362,** 366, **498,** 501
American State Department, 535, 539-41
American Zionist Association, 213
Americans for South African Resistance, 502
Amnesty International, 425
Amsterdam International, 119
Anderson, Molly Irene, **see:** Doyle, Molly Irene
Andrews, William Henry (Bill), 13, 14, 22, 33-5, **34,** 41, 44, 47-8, 55, **65,** 66, 71, **72,** 80-1, 85, 86, 87-8, 90-2, **91,** 94, 101, 105, 108-12, **111,** 122, 125-7, 132, 134-5, 136, 141-2, 146, 152, 154, 158, 161, 175, 185-7, 188, 195, 200, 202, 218, 223, 224, 233, 254, **255,** 263, **274,** 301
Andropov, Yuri, 500
Angleton, James Jesus, 534
Anglo American Corporation of South Africa Limited, 462
'Anglo-American Secretariat', 168, 179
Anglo-Boer War, 23, 35, 38-42, **38, 40, 42,** 207, 349
Angola, 468, 480, 513-4, **514, 515, 516,** 523, **526,** 552
'Anne', **see:** Veglio di Castelleto, Gabrielle Fredericka
Anti-Apartheid Movement: London, 303, 334-5, 382, 459, 475, 539, 545-6, 555
Anti-apartheid organizations, 517
Anti-Coloured Advisory Council Movement, 231
Anti-communism, 209-10, 212, 247, 268, 282, 292, 403, 531-4, 548, 551, 555
Anti-Fascist Movement, 251
Anti-guerrilla troops, 372
'Anti-Pass Campaigns', 191-3, 242, 333, 336-9
Anti-Semitism, 205, 206-12, 213-4, **215,** 222
Apartheid, 527-8, 548-52, 555
Apdusa, 387
April, James Edward, 445, 470-1, **471,** 496
Arenstein, B, 262
Arenstein, Jacqueline, 212, **247,** 250, 309
Arenstein, Rowley Israel, 212, **247,** 250, 290, 309, 445, 459
Argentinian Communist Movement, **see:** Communist Movement, Argentina
Arms and ammunition, **214, 216, 394, 395,** 447, 462, 474, 491, 511, 514, **515**
Arms of the People, 277
Arnold, G, 110
Arts, 517-9
Atlas, **see:** Okhela
Atroschenkov, Consul-General P S, 319
Austoker, L, **72**
Australian Communist Party, 25, 291
Australian League of Rights, 539
Aveling, Dr. Edward, 6-7, **11**
Aylward, Alfred, 31
Azanian Poets' and Writers' Association, 488
Baader-Meinhof group, Germany, 477
Bach, Lazar, 158, 173-4, 176-7, 179, 180, 183-4, 201, 212
Bagwell, Gordon, 181
Bain, J T, 32-3, **33,** 34, 35, 37, **49,** 51-5, **54, 56, 57,** 63, 69, 78, 81, 87, 101-2, **101, 102, 103**
Baker, Charles, 160-1, **161,** 165, 171
Baker, Julius, 302, 371, 428
Baker, Lewis, 302, 371, 418, 427, 428
Baker, Tamara, 428
Ballinger, Margaret, 267, 286-8
Balmar, Rev. A F, 31-2
Baloyi, R G, **160**
'Ban-the-Bomb' movement, 326
Banana, President Canaan, 298-9, **525**
'Banning orders', 270, 293, 381, 386, 399, 401, 478
Bantu Administration Act, 1927, 269
Bantu National Congress, 280
Bantu World, 191, 280, **281**
Bantustan Bluff, 302
Barclays Bank: Stock Exchange branch, Johannesburg, 431-2
Barenblatt, Yettah, 212, 302, **302**
Barlin, Max, **111**
Barlin, Sam, 84, 109-10, 134, 202
'Barnard, Charles', **see:** Goldberg, Dennis, 353
Barnard, Dr. Chris, 452
Barnes, J L, 122
Barnett, J, 262
Barsel, Esther, 350, 418, 426, 428
Barsel, Hymie, 212, 418, **419,** 426
Barsel, Sheila, **see:** Lapinsky, Sheila
Basner, Advocate Hyman M, 185, **258,** 263, 264
Basutoland, **see:** Lesotho
Basutoland Communist Party, 332

Batty, Albert, 144
Bechuanaland, **see:** Botswana
Beer, 93
Behr, Rose, 257-8
Belgium, 512
'Bell, John', 470
Bengunkov, Consul-Agent S, 319
Benjamin, John M, 358, **360,** 445
Benjamin, Pixie O, 358, **360,** 386, 445
Benn, Anthony W, 244
Bennett, P, 262
Benson, Mary, 244, 519
Berger, John, **538**
Berlin airlift, 312
Berlin Wall, 265
Berman, A Z, 92, 94, 104, 122, **133,** 178
Berman, J, 72
Berman, Montague David (Monty), 212, 406-7
Berne International Socialist Commission, 87
see also: Zimmerwald-group
Bernstein, Hilda, **see:** Watts Bernstein, Hilda
Bernstein, Lionel (Rusty), **193,** 203-4, 212, 229, 233, 254, 262, **271,** 302, 309, 370, 371, 376, 378, 388-90, **391,** 396-7, 407
Bernstein, Toni, 371, **372**
Berrangé, Advocate Vernon C, 229, 251, 259, 263, 388, **389,** 418, 421-2, 425
Berry, Abner W, **405**
Best, N J, **325**
Bestenstein, Dr Hilliard, 378, 387
Beyers, General Christiaan, 100
Beyleveld, Petrus (Piet), 229, 306, 309, 317, 328, 399, 401, 421-4, **422,** 450
Bhana, Ismail, 382, **384**
Bhoola, I E, 239
Bhulose, **240**
Bible, **see:** Holy Bible
Biblical code, 438, **439**
Biermann, Rear Admiral S C, 524
Biko, Steve, 501
Bilderbergers, 500, 531, 539-41
Bizos, G, 388, 448, 451
'Black, Douglas', **see:** Fischer, Advocate Abram (Bram), 432-3, **434, 435,** 437-8, **439,** 441
Black Consciousness Movement, 501
Black Peoples' Consciousness, 536
'Black Republic', 155, 158, 159, 164, 166-70, 174, 179
Black Sash, 231, 288, 375, 433, 519
Black Star, 357
Blackburn, Mrs. M, 553
'Blackshirts', **see:** Die Volksbeweging
see: South African National Democratic Party
Blackwell, Leslie, 452
Blagburn, 68
Blahovsky, A, 233
Blake, George, 475
Blake, W, **72,** 86
Blaker, J, **103**
Blamforth, Rev. Ramsden B, 94, 98-9
Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond, 185
Blatchford, Robert, **see:** Blatchford Clarion Group, England
Blatchford Clarion Group, England, 69, 78
Blaxall, Rev. Arthur W, 279, 384-5
Bloch, M, 262
Bloemfontein Labour Party, 70, 71
Bloice, Carl, 505, 510
Blom-Cooper, Advocate I J, 422
Bloom, Harry, 229
Boesak, Dr. Allan, 520, 529-30, 549
Boilermakers' Society, 126
The Bolshevik, 105, **106**
see also: *The Bolshevist*
Bolshevik agents, 93-6, **94,** 99
see also: Soviet secret agents
Bolshevik Revolution, 1, 13, 87, 90-3, **91, 93, 94, 95,** 104, 124, 164, **169, 263,** 320, 541
Bolshevism in South Africa, 110, 124, 182
The Bolshevist, 105, **106**
see also: *The Bolshevik*
Bone, Walter, 178
Bongo, Tami, 489
Booi, Masaka, 357
Booysens, M S, 262
Bopape, D W, 285, **287**
Bophuthatswana, 511
Border states, **see:** Name of individual state
Boshielo, flag, 272
Boshoff, Advocate Franz G T, **192,** 193, 259
Boshoff, Mr. Justice W G, 449-51
Bosigo, Jeffery M, 307
Botha, Captain D H, 256-63, 264
Botha, Fanie, 60
Botha, General Louis, 45, 80, 100
Botha, P W, 213, 224, 496, 524
Botswana, 333, 334, 348, 358, 360, 378, 379, 382, **384,** 389, 428, 480, 482, 499, 501, 519, 523, 539
Boycotts, 539
Brachikov, Consul-General, **322**
Brachikov, Mrs, **322**
Bramley hideout: Fischer, 437-41, **437, 441,** 448
Brebner, W S, 72
Brett, A E, **103**
Breytenbach, Mrs, 476-7, **476**
Breytenbach, Breyten, 445, 475-8, **476,** 481, 489-90, 491, 497
Brezhnev, Leonid I, 291, **536**
'Bribri', **see:** Mkwayi, Wilton Z
Brink, Andre, 452, 454
British Amalgamated Society of Engineers, **see:** Amalgamated Society of Engineers
British Basutoland Police, 357
see also: Lesotho Security Police
British Communist Party, 88, 139, 243, 334, 546
British Council of Churches, 546
British Independent Labour Party, 69
British Labour Party, 127, 267, 382, 415
British trade unionism, 35, 151
British Trades Union Congress, 25, 267
Broederbond, 461
Bronstein, Leon D, 1
see also: Trotsky, Leon D
Broodryk, Captain/Brig. Johannes C., 405, **424,** 440, 442, 447, 448, **449,** 478, 495
Brooks, Alan, 363, 407, **408**
Brooks, Senator Edward, 288

Brothers, Richard, 222
Brown, Bishop, 159, 165
Brown, E J, 105
Brown, J F, **46**
'Brownshirts', 212
Brutus, Dennis, 372, 386, 407, **412,** 519
Bruwer, E, 262
Building Forces Against United States Support for South Africa, Washington D.C. 1981, 508
Building Workers' Industrial Union of South Africa, 257
Building Workers' Union, 175
Buirski, S, **111,** 141, 145, 148, 260, **261,** 263
Bukharin, 132, 167, 179, 180
Bulgaria, 497, 523
Bundesnachrichtendienst, **see:** West German Intelligence Service
Bundy, Major Edgar, 403
Bunting, Brian, 85, 187, 191, **199,** 200, 202, 233, 251, 254, 259, 261, 274, 279, 302, 313, 425, **538**
Bunting, Rebecca, 85, 110, 131-2, 168-70, **172,** 212
Bunting, Sidney Percival, **43, 76,** 81, 85-90, **85, 89,** 97, 110, **111,** 131-2, 134-5, 139-41, **145,** 147-8, 155, 157, 158, 166-78, **172,** 180, 181, 182-3, 191, 202, 301, 325
Bunting, Sonia, **199,** 212, 233, 274, 539
Burger, Lieutenant, 382
Burger Monument: Harrismith, **see:** Voortrekkers
Burnett, P F, **103**
Burnham, Louis, 229
Burns, W R, **72**
Burnside, Duncan, 181
Burt, Thomas, 137
Burton, Mary, 519
Bush, Rev., 369, **369,** 387
'Bush, Robert', 472
Buthelezi, Chief Gatsha, 452, 529
Buthelezi, Dr. Manas, 520
Buti, Rev. Sam, 365, 492
Buys, S, 262
Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, 497
Cachalia, Bettie Elizabeth, **see:** du Toit, Bettie Elizabeth
Cachalia, Yusuf A, 190, **197,** 280, 296, 302, 400, 502
Caddy, Ben, 101, 126
Camp Mantanzas: Havana, Cuba, 476
Campbell, Jock, 49, 67, 69, 82
Canada, 511-2
Cancer Association, **see:** South African Cancer Association
The Cape Argus, 267
Cape Bar Association, 267
Cape Communist Party, 92, 94, 104-5, **106,** 110, 111
see also: Communist League
see also: Industrial Socialist League, Cape Town
see also: Communist Party of South Africa
Cape District Committee of the Trade and Labour Council, **see:** Trade and Labour Council, Cape District Committee
Cape Fabian Society, 178
see also: Fabian Society
Cape Indian Congress, 237
see also: South African Indian Congress
The Cape Party Organizer, 190
Cape Passive Resistance Council, 295
Cape Peace Council, 295
Cape Provincial Council, 191, 266
The Cape Socialist, 68
Cape Socialist Democratic Federation, 71
Cape Times, 345
Cape Town City Council, 187, 191
Cape Town Communist Party, **see:** Cape Communist Party
Cape Town Trades' Council, 48
Cape Town, University of, 415, 478
Capitalism, 499-500, 531, 539-44, **542, 543, 544,** 546, 547, 550-1
Capstick, J W, **72**
Carbis, W J, **72**
'Carlos', 476
Carlson, Joel, 504, 537
Carneson, Fred, 191, **195,** 254, **255,** 261, 263, 266, 313, 370, 371, 425
Carpenters' and Joiners' Society, 24
Carr, George, **197**
Carter, Jimmy, 535-6, **536**
Castle, Barbara, 244, 382, **384,** 387
Castro, Fidel, 472-3, 505
Centner, M, 262
Central Engineering Works, 141
Cetyiwe, A, 90
Chaitow, Brian, 349
Chamber of Mines, 32, 66, 73, 121, 251
Champion, A W George, **146,** 147, 153, **160, 240** 289
Chan, Yi Chu, 381
Chapman, A, 259, 261
Chapman, D, 259, 261
Chapman, H, **82**
Chapman, T, 110
Chase Manhattan Bank, 543
Chaskalson, Advocate Arthur, 388, **423,** 452
Che Guevara, **see:** Guevara, Che
Chetty, D, **238**
Chetty, Shun, 537
Chiba, Laloo, 403
Chinese Mine Labour, 73, **73, 74**
Cho En-lai, **see:** En-lai, Cho
Chona, Mainza, 539
Chose, R E (Rex), **192**
Christ, **see:** Jesus Christ
Christian Action Group, England, 326-7, **327, 402,** 409, 438, 448, 539
Christian Aid, 519, 539
see also: Defence and Aid Fund
Christian Church, 504
'Christian freedom fighters', **see:** 'Freedom fighters', **516, 518**
Christian Institute, 433, 438, 448, 478, 537
Christian Socialism, 519-22, 546
Christianity, 554-7
Christianity against Communism, 403
Chrysler Corporation, 543

Chrysostom, John, 222
Church leaders, 519-22
Church League of America, 403
Church of the Brethren, 504
Church of the Province of South Africa, 462
Churchill, Winston, **221**
CIA, 336, 489, 499, 500, 532-7, **535,** 539-41, 545
The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, 533
Ciskei Police Force, 345
Citizen Force Reserve, 340, 350
Clapman, B, 262
'Clara', **see:** Strachan, Jean, 374
Clarion, 78, 187, **273,** 274
Clark, Jimmie A, **72, 76,** 81, **81,** 101, **103**
Clayton, George, 259, 261
Club 77, 372
Clyde Workers' Committee, 88
Coaker, J F, 388
Coetzee, Dr. Ampie, 477
Coka, Jameson G, 183
Collins, Canon John, 244, 326-7, **327, 402,** 448, 475, 519
'Coloured Advisory Board', 231
Coloured Labour Party, 77
see also: South African Labour Party
Coloured People's Congress, 179, 301
see also: Coloured People's Organization
Coloured People's National Union, 248-9
Coloured People's Organization, **231,** 301, 303 306
see also: Coloured People's Congress
Coloured people's support for communism, 231-2
Colraine, Dan, 167
Come Back Africa, **see:** *Mayibuyei Afrika*
Cominform, 196, 269
The Coming Struggle, 277
Comintern, 83, 84-5, 103, 105, 107-15, 117-20, 127, 134-5, 137, 139, 143, 149, 160, 166-74 176, 179, 180, 182-3, 184, 196, 201, 203, 226, 244, 263, 269, 279
see also: 'Democratic centralism'
Commando organization, 124-6
Commandos, 340, 350
Commission into Certain Organizations, 462
Communism, 62, 117-20, 151, 251, 268, 269-70, 277, 290, 291, 298, **311,** 380, 396, 522, 527-8, 536, 541-3, **542, 543, 544,** 547, 548-55, 559, 560
Communism for South Africa, 277
Communist book collection, 448-9
The Communist Challenge, 277
Communist Club, London, England, 88
Communist front organizations 226-47, **227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 241, 245,** 480-1, 504-5, 508-9
Communist Information Bureau, **see:** Cominform
Communist International, **see:** Comintern
Communist League, 180
Communist League, Transvaal, 92, 94, 105, **106, 107**
see also: Cape Communist Party
see also: Industrial Socialist League, Cape Town
Communist Manifesto, 42, 81, 108, 110, **176,** 187, 277, 520
see also: Engels, Friedrich
see also: Marx, Karl
see also: Marxism
Communist movement, Argentina, 291
Communist Party of South Africa, 2, 13, 63, 85, 86, 138-48, **150,** 151, 152, 155, 156-63, **159, 161, 163,** 164, 166-78, 179, 180, 181, 182-200, **192, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199,** 201, 202, 203, 218, 219-20, **220,** 223, **245,** 245-7, **247,** 250, 256-63, **258, 260, 261,** 264, 290-5, 299, 301-15, **311,** 317, **327,** 333, 334, 335, 345, 349, **351,** 358-60, **358, 359, 360, 361, 362,** 364, 366, 386, **400,** 411, 428, 453, 455, 461, 462, 474, 478, 480, 482, 489, **498,** 501, 553
: Origins, 22, 33, 39, 43, 57, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71
: Labour Party, 71, 74, 81
: International Socialist League, 81-3, 92
: Founding, 92, 105, **106,** 109-15, **111, 112, 113, 115,** 117-20
: Witwatersrand Miners' Strike: 1922, 121-35, **123, 127, 130, 131, 132, 133,** 136, 137
: Jewish support, 205-7, 212-3
: Front organizations, 227-32
: African National Congress, 239-43
: African Mineworkers' Strike: 1946, 251-4, **261**
: Suppression of Communism Act and Banning, 265-77, 279
: Defiance Campaign, **282,** 285
: Liberal Party, 286, 288
: Soviet Consulate, 319-25, 329
: Financial support, 325-9
: Sharpeville, 338
: Umkhonto we Sizwe, 350-3, 357
: Rivonia, **352,** 376-80, **377, 378, 384,** 388, **389,** 390-402, **391, 394, 395**
: Ludi, G, 368-75, 423
: Fischer trials, 403, 416-7, 421-3, **422,** 425-7, 429-31, 433, **437,** 437, 441-2, 445, 447-8, 450-1
: Soweto riots, 483-7
: Silverton attack, 491-3, **492, 493, 494**
: Kozlov, A, 495
: Sasol, 496-7, **497,** 500
: Pretoria bomb blast, **506, 507**
: Overseas support, 502-9, 536, 543
Communist Party of South Africa, Overseas Committee in London, 109, 316, 421, 431-2, 434, 438, **439,** 470, 499, 520, 543
Communist Party of South Africa, Youth Branch, 371
Communist Plans for Victory, 232-3
Communist Theory and Practice, 197
Communist training school, USA, **405**
Cone, Dr. James, 407
Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa, **see:** United Methodist Office Conference, 1981
Congregational Church, 462
Congress Alliance, 288, 318, 335-6, 347, 413, 539
Congress for Cultural Freedom, **see:** International Association for Cultural Freedom, Paris
Congress Group, **see:** Congress Alliance

Congress Movement, **see:** Congress Alliance
Congress of Democrats, 203, 230, 247, 293, 301-3, **302,** 306, 317, 323, 358-9, 369-72, **370,** 374, 396, 426-7, 445, 448
Congress of People for Peace, Vienna, 286, 416
Congress of South African Students, 529
'Congress of the People', 303, **305,** 306, **307,** 308, 365
Connerty, J, **82**
Constitutional Socialist League, 181
Contact, 296, 342
Continuation Committee of African Leaders, 347
Cook, I, **72**
Copeland, A, 24
Coppin, David, 34
Corlett Drive hideout, **see:** Bramley hideout: Fischer
Cornelius, Hester, 263, 264
Cornelius, Johanna, 158, **159,** 263, 264
Corning Glass Works, 543
Council of Action, 124-7
Council of African Trade Unions, 254
Council of Churches of Namibia, 519, 529
Council of Non-European Trade Unions, 162, 252, 254
see also: Joint Committee of African Trade Unions
Council on Foreign Relations, 500, 539-41
: American, 531, **532**
Coward, J, **72**
Crawford, Archie, **46,** 47-8, 53, 69, **72**
Creswell, Col. Frederick Hugh Page, 71, 73, **76,** 80, 84, **133,** 140, 143, 152
Cresswells, E, **76**
Criminal Law Amendment Act, 292
Crisp, A F, **76,** 81, **81**
Cronwright-Schreiner, 13, 68
Cross, Sholto, 438, **440**
Crous, General Theo, 456
Crow, 87
Cry, The Beloved Country, 398, 444
Cuba, 349, 363, 380, **395,** 467, 472-4, 476, 491, 508, 514, 519, 523
Cuban agents, 472-4, **473,** 476, 514, **514**
Cuban Intelligence Service, 473-4, 476
Cuban secret service, **see:** Cuban Intelligence Service
'Cultural Resistance' symposium: Botswana, 519
Curiel, Henri, 475-6, 489
Curtis, Neville, 537
Czech Communist Party, 452
Czech Secret Agent, 453, 455-6, **456**
Czech Secret Police, **see:** Czechoslovakian Intelligence Service (Czech Secret Police)
Czechoslovakia, 360, 380, 452-3, **453,** 523
Czechoslovakian Intelligence Service (Czech Secret Police), 455-6, **456**
'D' Day for Democracy, 229
da Costa, Jorge, 493
Dadoo, Dr. Yussuf M, **168,** 188, 193, 203, 237, 239, 254, 260, **261,** 265, 280, 285, 297, 306, 326, 342, 474, 539
Daily Telegraph: London, 495
The Daily World, 481
Dalgetty, J, **72**
Dar-es-Salaam, 349, 389, 523
Das Kapital, 277
'Dave', 328
Davidson, **111**
Davidson, Basil, 539
Davidson, J, **72**
Davis, Jennifer, 504
Davis, Michael, 504
Dawns, A J, 263
Day of Mourning, 338
De Beers, 31-2, 47-8
de Keller, David, 407
de la Rey, General Koos, 100
de Leon, Daniel, 82
De Leonites, 82, 139
de Norman, R, 146
de Villiers, 175
de Villiers, the Honourable H H W, 398
de Villiers Louw, J, 272
'de Vries, D', **see:** April, James Edward
de Waal Jnr., J H H, 209
de Wet, Mr Justice Quartus, 388, **390,** 398, 414
De Zuid-Afrikaan, 3, 7
Dean, J H, 144
Defence and Aid Fund, 231, 326-8, 393, **402,** 409, 413, 438, 490, 505, 519, 539
Defence Force, **see:** South African Air Force
see: South African Army
see: South African Defence Force
see: South African Navy
Defiance Campaign: 1952, 158, 280-5, **283, 284, 285, 286,** 286, **287,** 289, 292, 305, 320, 335, 502-4
Delphine, Nokonono, **498,** 501
Democracy in Action, 277
'Democratic centralism', 166, 169, 172, 175, 179, 183
see also: Comintern
Demonstrations, 333, 349, 370, **370, 374,** 375, **451,** 504, 517
Den Bakker, J, 110
Department of Information: Pretoria, 455
Department of the Interior: South Africa, 459
'The Depression', 185, 207
Desai, M M, 191, **192**
Deys, P, **76**
DGI, **see:** Cuban Intelligence Service
Dhlamini, Stephen, **238, 304,** 305
Diack, Ellis, 431-3, 437
Diamond, Issy, 158, **159,** 175, **175,** 183, 198, 201, 212
Diamond, Michael, 158, 201
Diamonds, discovery of, 19-21
Die Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, 213-4, **217**
Die Stem van Suid-Afrika: national anthem, 349
Die Transvaler, 211
Die Vaderland, 210
Die Volksbeweging, 207
Die Volkstem, 32
Die Waarheid, 207
Die Ware Republikein, 189-90
Dimitrov, Georgi, 1, 184
Dingaan, 187

Dingwall, Dan, **76**
Diphuko, Michael, 188
Dippa, James, 146
Dirker, Karel, 449
Disciples of Christ, **see:** Christian Church
Disguise equipment: April, 470
: Fischer, 441, **442, 443,** 444
: Schuitema, 481
Disinvestment in South Africa, 505
Dönges, Dr. Eben, 457
Dowd, J, **72**
Doyle, Molly Irene, 358, 418, **419,** 426
Dozhdalev, Consul-Agent Vassili, 323
Driver, Jonty, 407
Dryburgh, D L, 110, **111,** 134, 181, 279
Dryburgh, W, **111**
du Plessis, Danie J, 193, **195,** 254, 257, 260, **261**
du Plessis, Roy, 261
du Preez, J A, 358
du Preez, Roy, 258, **260**
du Toit, Bettie Elizabeth, 190, **191**
du Toit, F J, 207
Dubcek, Alexander, 452
Duff, J, **72**
Dugard, Professor John, 452
Dunbar, Andrew B, 49, 81, 87, 88, **89,** 92, 94, 105, **107**
Duncan, Florence, 375, 418, **419,** 425, 427
Duncan, Sir Patrick, 188, 283
Duncan, Patrick Baker, 283, **287,** 288, 296, 336, 357
Dunkeld hideout: Fischer, 440
Durban Bar Association, 267
Durban Central Prison, **238**
Durban City Council, 102-3, **105**
Durban Marxist Club, 110, 111, 197
Durban Typographical Society, 24
Dutch Reformed Church, 320
Dworkein, Laurence, 478
Dzhugashvili, Yossif V, 1
see also: Stalin, Joseph
East German Communist Party, **498**
East Germany, 349, 470-1, 497, **498,** 508, 514, 523
Economics and Politics, 277
Ecumenical Support Committee, 530
Edelstein, Dr. Melville, **485**
Educating for Ignorance, 302
Egypt, 360
Egyptian Communist Party, 475
Elim Station: Rhodesia, **518**
Ellis, Havelock, 7-12, **14,** 17
En-lai, Cho, 299
'End Conscription Committee', 519
Engels, Friedrich, 1, 3, 5, 24-5, 30, 277, **514**
see also: *Communist Manifesto*
England, **see:** Great Britain
Episcopal Church, 504
Eppel, S, 261
Erasmus, Jack, 68
Eritreans for Liberation, 505
Ernst, Dave, 445
'Escape routes', 380, **381,** 382, **383, 384**
Espionage, 464-70, **466, 467,** 472-4, 477, 495-7, 511-2, 524-6, 535, 541
see also: Bolshevik agents
see also: Cuban agents
see also: Czech secret agent
see also: Red Chinese undercover agents
see also: Soviet secret agents
Ethiopia, **348,** 349, 360, 514, 523, 552
Evans, O H, **72**
Evans, W, 262
Evening Post, 342
The Everlasting Gospel, 421
Ex-Servicemen. . . 'shun', 230
Explosives, **see:** Arms and ammunition
Ezra, Vivian, **351,** 353, 389
Fabian Society, 2, 7, 11, **14,** 17, 78, 98
see also: Cape Fabian Society
The Facts, 277
Fairchild, 88
Faith under Fire, 327
'The family', **see:** Communist Party of South Africa
FAPLA, 513
The Fatherland, **see:** *Die Vaderland*
FBI, 414, 474
Federation of Non-European Trade Unions, **see:** Non-European Trade Union Federation
Federation of South African Women, 157, 203, 247, 293, **294,** 294, **295,** 299, 393
Federation of Trades, **133**
Feinberg, 107
Feinberg, Barry, 519
Feinstein, Charles, 302
Ferreirastown communist night-school, **154,** 155-8, 159-61, 162, 196
see also: Thibedi, T William
Field Foundation, 537
Fighting Talk, 229, 275
'Financial conspiracy', 531-44
Financial onslaught against South Africa, 531-2, 535-9, 543
Finch, W H, **72**
Findlay, George, 197
Fine, Hazel, 375
Finkelstein, David, 445
First, Julius, 86, 134, 326-7, 389, 499
First, Matilda, 86, 499
First, Ruth, 14, 86, 134, 212, 229, 243, 263, 272, 274, 294, 302, 319, 326, 370, 371, 389, 399, **400,** 407, 417, 483, 499, 512, 539
First South African Brigade, 229
Fischer, Abraham, 45, 416
Fischer, Advocate Abram/Abraham (Bram/Braam), 63, 202, 212, 233, 242, 251, 254, 260, **261,** 263, 279, 286, 294, 302, 309, **312,** 313-4, **319,** 320, **324,** 324, 327, 328, 332, 365, 368, 370, 371, 374, **374,** 375, 380, 381, 388, 390, 398, 399-405, 407, 416-25, **417, 420, 422, 423, 424, 425,** 427, 428, 429-44, **431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 445,** 447-52, **448, 449, 450, 451,** 455, 457, 462, 467, 469, 487
Fischer, I, **111**
Fischer, Ilse, 416, **420,** 438, **440,** 452
Fischer, Molly, **see:** Fischer, Susanna Johanna (Molly)

Fischer, Paul, 416, **420**
Fischer, Peter Ulrich, 416
Fischer, Ruth, 416, 452
Fischer, Susanna Johanna (Molly), 302, 402, 416, 426
Fischer trials, 327, 328, 371, 464
: First, 303, 417-20, **419, 420, 425**
: Second, 421-7, **424, 425**
: Fischer, A: First, **425,** 447-9, **448**
: Fischer, A: Final, 449-51, **449, 450**
Fischer, E, **111**
Fischer, Percy, 124-7, **130**
FitzGerald, Mary, **47,** 48, 49, 55, **72**
Fleet, R H, **192,** 193, 254, 260, **261,** 263
Ford Foundation, 535-7, 539, 546
Ford Motor Company, 543
Forged and fake documents, 445, 477
: April, 470, **471**
: Breytenbach, 477
: Fischer, 433-4, **434, 435,** 438
: Gerhardt, 525
: Heath, 511
: Kozlov, 495, **496**
: Loginov, 464, **465**
: Schuitema, 481
: Segal, 539
Forman, Lionel, 212, **252,** 272, 274
Forrester, R M, **76**
Forrester Brown, J, **76**
Forsyth, Dr. Robert, 94, 279
Fort Hare College for Africans, 180, 201, 250, 281, 335, 501
Forward, 198
FOSATU, 60
Foster, Joe, 60
Foster, William, Z, 1
Fouche, J, 364
Fourie, Joey, 193, **194**
Fourie, Jopie, 100
France, 526
Franchise Action Council, 280, 295, 313
'Free Mandela Campaign', 365, 396, 529
Freedom, 229
Freedom, **274**
Freedom, **see:** *Inkululeko*
Freedom, **see:** *Tokoloho*
'Freedom Charter', 306-7, 309, 317, 426, 445, 529
'Freedom Day', 265, 266
'Freedom fighters', 348, 349, 383, 387, 434, 484, 502, **516, 518,** 520, **523**
see also: 'Liberation movements'
Freedom Foundation of South Africa, 468
Freedom of the Press conference, 279
'Freedom Radio', **379**
French Intelligence, 476
The Friend, 267
Friends of China, 294
Friends of Russian Freedom, 44, 70
Friends of the Soviet Union, **see:** South African Friends of the Soviet Union
Fronts, **see:** Communist front organizations
Furlong, M, **46**
Gaborone, **see:** Botswana
Gallagher, A Willie, 82, 88, 135
Gandar, Laurence, **479,** 482
Gandhi, M M, **197**
Gandhi, Mahatma, 55, **56,** 237, 283
Gandhi, Manilal, 283, **287**
Ganyile, Anderson, 250
Garment Workers' Union of South Africa, 24, 151, 175, 185, 267, 293
see also: Witwatersrand Tailors' Association
Gazides, Dr. Constantinos, 358, **370,** 418, **419,** 425, 427
Geldblum, R, 110, 134
General Electric, 543
General Law Amendment Act: 1961, 350, 440
General Workers' Union, 67
Gentile Protection League, 209
'George', 429, 431
Gerber, Officer J J E, **410**
Gerhardt, Alfred, 524
Gerhardt, Commodore Dieter F, 491, 524-6
Gerhardt, Ruth, 524-6
German Democratic Republic, **see:** East Germany
German School, 455
German Vorwärts Club, 44, 70
Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party, 185, 206-7
'Getcliffe, Anne', **see:** Veglio di Castelleto, Gabrielle Fredericka
Ghanaian Times, 434
'Ghetto Act', **see:** Land Tenure of Asiatics and Representation of Indians Act
Gibson, J M, 81, 87
'Glaska, Christian', **see:** Breytenbach, Breyten, 477
Glass, C F, 104, 110, **111,** 134, 141-2, 146
Glendon, W, 49
Glume, Daniel, **see:** Tloome, Daniel
Glynn, 49
God Bless Africa, **see:** *Nkosi Sikelele Afrika*
God Save the queen: national anthem, 349
Gold, **72**
Gold, discovery of, 21-2, **23**
Goldberg, Dennis, 353, **361,** 362-3, 376, 378, 388, 397, **397,** 478
Goldfoot, Rollo, **274**
Golding, George, 249
Goldman, A, 110, **111,** 134
Goldreich, Arthur, 353, 375, 376, 378, **378,** 379-80, 382, **383, 384,** 384, 387, 389, **391,** 396, 407, 450
Goldreich, Hazel, 378, 382
Goleniewski, Colonel Michael, 534
Gomas, John, 146, **150,** 153, 170, 183-4, 186, 193, 203, **240**
Goodman, Ernest, 449
Gool, Dr. G H, **228**
Gool, Jane, **245**
Gool, Zainnunnissee (Cissie), 186, **192,** 203, 279
Gordon, Max, 162
Grabow, Jobst, 477
Gradner, M L, 181
Grant, A, **76**
Great Britain, 512, 526, 531
Great Trek, **see:** Voortrekkers

Greef, Johan, 382
Green, Mrs., **111**
Green, J, 69
Green, L H, **95,** 97
Green, W, **111,** 181, 262
Grey, Rev. Nelson, 451
Greyling, Cas, 457-8
'Greyshirts', **see:** South African National Party
Griffiths, 67
Grimes, E, 262
Griswold, Erwin, 504
Grobbelaar, Dawn, **354,** 355
Grobbelaar, Elizabeth, **354,** 355
Grobbelaar, Herman, **354,** 355
Grobbelaar, Norma, **354,** 355
Group Areas Act, 527
GRU, 330, 468, 480, 491, 497, 514, 525
The Guardian, 186-7, 191, **247,** 264, **273,** 274, 279, 425, 538
Guerrilla military training, 349, 359-60, **361,** 362-3, 369, **369,** 371, 372, 376, 392, 398, 414, 447
see also: Military training to overthrow the government
Guerrilla warfare, 379-80, 388, 392, **393,** 393, 397, 398, 403, 407, 411, 447, 474, 478, **525**
Guevara, Che, 472
Guilbeaux, 108
Gumede, J T, **70,** 146, 156, 157, **163,** 164, 167 171, 202, **240**
Gwala, T H, 272
H.M.S. Ulysses, 444
Haesloop, Sybilla, **408**
Haggard, Dr. C H, **55, 72**
Hain, Peter, **406,** 410, 415
Hall, Eve, 358, **361**
Hall, Gus, 291
Hanscombe, H C, 88, 90
Hanson, Advocate Harold, 398, 418, 424-5
Harare, **see:** Zimbabwe
Hardie, Keir, 15, **68,** 69, 78, 137
Harmel, Michael, 13, 14, **197,** 212, 242, 254, 258, 260-1, **261,** 263, 274, **274,** 302, **351,** 353, 370, 371, 386, 389
Harris, Charles, 212
Harris, John, 288, 372, 386, **406,** 407, 409-10, **410**
Harrison, Colonel, 344
Harrison, Mrs., **133**
Harrison, Rose, 262
Harrison, W H, 13, 14, 67, **67,** 68-9, 74, 94, 96, 104, 110, **111,** 134, 137, 142, 148, 179, 180
Harrison, Wilfrid Henry, **41**
'Harry', **see:** Ludi, Gerard, 374
Hartbeespoort Dam picnic: Fischer family, 438
Hartwell, Dulcie, 263, **263,** 416
Harvard Law School, 504
Harvey Pirie, Dr. J H, 233, **235**
Hathorn, Dr. M K S, 302
Havemann, Chris, 207
Haynes, Harry, 102-3, **104, 105,** 158
Haynes, Tom, A, 46, 63, **82**
Haywood, Bill, 135
'Heath, Mrs.', **see:** Muller, Bonnier Lou
Heath, Nicholas Francis Henry, 511
Hedges, Davis William, 511
'Henri', 374
Hepher, W, 262
Hepple, Alexander, 229, 279, 303, **304**
Hepple, Bob Alexander, 303, 350, 370, 371, 376, 378, 389, **397,** 407
Herbstein, P, **255**
Hertzog, Dr. Albert, 185
Hertzog, General James Barry Munnik, 100, 140, 143, 171, 185, 187-8, 210
Het Volk Party, 44, 45
Heyan, I, 262
Heyman, Issy, 328, 429, 437
Hicks, F, **103**
Higgs, Barry, **408,** 409
Higgs, Dennis, 407, **408**
Hildebrand, **72**
Hillquit, 118
Hills, G, **76**
Hirson, Barry, 405
Hirson, Bertram, 212
Hitler, Adolf, 180, 185, 188, 190-1, 195, 196, 198, 203, 207, 209-10, 212, **213**
Hladik, Jaro (Janos), 455-6, **456,** 457
Hlapane, Bartholomew (Bartolomeu/ Barthlomew/ Barthlome/ Bartholemew/ Bartolmeu), 242, 246, 247, 294, 317, 328, 350, 351, **362,** 366, 370, 371, 401, 447-8, 450
Hlatswayo, H, **337**
Hodgkin, Thomas, 539
Hodgson, Percy John (Jack), 196, 229, **230,** 258, 261, 302, 309, 359, **361,** 389, 390, 405, 413
Hodgson, Rica, 359, 390, 539
Hoffman, 205
Hofmeyer, J H, **322**
Holmes, Ed, 489
Holmes, W, **72**
Holy Bible, 438, **439, 491,** 520, 527-8, 534, 547, 556-7
'Holy Day', **see:** 'Freedom Day'
Homelands, 333
see also: Names of individual homelands
Honecker, Erich, **498**
Honono, N I, **245**
Hood, W H, 146
Hoogendyk, J, 262
Hooper, Rev. Charles, 369, **369,** 382, 387
Horton, Myles, **405**
Horvitch, Isaac O, 212, 254, **255,** 263, 301
Hosey, John, 474-5
Hotel Capri, Bramley, Johannesburg, 438
'House arrest', 270, 293, 358, 389, 398
House of Assembly, 265, 266-7
Houser, George M, 502-4
How to be a Good Communist, 243, 392
Howard University, 508
Howards, 68
Hripunov, Consul-General A R, 320, **324**
Huddleston, Rev. Trevor, 229, 244, **246,** 248, 291-2, 307
Hull, H K, 126, 137
Hungarian Revolution, 315-6, **315**
Hurley, Archbishop Denis, 452
Hutchinson, H, 53

Ikaka, **see:** Labour Defence
Ikaka Labasebelzi, 174
Imbumba Yama Afrika, 71
Imvo Zabantsunda, 71
Inchcape Hall, battle at, 177-8
Independent Labour Party, 44, 69-70, 71, 196
India, 277
Indian Government, 539
Indian National Congress, **see:** South African Indian Congress
Indlela Yenkululeko, 201
Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, 87, 140, **140,** 142-8, **144, 145, 146, 147, 150,** 153, 154, 156, 166, 171
Industrial Socialist League, Cape Town, 92, 94, 105, **106**
see also: Cape Communist Party
see also: Communist League
Industrial Workers of Africa, 86-90, **89,** 145
Industrial Workers of the World, 82
Information Bureau of the Communist and Worker Parties, **see:** Cominform
Information campaign against communism, 557
Inkatha, 529
Inkpin, 88
Inkululeko, **156,** 188-9, **189,** 244
Innes, **103**
'Innocents Clubs', 226
Institute for Policy Studies, 504
Institute of Foreign Affairs, Peking, Red China, 357
Internal Reconstruction and Development Department, 478
Internal Security Act: 1982, 60, 250, 299, 317, 328
The International, 81, **83,** 90, 91, 92, **95,** 98, 108, 110, **113,** 131, 135, 136, 137, 141, 164
see also: *The South African Worker*
International Association for Cultural Freedom, Paris, 539
International Association of Friends of the Soviet Union, 232
International Communist Movement, 422
International Congress of Socialists, 63
International Debating Society, 13
International Defence and Aid Fund, **see:** Defence and Aid Fund
International image of South Africa, 548-50
International League, 82
International Socialist Bureau, 74, 80
International Socialist Club, 181
International Socialist Hall, Johannesburg, 44
International Socialist League, 67, 80-96, **81, 83, 84, 85, 95,** 101-5, 108-11, 145, 146, 151, 155
International Symposium on Communism: Pretoria 1966, 403
International Union of Red Labour Unions, 119
International Union of Students, 246, 407
International University Exchange Fund, 537
International Workers of the World, 49, 63
The Internationale, **236**
Internationalists, 80, 226
Irish Republican Army, 383, 411, 490
Ironmoulders' Society, 24
Is Communism Jewish?, **211,** 211-2
Isakowitz, Jock, 229, 261, 288
Iskra, 41, 477
Israel, A, 262
Israelstam, I, 67
Israelstein, 87
Italian Socialist Club, 44
Ivanov, Consul-General N V, 323-4, **325**
Jabavu, Professor D D T, 185
'Jack', 431-2
Jackson, **72**
Jackson, Rev. Jessie, 505, 555
Jackson, T A, 135
Jacobs, Mrs., 170
Jacobs, Erasmus Stephanus, 19
'Jacobson', **see:** Harmel, Michael, 353
Jacobson, S, **111**
Jali, Wilfred, 87
James Kantor and Partners, 326-7, 365, 396
'Jan', **see:** Fischer, Advocate Abram (Bram), 374, 433
Jantjies, Alfred, 359-60
Japanese Red Army, 477
Jassat, Abdulhai, 382, **383,** 384
Jefferies, **130**
Jeffries, 22
Jenkins, Timothy, 475, 478, 483-4
Jenner, A P, 279
Jerisch, J F, **209**
Jesus Christ, 520, 522, **525,** 527-8, 534, 554-7
Jewish Board of Deputies, 258
'Jewish conspiracy' cult, 213
Jewish history in South Africa, 205-14, **206, 211, 215,** 258
Jewish Publication Society, **211,** 211-2
Jewish Socialist Society, 44, 70, 94, 105, **106,** 110, 111
see also: Poalei Zion
Jewish Society, **see:** Jewish Socialist Society
Jewish support, for communism in South Africa, 91-2, 205-6, 207, **211,** 212-3, 258
Jewish Workers' Club, 177, **236,** 295, 320
Joffe, Louis C, 182, 183, 186, 188, 212, 254, 458
Joffe, Dr. Max, 188, **197,** 212
Johannesburg: discovery of gold, 22, **23, 25**
Johannesburg Bar Association, 267
Johannesburg Cathedral, 519
Johannesburg City Council, 101-2, **102,** 193, **193**
Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, 417
see also: Fischer trials
Johannesburg municipal gasworks, 520
Johannesburg Musical Society, 85
Johannesburg railway station, bombing of, 409-10, **410, 411**
Johannesburg Regional Court, 447
see also: Fischer trials
Johannesburg Witness, **33,** 37
John, 87
John Orr, Johannesburg, 445
Johnson, Rev. Dr. Hewlett, **115**
Joint Committee of African Trade Unions, 162
see also: Council of Non-European Trade Unions
'Joint Planning Committee', 280
Joint Planning Council, 301

Jones, 22
Jones, 175
Jones, Cyril, 400
Jones, David Ivor, 81, 84-5, **84,** 86, 87, 88, **89,** 92, **95,** 97, 98, 109-10, 135, 202
Jonker, Dr. A H, 212
Joseph, Helen, 293, **294,** 302, 309, 317, 407, 452
Joubert, Piet, 41
Journal of Democratic Discussion, **see:** *Liberation*
Judleman, **111**
Junior Left Book Club, 499
Juta, Henricus Hubertus, 5
Juta, Jan Carel, 3-6, **5, 6, 8**
Juta, Louise, 3-6, **9**
Kadalie, E J (Clements), **144,** 144-7, **145,** 153, 156, 180, 193
Kadalie, Eva, **145**
Kagan, Katy, 212
Kagan, M, 262
Kahn, Samuel, 186, 191, **191, 192,** 202, 203, 212, 251, **255,** 265, 266-7, 279
Kajee, A I, 237
Kalk, Willie, 140-1, 180, 186
Kameeta, Rev. Z, 519, 529
Kantor, James, 327, 378, 388-92, **391**
Kantor, James and Partners, **see:** James Kantor and Partners
Karaai, H, 90
Kark, S, 262
Kasrils, Ronnie, 349, 389, 474, 482
Kathrada, Ahmed M, 239, 272, 285, 350, 360, 365, 376, 378, 388, 396
Kautsky, 118
Kelly, John Lewis, 535
Kelly, Tom, 32
Kelvin Grove Hotel, Rosebank, Johannesburg, 438
Kemp, Stephanie, 363, 407, **408,** 415
Kennedy, Detective Warrant Officer, 379
Kennedy, Mr. Justice, 471
Kennedy, Senator Edward, **549,** 549, 555
Kentridge, Attorney Morris, 92, 101, **103,** 134, 233
Kentridge, Advocate Sydney, **423,** 449-50
Kenya, 466
Kerensky revolution, **see:** Bolshevik Revolution
KGB, 291, 305, 330, 358, 386, 390, 430-1, 433-4, **434, 435,** 437-8, 445, 452-3, 455-6, 462, 464-71, **465, 471,** 475-8, 480, 483, 490-2, 495-7, **495, 496, 498,** 500, 501, 502, 505, **508,** 509, 512, 514, 517, 524-6, 532-4, **533,** 559
Kgosana, Philip, 342
Khaile, Eddie J, 146, **150,** 153, 156, 239
Khrushchev, 315
Kies, Benny, 232
'Kim', **see:** Communist Party of South Africa, Overseas Committee, London, 438, **439**
Kimberley: discovery of diamonds, 19-21, **20, 21, 42**
: miners' strike, 30-2, **31**
King, Dr. Martin Luther, **405,** 407, 414
Kirby, T, **72**
Kirsh, I, **111**
Kitson, David, 262, 403
Kitson, Norma, 481
Kleingeld, Sergeant, 376
Kleinschmidt, Horst, 478
Klenerman, Fanny, 175, 212
Klindt, Colonel, 405
Kliptown meeting, **see:** 'Congress of the People'
Knights of Labour, 31-2
Kodesh, Wolfie, **see:** Kodesh, Woolfie
Kodesh, Woolfie, 262, 370
Koffiefontein internment camp, 524
Kohler Industries, **338**
Kolff and Company, 3
Korean War, 312-4, **312, 313**
KOS, **see:** Yugoslavian Secret Counter-Intelligence Service
Kotane, Moses Mauane, 156, 158, **160,** 183-4, 186, 188, 189, 190, 193, 199, 242, 254, **255,** 263, 272, **274,** 285, 290, 297, 309, 370, 371, 389
Kozlov, Major Aleksei, 445, 495-7, **495, 496**
Kremlin, **see:** Soviet Communist Party
see: Russia
Kretschmar, G H, 53, **76**
Krige, Susanna Johanna, **see:** Fischer, Susanna Johanna (Molly)
Kruger, President Paul, 32-3, 39
Khrushchev, Nikita, 541
Kumalo, A N C, 519
Kunene, C, 86, 239
Kunene, Mazisi, 519
Kuper, Justice, 401
Kuper, I, **76**
Kuusinen, Dr. Otto, 179, 226
LaBern, Arthur: *Pennygreen Street,* 470
La Guma, James A, 145, 146, **147,** 153, 164, 166-7, **167,** 169, 176, 179, 202, 203
Labour College, London, England, 88
Labour Defence, 177-8
Labour Party, **see:** South African Labour Party
Labour Party Club, 74
Labour Representation Committee, 44, 71
Labour Union, **see:** Witwatersrand Mine Employees' and Mechanics' Union
Labuschagne, Detective Warrant Officer, 382
Lafargue, Laura, 10
Lafargue, Paul, 10
Lake, Raymond, 158
Land Tenure of Asiatics and Representation of Indians Act, 239
Landmarks of South African History, 277
Lang, John, 326, 405, 407, 409
Lapinsky, Sheila, 426
Lapitsky, Leo, 93-6, **94**
Larkin, Jimmy, 158
Latti, Arnold, 188
Laundry Workers' Union, **see:** Native Laundry Workers' Union
Laurie, 201
Lawrence, H G, 219
Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under the Law, 537
Lazarus, Ruth, 262
le Grange, Louis, 524
League against Fascism and War, 186
League Against Imperialism, 164, 167

League of African Rights, 155, 157, 164, 171-2, **172**
League of the Poor, **see:** Lekhotla la Bafo
Leather Workers' Union, 397
Leballo, Potlako K, 336, **337,** 340, 355-7, 385
Lee, H, 110, 134
Lee, Stephen B, 475, 478, 483-4
Lee-Warden, Len B, 191, **195,** 302, 309, 317
Leemans, H, **111**
Left Clubs, 181, 197-8, 295
Left Tennis Club, 372
Left Wing Communism, 277
Leftwich, Adrian, 212, 407, **408,** 409
Legum, Colin, 198, 244, 539
Legum, Margaret, **see:** Roberts, Margaret
Lekgetho, Sidney M, **194**
Lekhotla la Bafo, 161
Lembede, Anton, 241
Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, 1, 12, 14, 24, 25-6, 39, 41, 61, 82-3, 84, 92-6, 104, 107-10, 124, 132, 141, 162, 167, 171, 174, **177,** 197, 226, 245-6, 263, 269, 278, 291, **295, 514,** 543, 553, 554, 560
Lenin Club, 181
Lenin Peace Prize, 451
Lenin School, 158, 160, 182, 239, 252
Lenin's 21 points, **see:** *The Twenty-one Points*
Leningrad University, 320
Leninism, 16, 28
see also: Communism
see also: Marxism
Lesotho, 332-3, 345, 355-7, 400, 480, 523
Lesotho Christian Council, 357
Lesotho Liberation Army, 357
Lesotho Security Police, 357
see also: British Basutoland Police
Lessing, Doris, 229
The Lesson of Belgium, 229-30
Letanka, D S, 90
Letele, Arthur, 389
Lethala, Patricia, 355-6, 366
Lethebe, Hermanus, 180
Letica, Stan, 258, 261
Let's Talk About Russia, 232
Letters to Martha and other poems from South African prisons, 519
Levin, Hugh, 372
Levin, Hymie, 158
Levine, R, 259, 261
Levinsky, E, 262
Levinson, H B, 68
Levison, Stanley, 414
Levy, Abraham, 158
Levy, Leon, 212, 303, **306**
Levy, Norman, 212, 303, **306,** 309, 401, 418, 426
Lewin, Hugh, 401, 414, 452, 519
Lewin, Julius, 178
Lewis, David, 126, 137
Lewis, J E, **103**
Lewis, Norman, 478
Liberal Party, 286-8, 296-7, 347, 375, 380, 398, 405, 426, 445, 452
Liberal Students' Association, 396
Liberalism, 522, 533, 549
Liberation, **271,** 274-5
'Liberation movements', 291, **402,** 411
see also: 'Freedom fighters'
Liberation Radio, 376, **379**
'Liberation struggle', 519, 529, 550
'Liberation theology', 519-22, 527, 530
Liebbrandts, 212
Liebenberg, Advocate J H, 418, 421, 423-6, **425,** 447, 450
Liebknecht, Wilhelm, **10**
Liehaba, Cynthia, 355-6, 366
Light, W, **76,** 81
Lilliesleaf farm, **see:** Rivonia headquarters
Lipman, Beate, 302
Liquor Act, 321
Lisbon Conference 1977, **see:** World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism, Lisbon 1977
Lissagary, Prosper O, 6
Lithuanian Communist Party, 201
Litvinov, Maxim, 88
Livingstone, D, 53, **72**
Lloyd, John, 401, 414
Locker, H, **72**
Loginov, Yuriy Nickolaevitch, 445, 464-7, **465, 466, 467,** 468, 495-6
London, England, 382-3, **451,** 492, 539
Long, S A (Taffy), 126, **130,** 137
Longuet, 118
Lopaz, Manuel, 92, 104, 122, 181
Losofsky, 132
Lourens, Johanna, 520
Louw, Dr. Eric Hendrik, 198-200, 265, 320-4, **321,** 330
Lovestore, 168
Lowen, Sam, **46**
Luanda, **see:** Angola
Lubyanka Prison, Moscow, 467-8, **508**
Lucas, Advocate, F A, 180
Lucas, Frank W A, **76,** 87, 146
Lucas, Mark, 69
Ludi, Gerard, 288, 358, 368-75, **370, 372, 373,** 386, 392, 399, 401, 403-5, 421, 423-4, **424,** 428, 455
Lujiza, Theodore, **240**
Lusaka, **see:** Zambia
Luther, Martin, 222
Luthuli, Chief Albert John, **147,** 153, 243, 288-90, **289,** 291, 292, 297, 303, 306, 309, 327, 334, 340, **359,** 407
Lysenkov, Consul-Agent M, 320
'Mac', **see:** Maharaj, Sathyandrath R (Mac)
MacArthur, General Douglas, 313
McCarthy, J H, 103
McDermid, A, 125
MacDonald, J Ramsay, 88, 118, 137
McIntyre, W J, 55
McKerrill, 53
McKillop, Percy, 68
McLaughlin, Janice, 505
McManus, 68
McPherson, Jessie, 75, 198, **219,** 219, 229, 233, 303, **304**
McQueen, **72**
Mabata, Congress, 241

Mabopane, **see:** Bophuthatswana
Mabopane Police Station, 511
Mabuzele, Stanley, 482
Machel, Samora Moises, 332, 493, 551
Machimbela, E, **194**
Madagascar, 523, 526
Mahabane, Z R, **240**
Maharaj, Sathyandrath R (Mac), (Solly), (Matthews), 328, 401, 403, 478, 482
Mahomo, Nelson, 327-8, 342
Maisels, A I, 452
Makabeni, Gana, **160,** 162, **172,** 177, 180, 252
Make, V, 342
Makgatho, S M, **240**
Makiwane, Ambrose M, 346, 489
Makiwane, Tennyson, 327, 342, 389, 489
Malan, A G (Sailor), 310
Malan, Dr. Daniel Francois, 185, 188, 206-7, 209, 210-1, 219, 224, 230, 268, 269, 279, 314
Malan, General Magnus, 524
Malek, Miroslav, **469,** 470
Maliba, Alpheus M, 186, **194,** 196
Malindi, L, **147**
Malkinson, Samuel, 164, 170, 174
Mamre Guerrilla Training Camp, **361,** 362-3, 376, 397, 414
Mandela, Advocate Nelson, 202, 241, 242-3, 275, 293, 299, 309, 326, 331, 332, 347-9, **348,** 350, **362,** 365, 370, 378, 388, 392, 393, 396, 413, 417, **451,** 478, 487, 491-2
Mange, James Daniel, 491-2
Mangena, Alfred, 71
Manifesto, **see:** *Communist Manifesto*
Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 353
Mann, Tom, 82, **133,** 134, 137
Mao Tse-Tung, **see:** Tse-Tung, Mao
Mapikela, Thomas, **240**
Maputo, **see:** Mozambique
Maputo, University of, 511, 512
'Marais, Henry Dirk', **see:** April, James Edward
Marais, Otto, 403
Marais, Pieter Jacob, 22
Maraphanga, 155, 180
March, K, 279
Marchetti, Victor, 533
Marcus, 158
Marcus, J, 262
Maree, Otto, 418
Maree, Paulus, 478
Maritz, Manie, 355
Maritzburg Supreme Court, 470
see also: April, James Edward
Mark, Dave, **240**
Markram, G, 461
Marks, J J, **see:** Marks, J B
Marks, John B, 157, 158, **160,** 162, **168,** 177, 180, 202, 239-41, 251-2, **252,** 254, 263, 280, 285, 366, 370, 371, 381, 389, 416
Marks, John D, 533
Marks, John Joseph, **see:** Marks, J B
Marquard, Leo, 288, 407, 452
Martens, Nicholas, 478
Martin, 68
Martin, F, 101, **103**
Marx, Eleanor, 6-8, **10,** 10
Marx, Karl, 1-2, 3-6, **7,** 10, 12, 13, 14, 24-5, 167, 197, 224, 277, **514,** 520, **542,** 554
see also: *Communist Manifesto*
see also: Marxism
Marx, Laura, **see:** Lafargue, Laura
Marx, Louise, **see:** Juta, Louise
Marxism, 1-2, 16, 28, 82, 224, 243, 269, **276,** 277, **542,** 550-4, 560
see also: Communism
see also: *Communist Manifesto*
see also: Leninism
see also: Marx, Karl
Marxist Clubs, 295
see also: Durban Marxist Club
Marxist Youth League, 275
Masabalala, S M, **240**
Masane, S, 86
Maseko, I M, 285
Maseru, **see:** Lesotho
Mason, George, 53-5, **53, 54, 55,** 63, 81, 126
Massina, Leslie, 202, 303, **304,** 309
Masupha, J J, **194**
Matanzima, Chief Kaiser, 296, 355
Mati, A P, 285
Matthews, A, **103**
Matthews, John Edward, 403
Matthews, Joseph, 241, 309, 327, 328, 331, 342, 370, 400
Matthews, Tom, **46,** 46-7, **72, 82,**
Matthews, Professor Dr. Z K, 303, 309-10, 504
May Day, 49, 63, 175, **175,** 198, 266, **311,** 550
Mayibuye i Afrika, 171
Mazingi, **240**
Mazvidza, Chikombe, **525**
Mbeki, Govan, **271,** 274, 281, 327, 359, 365, 370, 371, 376, 378, 388, 393, 397, 452
Mbeki, Thomas, 140, **145,** 146, 156
Mbelle, A, 86
Mbuli, Ntlabathi, 357
Mda, A P, 241, **337**
Mdlankomo, L G, 345
Media Workers' Association of South Africa, 60
Medical Aid for Russia Fund, 75, 233, 319
Meer, Ismail, 237
Meet the Communists, 195
Mellor, Bridget, 380, **381**
Memo Book, 277
Merrie England, 78
Messina, Leslie, **see:** Massina, Leslie
Methodist Church, 462
Meyer, G, 262
Meyers, **219**
Meyerson, 426
Mfaxa, E, **337**
Mhlaba, Raymond, 272, 285, 371, 376, 378, 388, 392, 396
Michael, 400
Michigan State Bar of America, 449
Middleton, Jean, **see:** Strachan, Jean
Midlindton, Felicia, 429, **433**
MI5, 500, 532-3
Miles, Jennifer, 472-4, **473**

Miles-Cadman, C F, 75
Militant atheism, 554
Military Kommand, **393**
Military training to overthrow the Government, 349, 359-60, 369, **369,** 392, 396, 397, 414, 447, 470, 474, 499, 512, **521,** 523
see also: Guerrilla military training
Miller, Harry, **76**
Millin, Justice, 211
Millner, M, 262
Mindel, H, 262
Miners' strikes, **see:** African mineworkers' strike, 1946
see: Kimberley: miners' strike
see: Transvaal: miners' strike
see: Witwatersrand miners' strike
Mini, Chief Stephen, **240**
Mini, Vuyisile, 305
Minor, Robert, **542**
Minty, Abdul, 326, 539
MI6, 475, 500, 532
Missionaries: Massacre at Elim Station, Rhodesia, **518**
'Mitchell, Father', 382
Mitchell, Mike, 452
'MK', **see:** Military Kommand
see: Umkhonto we Sizwe
Mkopo, Isak, 482
Mkwayi, Wilton Z, 305, 396, 403, 414
Mlangeni, Andrew, 360, 378, 388, 392, 396, 398
Mnisi, Ben, 260, **261,** 272
Modderfontein complex, 468
Modern Folk Ballads (Pocket Poets), 277
Modern Youth Society, 295
Modiakgotla, C Doyle, 171, **240**
Modigliani, 118
Modise, Johannes, 389, 393
Moema, S M, **194**
Moerdijk, Donald, 477
Mofutsanyana, Edwin T, 156-7, **156,** 180, 185, 186, 188, **194, 240,** 254, 260, **261,** 263
Mofutsanyana, Josie, 156-7, 193, 260, **261**
Mohammed, Advocate I, 425, 427
Molete, Z B, **337**
Moloisane, C M L, 345
Molotsi, Peter, 327, **337,** 342
Monopoly capitalism, **see:** Capitalism
Monstioa, G D, 71
Montchabi, John Pula, 478
Montefiore, Dora, 48
Montefiore, Sir Moses, 48
Mooiplaas, near Pretoria, 511-2, **512**
Moolla, Mrs, **374,** 375
Moolla, Mosey, **374,** 375, 382, **383,** 384
Moore, Rev. Basil, 462
Moosajee, Mohammed Moosa, 478
Moral Re-armament Movement, 280
Morgan, 53
Morgan, J P, **542**
Morley-Turner, John, 229, **234**
Moroka, Dr. J S, 280
Morton, Rev. Donald, 478, 481
Moscow, **see:** Russia
see: Soviet Committee for State Security (Soviet Secret Police)
see: Soviet Communist Party
Moscow Africa Institute, **see:** Africa Institute, Moscow
Moscow Central Committee, 291
Moss, Glen, 478
Motloheloa, John, 332
Motlou, Jonas, 489
Motolo, Bruno, 392
Motsoaledi, Mrs., 398
Motsoaledi, Elias, 272, 378, 388, 397-8
Moulding of Africa, **see:** Imbumba Yama Afrika
Moumbaris, Alexandre, 474-5, **475,** 478
Moumbaris-Hosey trial, 1973, 474-5
Mountain View property, 353, 382, **391**
'The Movement', **see:** Communist Party of South Africa
Movement for Colonial Freedom, 326
Mozambique, 468, 478, 482, 491, 492-3, 499, 511-2, 514, 523, 530, 551-2
Mpetha, Oscar, **147**
Mpongoshe, Adolph J P, 345
Mquota, Alfred Tomba, 489
Msimang, H S, **240**
Msimang, R W, 71
Mthembu, 396
Mtolo, Bruno, 242-3
Mtshali, Oswald R, 519
Mtshali, Eric, 349
Mtyali, Caleb, **174**
Munzenberg, Willie, 226
Mugabe, Robert, 292, 298, 529
Muldoon, Robert, 517
Muller, Bonnier Lou, 511
Muller, M (Archie), **192,** 193
Munnik, Mr. Justice G G A, 525
Mussared, C B, **51,** 53, **72**
Mussolini, 185
Mvabaza, L T, **70, 240**
Mweli Skota, T D, **240**
Myagkov, Captain Alexei (Aleksei), 468, 526
The Myth of Six Million, 214
Naicker, Dr. George M, 237, **238,** 239, 249, **259, 283,** 309, 389
Naicker, Marimuthu P, 249, 272, 274, **275**
Naidoo, G R, 411
Naidoo, H A, 186, 254
Naidoo, Indres, 482
Naidoo, M D, 239
Nair, Billy, 272, 305, 309, 349, 389
Namibia, 519
Nasionale Party, **see:** National Party
Nasser, President, 475-6
Natal Indian Congress, 55, 237, 249, 305, 529
see also: South African Indian Congress
Natal Indian Organization, **see:** South African Indian Organization
Natal Labour Party, 70, 71
Natal, University of, 452, 519
Nathanson, K, 258
National Action Council, **see:** African National Congress, National Action Council
National and Workers' Front, 184
National Committee for Liberation, 407

National Council of Churches (USA), 462, 481, 490, 491, 504, 508
National Lawyers' Guild, USA, 504
National Liberation League of South Africa, 186, 203
National-Minded Block, 280, **281**
National Party, 45, 143, 152, 185, 188, 198-9, 209, 210, 212, 220, 223, 229, 256-7, 265, 286, 314, 320, 340, 371
National-Socialism, **see:** Nazism
National Union of Distributive Workers, 203
National Workers' Conference, 334
The Nationalist Attack on the Trade Unions, 277
Nationalist Government, **see:** National Party
The Nationalists, **see:** National Party
Native Clothing Workers' Union, 162
NATO, 526
Naude, Rev. Beyers, 438, 448
Native Laundry Workers' Union, 154, 162
Nazi Models and South African Imitations, 212
Nazi Uprisings within South Africa, 212
Nazism, 185, 198, 209-12, **213,** 217-8, 222
Ndhlovu, Curnick, **238,** 349
Ndhlovu, Goba, 60
Neame, Sylvia, **338,** 375, 401, 418, **419,** 425, 426
Needham, A, 68
Neighbouring countries, **see:** Name of individual country
Neigus, David, 505
Neo-Nazism, 213
Neppe, 86, 88
Netherlands Bank, Johannesburg, 430, 440
Neto, **514**
New African Youth Forum, 372
New Age, 13, 187, **270,** 274, 342, 345
New Age Movement, 539
New Life, 11-2
New Order, 209, 212
New Order for South Africa, 209
New Socialist Party, 181
New World Movement, 541
New Zealand, 517
Newana, N, 261
Newanan, L, 259
Ngcayinya, Rev. H, **70**
Ngcobo, A B, **337**
Ngcobo, H S, **337**
Ngedlane, Josiah, 183
Ngendane, S T, **337**
Ngoyi, Lilian, 293-4, **294,** 299, 301
Ngqabi, Joe, 482
Ngubane, Jordan K, 288, 297
Ngudle, Looksmart, 363, 389
Ngwavela, Johnson, 272
Ngwenya, T, 279
Nicholson, Anne D (Ann), **337,** 358, **370,** 401, 418, **419,** 426
Niehaus, Carl, 520
90-day detention law, 375, 387, 396, 398, 401 402
Njojo, J D, 90
Nkobi, Tom, 478
Nkoka, Drake, 499
Nkomati Accord, 1984, 551
Nkosi, Johannes W, 157, **157,** 164, 170, 171
Nkosi, Chief Mandlesilo, **240**
Nkosi Sikelele Afrika: African National Congress anthem, 427
NKVD, 201, 315, 320, 323, 330
Nobel Peace Prize, 289, **289,** 500-1
Nokwe, Duma, 275, 297, 327, 370, 371, 389, 396
'Non-Collaboration Campaign', 350
Non-European Trade Union Federation, 154-5, 158, 160, 161, 162, 170, 172
Non-European Trade Unions, **see:** Council of Non-European Trade Unions
Non-European United Front, 188
Non-European Unity Movement, **228,** 231, **245,** 381, 387
Norrie, Harry, 48
North Atlantic Treaty Organization, **see:** NATO
North Korea, 360, 523, 552, 560
Nortje, Arthur, 519
Nortje, David, 125
Norwegian government, 328, 331
Notlowitz, Rebecca, **see:** Bunting, Rebecca
Nqgabi, Joe, 372
Nquini, Zola S, 345
Ntela, Isaiah, 164
Nujoma, Sam, 509
NUSAS, **405,** 407-9, **408,** 414, 426, 433, 478, 499, 537
Nuwe Order, **see:** New Order
Nvabasa, L T, 90
Nyaose, J D, **337**
Nzo, Alfred, 478
Nzula, Albert, **159,** 159-61, 164, 165, 170, 171-2, 175, **240**
O'Brian, Mary, 34
O'Dell, Jack, 505
O'Dell, Hunter P, 414
O'Meara, J, 262
Office for Church Society, 504
Okhela, 477-8, 481, 489-91
Okhela-ANC 'Nationalist Faction', 489-90
The Okhela Manifesto, 477
180-day detention clause, 440, 445
Ons Reg, 207
Oosthuizen, O A, 219-20
'Operation Mayibuye', **see:** *Operation Mayibuye*
Operation Mayibuye, 378, 379-80, **393,** 396
Operation PUSH, 505
Oppenheim, L, 262
Orange Union Party, **see:** Oranje Unie Party
Oranje Unie Party, 44, 45
Order of Darkness, 500, 541
Organize or Starve, 305
Orlando Advisory Board, **194**
Ossewa-Brandwag, 187, 200, **208,** 209-11, 212, 213, 214, **214, 216,** 217-8, 223, 224, 310, 524
Our Common Enemy, 277
Our People, **see:** *Abantu-Batho*
Overseas support for South African communists and terrorists, 502-9, 511
Owen, Dr. David, **516**
Ox-Wagon Sentinel, **see:** Ossewa-Brandwag
Pact Government, 143, 152

Page, J B, 258
Page, J L, **45,** 67
Palace of Justice, Pretoria, 388-9, **449,** 449-51, **450**
see also: Fischer trials
see also: Rivonia trial
Palestine Liberation Organization, 345, 477, 490, 505, 510
Paliso, **372**
Palmer, Josie, **see:** Mofutsanyana, Josie
Pan African Congress, 281, 296, 298, 328, **335,** 335-40, **337,** 346, 348, 353, 357-8, 381, 385, 387, 484, 488, 501, 505, 524, 536, 539
Pan African Freedom Movement, 281
Pan Africanist Congress, **see:** Pan African Congress
Paratus, 364
Parker, Aida, 537, 539
Parker, Sam, **76**
Parkhouse, G H, **72**
Parliament Building, Cape Town, 457, **458, 460**
Parsons, Rev. Clifford J, **538**
'Passive Resistance Campaign', 239, 243, **259**
Pate, F W, 125
Patel, Zahed, 512
Pather, Dr. P R, 237
Paton, Alan, 288, 398, **399**
'Paulus', **see:** Fischer, Advocate Abram (Bram), **439**
'Peace Exhibition', 417
'Peace in Namibia' meeting, 519
Peking, **see:** Red China
Pelser, Minister of Justice, 452
Peltz, C, 263
'Penguin African Library' series, 539
Penguin Books, 539
Pennygreen Street, by Arthur La Bern, 470
The People, **see:** *Sechaba*
The People Party, **see:** Het Volk Party
People's Bookshop, Johannesburg, **198**
The People's College, 200
People's Movement, 207
People's Pageant, **236**
'People's Republic', **see:** South African People's Republic
People's World, **273,** 274, 505
Pepper, 168
Pepsi Cola, 543, **543**
Pereira, Henry, 148
Perkins, George, **542**
Permanent Force Reserve, 340
Pestretsov, Sergeant-Major Nikolai F, 513, **515**
Peterson, S M, 122
Petrovsky, 168
Phatlane, P, **240**
Philby, Kim, 532-4, **533**
Phillips, J G, 193, 285, **287**
Phillips, L, 254, **255**
Phillips, Valerie, 371, **373**
Pick, Mrs, **111**
Pick, J, 104, **111,** 176
Pienaar, S J, **76**
Pieterse, Cosmo, 519
Pillay, Vellay, 326, **327,** 334-5, 371, **372,** 428, 539
Pincus, E M, 110
Pinnock, Rev., **308,**
Pirow, Oswald, 165, 171, 180, 209, 212, **217**
Plaatje, Solomon T, **70**
Plastic surgery for Fischer, 429-30, 433, **436,** 447
Plebs, 88
Poalei, Zion, 110, 142
see also: Jewish Socialist Society
Pocket Poets, **see:** *Modern Folk Ballads (Pocket Poets)*
Poets to the People, by South African poets, 519
Pogrund, Benjamin, **478,** 481
Polak, H S L, 55, **56**
Poland, 468-9, 534
Police, **see:** Names of individual policemen
see: Security Police
see: South African Police
Police stations, 345, 491, 511
Polish Intelligence Service, 468
Political Affairs, 25
Polley, James A, 478
Pollsmoor Prison, near Cape Town, 392
Ponen, George, 186, 400
Poqo, 326, 336, 353-8, **354, 355,** 368, 370, 405
Port Elizabeth City Council, 191
The Portable Mark Twain, 277
Potekhin, Professor Ivan, 307
Poutsma, H J, 53, 55, **59, 82**
Powell, Canon Robert C S, 508
Prager, Rhoda, 405
Prague, **see:** Czechoslovakia
Pratt, David Beresford, 343-4, **343**
Pravda, 169, 346
Presbyterian Church, 462
Pretoria bomb blast, May 1983, **506, 507,** 509
Pretoria Central Prison, 158, 440, 442, 449, 459, 475, **475,** 478
Pretoria Socialist Society, 86
Pretorius, Paul, 537
Prinsloo, Brigadier Gert, 456
Prisons Act, 1959, 367, **451,** 481
Pritchard, W H, **72**
Pritt, Advocate D N, 275
Privy Council, London, 349, 418, 421
Pro-Hitler organizations, 207-11, 212, 217-8, 524
Pro Veritate, 438
The Problem of The Distressed Areas, 442-4
Production Requirements (for the revolution), 380
Progressive Association, 11
Progressive Federal Party, 553
Progressive Labour Party, 196
Progressive Party, 375, 427
Prohibition of Political Interference Act, 288
Propaganda, **276,** 277, **311,** 332, 353, **374,** 375, 434, 462, 483-4, 488-9, 502, 520, 522-4, 538
Protestant Reformation, 222
The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, 214
Proudie, F T, **72**
Public Safety Act, 292
Puerto Rican Socialist Party, 505-8
Purified National Party, **see:** Gesuiwerde Nasionale Party

PUSH, **see:** Operation PUSH
Quinlan, Dr. Mary, 283, **285, 286**
Rabb, R, 67, 82, 110, **111,** 134
Rabkin, 484
Raboroko, Peter, 241
Racial discrimination, **see:** Apartheid
Radebe, James J, 389
Radford, Betty, 187, 191, **192, 255,** 263
Radik, Karl, 84
Radio broadcasts, 522-4
Radio Moscow, 232, 315, 321, 345, 390, 452
Radio Zambia, 523
Radowsky, F, **111**
Rakaoane, A M, **240**
Rakov, 132
Rally, 451
Rand Daily Mail, 267, 375, 380, 398, 433, **479,** 481-2
Rani, Isak, 360
Rapshad's Boarding House, 205
Rationalist Press Association, 165
Rayner, R, 144
Reagan, Ronald, 541
Receive With Haste, **see:** *Maraphanga*
Red China, **316,** 357-8, 360, 372, 379, 380-1 387, 390, **395,** 403, 472, **490,** 502, 523, 539, 541, 552-4, 560
Red Chinese undercover agents, 472
Red Cross, **521**
The Red Flag: Official anthem, 74, **75**
'Red Provincial Council', **76,** 79
'Red Raskolnikoffs', 47
'The Red Revolt', **see:** Witwatersrand Miners' Strike
'Red Revolution', **see:** Witwatersrand Miners' Strike
Reed, A S, 101
Reed, John, 135
Rees, John, 292, 298
Reeves, Rev. Ambrose, 244, **308, 309,** 327
Reformed League, 185
'Regional Command', Durban, 349
Reid, J, 69, **72**
Reiger, Surgis, 93
Release Mandela Campaign, **see:** 'Free Mandela Campaign'
Religion, 519-22, 555-7
Republic Day, 347-50, **352**
Reserve of Officers, 340
Resha, Robert, 327, 342, 389, 489, 539
Responsible Government Association, 44
Retief, Gerhard, 358
Reunited Nationalist Party, 219
Rhodes, Cecil John, 39
Rhodesia, **see:** Zimbabwe
Rhoem, Burten, 477
Rhys, Ethyl, 409, **411**
Richard, Frans, 354
Richter, 184, 201
Riley, J E, **76**
Riotous Assemblies Act, 1930, 269
Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendmend Act, 1914, 269
Riots, 254, 265, 269, 282-3, **285, 286, 287,** 289, 333-4, **335,** 338, **339, 340, 341, 342, 343,** 349, 354, 483-9, **484, 485, 486, 487,** 517, 541
see also: Strikes
Rissik, Peter, 418, 421, 424, 428, 431
Rivera, Diego, 229
Rivonia conspiracy, 327, **351,** 378, 387, 388-98, **394, 395,** 447
Rivonia headquarters, **352,** 353, 371, 375, 376-9, **377, 378, 379,** 389, 396, 447, 450
Rivonia raid, 290, 303, 326, 353, 359, 375, 376-9, **377, 378,** 380, 381, 382, 396, **397,** 399, 403, 449, 477
Rivonia trial, **193,** 204, 326, 328, 348, 349, 350, **361,** 363, 378, 380, 381, 387, 388-401, **390, 391, 397, 399,** 413-4, 449, 462, 464, 478, 487
The Road to Freedom, **see:** *Indlela Yenkululeko*
'Road to Freedom Programme', 370-1
Robben Island, 248, 305, 336, 345, 357, 365, 392, 470-1, 478, 519
Robben Island, 519
'Robek', **see:** Hladik, Jaro/Janos
Roberts, Margaret, 244
Roberts, W J, 254, 260, **261**
Robertson, F, **111**
Robeson, Paul, 229, 248
Robinson, Randall, 508
Rockefeller, David, 541
Rockefeller, John D, **542**
Rodaien, Dmitri, 149
Roman Catholic Church, 462
Romeiko-Gurko, Colonel V I, 39, **40**
Roosevelt, Franklin D (Teddy), **221, 542**
Root, Christine, 504-5
Rose, E B, 32
'Rose, James', 472
Rosenbalht, 258
Rosenberg, I, 262
Rosier, H L, **194**
Routh, G, 262
Roux, Dr. Edward, 127, 134, 138-42, **138, 139,** 145, 157, 158, 159, 168-9, 171-3, **173,** 176, 180, 182-4, 202, 228, 232, 302
Royal Air Force, 244
Royal Institute of International Affairs, 531, 539
Rubin, Advocate Leslie, 288
Rubin, Neville, 212, 407, **408**
Rubin, S, 134
Rudin, Jeff, 445
Ruffels, A, **76**
Rumania, 497, 523
Rumpff, Mr. Justice, 310, 344
RURON, 326
Ruskin, John, 39
Russel, James Hamilton, 452
Russia, **see:** Soviet Union
Russia Was Ready, 232
Russian agents, **see:** Soviet secret agents
Russian Consulate, **see:** Soviet Consulate: South Africa
Russian Embassies, **see:** Soviet Embassy
Russian military advisers, 514
Russian Revolution, **see:** Bolshevik Revolution
Russian soldiers, 513, **514, 515, 526**
Rust, Tamara, 232, **235**

Rustenburg hideout: Fischer, 429-34, **432**
Rutgers, 107
Ryan, John D, **542**
'S.P.', 260
Sable, Sarah, 140-1
Sabotage, 332, 345, 350, **351,** 353, 356-7, 358-9, 379-80, 382-3, 388-9, 392, **393,** 393, **394, 395,** 397, 398, 401, 403, **404,** 406, 407, 409-10, **410, 411,** 411, 423, 427, 447, 470, 474, 478, 481, 482, 490, 495, 496-7, **497,** 511-2, **512, 513,** 520
Sabotage Act, **402**
Sabotage Division, 349
Sachs, Albie, **361,** 363
Sachs, Bernard, 86, **149,** 151, 158, **206,** 211, 212
Sachs, Betty, **see:** Radford, Betty
Sachs, Dr. George, 187, 189, 193, **194,** 232
Sachs, Solly, 86, 140-1, 148, **148,** 149, 151, 158, 170, 173, 175-6, 184, 186, 202, **206,** 211, 212, 263, 264, 265, 279, 293, 326, 363, **402**
Sanctions against South Africa, 342, 497, 505
St. George's Cathedral, Cape Town, 519
Sampson, H W, 48, 69, **72, 82**
Saron, Gustav, 212
Sartre, Jean P, 229
SASOL, 496-7, **497,** 500
Saunderson, D, 262
Savage, Donald C, **538**
Save S.A. - from the Nats, 230
Scheepers, Anna, 263, **263,** 267
Schermbrucker, Ivan Frederick, 272, 328, 399, 400, 418, 425, 427, 445
Schermbrucker, Leslie, 429, 437, 448, **448**
Schlebusch Commission, 537
Schneir, S, 69
Schoon, Diana Mary, 358
Schoon, Marius, 478, 481-2
Schreiner, Olive, 7-15, **12,** 68, 88, 99
Schroeder, Klaus, 386, **424**
Schuitema, Barend, 477, 481, 489-90
Scope, 493
Scotland Yard, 511
Scott, Di, 530
Scott, Rev. Michael, 239, 243-4, **244**
Seamen and Harbour Workers' Union, 201
Sechaba, 396, 500
Secret agents, **see:** Espionage
'Secret agents': CPSA, 258-9, **260**
Secret U.S. War on South Africa, 537
Security Police, 36, 213-4, 230, 256-9, 264, 308, 357
: Poqo, 356
: Ludi, G, 368, 370, 423
: Rivonia raid, 375-9, **377, 378**
: Johannesburg station, 409
: Fischer, A, 418, 423, 430, 437, 438, 440-1
: Hladik, J, 456
: Loginov, Y, 464-7
: Moumbaris-Hosey trial, 474
: Breytenbach, B, 478, 481
: Rand Daily Mail, **478, 479**
: Kozlov, A, 495
see also: Names of individual policemen
see also: South African Police
Seddon, Richard, 137
Seedat, D A, 188, **197**
Seeger, Pete, **405**
Segal, Ronald, 275, 326, 537-9, **538**
Segale, Stephen, 348
Sekamane, Limpho, 345
Selassie, Emperor Haile, **348,** 349
Selby, A H A, 257-8
Selikowitz, Molly, 165
Selope Thema, R V, **70,** 191, **240,** 280, **281**
Seme, Dr. Pixley ka I, 71, 185, 239, **240**
Senes-Chapiro, 149
Seperepere, H, 285
Seppel, Minnie, 437, 442
Seppel, Ralph, 437, 442
September, Reginald, 500, 539
Sethlapelo, Onitsitso, 489
Serote, Mongane Wally, 519
Seven Words, 277
Shall, Sydney, 212
Shangrila Indian Club, 403
Shanley, Dorothy, 212
Shanley, Errol, 193, **194,** 212
Sharpeville, 338-9, **339, 340, 341, 342, 343,** 355, 427, 539
Shaw, E, 125, 126, **130**
Shaw, George Bernard, 178
Shields, Jimmy, 141, 170
Shimoni, Gideon, 212
'Shippon, Father', 382
Shope, Mark, 371
Shub, David, 107
Shuman, **111**
Sidzamba, N, 357
Silinga, Annie, **147**
Silverton attack, 491-2, **492, 493, 494**
Silwana, Stanley M, 140, **140,** 156
Simenov, General Viktor, 476
Similane, P, **283**
Simons, Dr. Harold Jack, 186, 202, 254, **255**
Simons, Rachel, **see:** Alexander, Rachel (Ray)
Simonstown naval dockyard, 524-6
Sindab, Jean, 505
Singer Company, 543
Singh, J N, 237, 254, 290
Sisulu, Mrs, 393
Sisulu, Walter, 241, 242, 280, 296, 297, 309, 326, 327, 331, **352,** 360, 365, 370, 371, 374, 376, 378, **379,** 385, 388, 392-3, 396, **402,** 502
Sjollema, Dr. B, 411
Slovo, Joe, 14, 212, 229, 233, 242, 243, 272, 294, 302, 309, 317, **319,** 350, 366, 368, 370, 371, 389, 393, 399, **400,** 407, 414, 474, 477, 480, 483, 492-3, 497, 499, 500, 512, 529, 539
Slovo, Ruth, **see:** First, Ruth
Smith, Gladys, **294**
Smith, Ian, 365
Smith, Margaret, 375
Smith, Uriah, 31
Smuts, Issie, 416
Smuts, General Jan Christian, 53, 55, 80, 100, **122,** 126-7, **127,** 137, 142-3, 152, 185, 187-8, 190-1, 207, 210, 217-8, 219-20, 224, 230, 231, 233, 251, 256, 265, 319-20, 416
Snitcher, Advocate, H 193, **195,** 254, **255**

Sobukwe, Robert, 294, 335-6, **337,** 339, 340, 346, 355, 488
Social Democratic Federation, Cape Town, 13, 15, 68-9, 93-4, 104, 110, 111
Social Democratic Federation, England, 68
Socialism, **41,** 62, 162-3, 201, 298, 517, 522, 524, 527, 534, 536, 538, 546, 547, 548-54
see also: Communism
see also: Marxism
Socialist International, 79
Socialist International Information, 79
Socialist Labour Party, 67, 82
Socialist League, 406
Socialist Party of South Africa, 196-7, 203
Socialist Propaganda League of America, 107
Socialist Society, 70, 71
Socialist Sunday School, 83
Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union, **see:** South African Friends of the Soviet Union
Society of Peace and Friendship with the USSR, **see:** South African Friends of the Soviet Union
Sociology for Examination Review, 277
Soermur, 132
Soldier's Interest Committee, 229
Solidarité, 476-7, 489
Solidarité International Network, 476
Solodovnikov, Dr. Vasily, 477, 497
Somtunzi, Morris, **240**
Sosnovick, Israel, 93-6, **94**
South Africa, 275, 538
The South African, **see:** *De Zuid-Afrikaan*
South African Air Force, 312-3, 452
South African Allied Workers' Union, 529
South African Army, 332, 334, 345, 372, 519
South African Association of Employees' Organizations, 141-2
see also: Trades' Union Congress
South African Bird Book Fund, 277
South African Broadcasting Corporation, 195, 403, 500
South African Cancer Association, 314-5
South African Christian Council Refugee Program, 505
South African Citizenship Act, No 44 of 1949, 349
South African Communist Party, **see:** Communist Party of South Africa
South African Communist Youth League, **227**
South African Congress of Trade Unions, 60, 64, **238,** 246, 247, 303-7, **304, 306,** 335, 433, 475, 480-1, 501
South African Consular-General, Lourenco Marques, Mozambique, 458
South African Council of Churches, 60, 64, 242, 292, 294, 298-9, 346, **362,** 365, 392, 482, 491-2, 505, 517, 519-22, 530, 537, 539, 545, 546
South African Defence Force, 513-4, **515,** 524 557, 559
see also: South African Air Force
see also: South African Army
see also: South African Navy
South African Embassy, Vienna, Austria, 455
South African Embassy, Washington DC, USA, 473-4
South African Engine Drivers' Association, 24
South African Fascists, 209
South African Freedom Day Coalition, 505
South African Friends of the Soviet Union, 186, 219, 228, 232-3, **233, 234, 235,** 257, 286, 295, 320, 425, 428
South African Indian Congress, 55-7, 143, 188, **237,** 237-9, 243, 247, 257, 280, **282,** 283, 301, 303, 306, 321, 502-4
South African Indian Congress, Youth Branch, 293
South African Indian Organization, 249
South African Intelligence, 474
South African Labour Party, 44, 53, 70, 71-7, **72, 76,** 79, 80-1, 84, 86, 92, 117, 134, 142-3, 152, 154-5, 203, **219,** 219, 267, 269, 303, **304,** 312
see also: Coloured Labour Party
South African Liberal Party, **see:** Liberal Party
South African Magazine, 505
South African Military Refugees Aid Fund, 481
South African Mineworkers' Union, 47, 212
South African National Democratic Party (Blackshirts), 207, 212
South African National Party (Greyshirts), 207, 212, **215**
South African Native National Congress, 71, 239
see also: African National Congress
South African Navy, 524-6
South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, 372, 386
South African Party, 185
South African Peace Congress, 417
South African Peace Council, 203, 290, 293, 303, 313, 416
'South African People's Republic', 350
South African Police, 87, 93, 96, 102, 110, 142, 145, 149, 157, **157,** 160, 164, 171, 188, **191, 193,** 212, **214, 216,** 224, **228,** 229, **237, 245,** 270, 288, 307, 310, 315, 333, 334, 340-1, 358-9, 360, 363, 401, 402, 557
: Witwatersrand miners' strike, 1922, 121, **123,** 124-6, **125, 128,** 134, 136, 140
: African Mineworkers' strike, 1946, 252, **253**
: Defiance Campaign, 282-3, 285, **286, 287**
: Soviet Consulate, 320, 322-3
: Sharpeville, 338-9, **339, 340, 343**
: Mandela, N, and Umkhonto, 348-51, 353
: Poqo, 354-7
: Ludi, G, 368-75, **370,** 421
: Rivonia raid, 290, 326, 376-80, **377,** 382, 396, 399, 403
Rivonia trial, 393, 400
: Yi Chu Chan Club, 380-1
: Johannesburg Station, 409
: Fischer, A, 405, 418, 421, 424, 427, 429, 438-40, **440,** 442, 445, 447, 449, 451
: Hladik, J, 456
: Tsafendas, D, 458, **460**
: Loginov, Y, 466
: Malek, M, 470
: April, J, 470

: Soweto riots, 486-7, **486, 487**
: Silverton attack, 491-2
: Sasol, **500**
: Biko, S, 501
: Boesak, A, 530
: Segal, R, 539
see also: Names of individual policemen
see also: Security Police
South African Police: Special Branch
: Ludi, G, 368-75
: Rivonia trial, 390
: Fischer, A, 454
South African Problems, 186
South African Railways, 154
South African rugby tour of New Zealand, 1981, 517
South African-Soviet diplomatic relations, 319-24, **321, 322, 323, 324, 325,** 330
South African Students' Organization, 486, 499, 501, 536-7
South African Trades and Labour Council, 267, 416
South African Trades' Union Congress, **see:** Trades' Union Congress
South African Treason Trial, **see:** Treason Trial
South African Union Festival, 343
South African United Front, 342
South African United Party, **see:** United Party
The South African Worker, **150,** 159, 160 172
see also: *The International*
see also: *Umsebenzi*
South Africa's strategic value, 496, 500
South Korea, 548
South West Africa, **see:** Namibia
Southern Africa, 504
Southern Africa Committee, 505
Southern Africa-Soviet Friendship Congress, 233, **234**
Southern African Working Group, 505
'The Soviet', Durban, 102-3, **104, 105**
'The Soviet', Johannesburg, 101-2, **102, 103**
Soviet Committee for State Security (Soviet Secret Police), **see:** KGB (since 1954)
see: NKVD (until 1946)
see: 'S.P.' (codename)
Soviet Communist Party, 109, 226, 250, 290, 312, 334, 357, 358, 365, 380, 388, 451, 452, 464, 495-6, 497, 500
Soviet Consulate: South Africa, 277, 319-24, **321, 322, 323, 324, 325,** 329, 330, 468
Soviet Embassy: Lusaka, Zambia, 477
New Zealand, 517
Ottawa, Canada, 292
Washington D.C., USA, 467
Soviet Life, 232, **233,** 233
Soviet Medical Red Cross Crescent, 75
Soviet Military Intelligence, **see:** GRU
Soviet press, 414
Soviet Revolution, **see:** Bolshevik Revolution
Soviet secret agents, 149, 182-3, **236,** 260-1, 320, 390, 462, 464-71, **465, 466, 467,** 475, 495-7, **495, 496**
see also: Bolshevik agents
see also: Cuban agents
see also: Czech secret agent
see also: Espionage
see also: Red Chinese undercover agents
Soviet Secret Police, **see:** KGB (since 1954)
see: NKVD (until 1946)
see: 'S.P.' (codename)
Soviet spy ship, 364, **364**
Soviet submarines, **363,** 364
Soviet Union, 380, 387, 390, 396, 452-3, 470, 474, 487, 491, 497, 500, 501, 502, **508,** 509, 514, **516,** 517, 523, 524-6, 532, 539, **540,** 541-3, **542, 543, 544,** 548, 550, 552-4, 559, 560
Soweto, 483-9, 499
Soweto riots: June 1976, 357, 483-9, **484, 485, 486, 487,** 499
Spain in Revolt, 444
Spark, **see:** *Iskra*
The Spark, **176,** 181, 187
Spartasists, 181
The Spear of the Nation, **see:** Umkhonto we Sizwe
Spendiff, Henry, 125-7, **130**
Sport, 517
Springbok Legion, 196, 219, 223, 228-30, **229, 230, 234,** 257, 275, 306, 310, 359, 396, 406, 425
Spy ship, **see:** Soviet spy ship
Stalin, Joseph, 1, 75, 135, 151, **159,** 160, 162, 167, 184, 190, 196, 202, 203, 212, 233, **236,** 246, 286, 290, **295,** 319, **322,** 330
see also: Dzhugashvili, Yossif V
Stalin Peace Prize, 248
Stalinist-Communists, 232, 475
The Star, 267, 375
Stassen, Carel C, 126
State and Revolution, 277
'State of Emergency', 1960, 334, 340, 342, 403
STB, **see:** Czechoslovakian Intelligence Service (Czech Secret Police)
Steenkamp, Dr., 153
Steer, G B, **76**
Stein-Lessing, Dr. M, 233, **234**
Stewart, Robert, 135
Steyn, President, 39
Steyn, D Colin, 190
Steyn, Marais, 452
Stockholm Socialist Peace Conference, 87
Stoddart, Mrs., **441**
Stoddart, Samuel, **441**
Stone, Vaughn, 380, **381**
'Stormjaers', 210, **214**
Strachan, Detective, 368
Strachan, Mrs., 389
Strachan, Barry, 368
Strachan, Harold, 349, 359, 367, 389, 405, 413, 481
Strachan, Jean, 372-5, 386, 401, 418, **419,** 425, 426, 427
Strategic value of South Africa, 550
Strijdom, Advocate J G, 185, 314
Strike Herald, **52,** 136
Strikes, 29-35, 42-3, 46-59, **48, 50, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59,** 88-90, **89,** 100-4, **108,** 121-31, 161, 182, 243, 251-4, 257, **260,** 265, 269, 271, 285, 299, 303, 333, 335, 347-8, **352,** 416, 539

see also: Riots
Stuart, Mrs., **133**
Stuart, Robert, **72, 133**
Stubbs, 34
Student Christian Movement (Britain), 462
Students' Liberal Association, 295
Students' Representative Councils, 519
Students' Society for Human Rights, 371
Styles, R J, **103**
Submarines, **see:** Soviet submarines
Sukwana, Frank, 357
Suliman, Essop A, 360
Sunday Times, 375, 433
Suppression of Communism Act, 1950, and subsequent amendments, 158, 202, 254, 265-77, **266, 269,** 280, 283, 285, 293, 299, 305, 312, 320, 384, 426, 477, 478
Suppression of Communism Bill, **see:** Suppression of Communism Act
Supreme Council of Bantu Federations, 280
Sutherland, Bill, 502
Suzman, Helen, 452
'Svenson' **see:** Kozlov, Major Aleksei
'Svensson, Eric A', **see:** Kozlov, Major Aleksei
SWAPO, 250, 366, 497, 500-1, 502, 505, 508, 509, 511, 513, **515,** 519, **521,** 523, 529
Swart, Charles Robberts, 264, 265, **266**
Swaziland, 333, 369, **369,** 379, 382, 387, **389, 391,** 428, 482, 487, 511
Swedish Security Police, 456
Swedish Social Democratic Party, 455-6
Swersky, Ann, 409
Switzerland, 524, 526
Tabata, I B, **245**
Taiwan, 548
Tamana, Dora, 299
Tambo, Oliver, 241, 242, 243, 320, 326, 327, 328, 342, 389, 407, 474, 477, 478, 489, 497, **498,** 508, 509, 520, 539, 555
Tame, H H, 86
Tananarive, **see:** Madagascar
Tanzania, 487, 497
Taylor, Robert, **72**
Tayo, Jackson Balisani, 345
Teachers' League of South Africa, 231
Technical College, Johannesburg, 403
'Teddy Bear', **see:** Slovo, Joe, 483
Terblanche, H S, 207
Terre Blanche, 207
Terre'Blanche, Eugene, **217**
Terrorism, 332, 333, 350-7, **354, 355,** 369, **369,** 370, 379-80, 381, 382-3, 388, **393, 394, 395,** 411, 414, 462, 464, 470, 477, 482, 483, 487, 490, 491-2, **492, 493, 494,** 496-7, **497,** 499, 501, 502, **503,** 505, **506, 507,** 511-2, **512, 513, 516,** 519-20, **521, 523, 525, 526,** 529, 533, 535-7, 547, 550, 555, 559
Terrorism Act, 474, 477
Thandraym, H V, 285
Thatcher, Margaret, 491
The. . ., **see:** Second word of title in the alphabetical sequence
Thema, R V Selope, **see:** Selope, Thema R V
Theological institutions, 490-1
Theology: socialistic, 519-22, 546
Theron, Willie, 403
Thibedi, T William, 87, 146, **154,** 155-7, 161, 162, 169-70, 172, 177, 180
see also: Ferreirastown communist night-school
Third International, 83, 105, 110, 111-2, 117-20, 148, 269
see also: Zimmerwald-group
13000 Casualties, 230
Thomas, H, **72**
'Thompson, Charles', **see:** Fischer, Advocate Abram (Bram), 429, **433,** 438
Thompson, Derek, 355
Thompson, Rev. Douglas C, 319, **319,** 417, 452
Thompson, Joseph, 124
Thoms, Raymond James, 481
Thomson, Fred, 400
Thorpe, Jeremy, 244
The Threatened People, 302
Tibet, 560
'Time for Reassessment', 400
Time Magazine, 505
Timol, Ahmed, 462, 478
Timol, Mohammed, 482
Tinker, T P, 88, 90, 92
Tip, Karel, 478
Tloome, Daniel, 272, 274, 285, 400, 417
Tnatsi, N B, 171
Tokoloho, 332
Tonjeni, Elliot, **240**
The Torch, 232, 342
Torch Commando, 310-2
'Total onslaught' against South Africa, 519, 552-3
Toussaint, 267
Trade and Labour Council, 190
Cape District Committee, 186
Witwatersrand, 44, 66
Trade between United States and Russia, **540,** 541-3, **543, 544**
Trade Union Co-ordinating Committee, **see:** Council of Non-European Trade Unions
Trade Union Co-ordination Committee, 142
see also: Trades' Union Congress
Trade unionism, 474
Trade unions, 2-20, 24-6, 29-35, 36, 41-2, 46-61, 64, 126, 134, 141-2, 149, 154-5, 162-3, 182, 185, 186, 187, 195-6, 200, 202, 219, 226, 228, 252, 254, 257, 264, 265, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 285, 299, 303-6, 345, 396, 397, 425, 481, 482, 487, 495, 500
Trades' Union Congress, 142, 146, 167
see also: South African Association of Employees' Organizations
see also: Trade Union Co-ordination Committee
Training, **see:** Guerrilla military training
see: Military training to overthrow the government
Training school, Samarkand, USSR, 468
Trains Apartheid Resistance Committee, 295
Transvaal: miners' strike, 34-5
Transvaal Federation of Trade Unions, **52**
Transvaal goldfields, 21-2

see also: Johannesburg: discovery of gold
Transvaal Indian Congress, 203, 237, 313, 529
see also: South African Indian Congress
Transvaal Miners' Association, 24, 47, 124
Transvaal Peace Council, 295, 313, 416
Transvaal Volksraad, 32
Travallyn farm, **351,** 353, 371, 397
Treason trials, 250, **308,** 309-10, **309,** 326, 368, 390, 417, 452, 504, 520
Trembath, Jimmy F, 47, 48, **72**
Trew, Anthony, 407
Trewhela, Paul Henry, 375, 401, 418, **419,** 425, 427
Trigger, Major A E, 124, 126
'Trinka Edmundas', **see:** Loginov, Yuriy Nickolaevitch
Trotsky, Leon D, 1, 132, 158, 162, 181, 186, 201, 231, 269, 380
see also: Bronstein, Leon D
Trotskyite Unity Movement, **see:** Non-European Unity Movement
The True Republican, **see:** *Die Ware Republikein*
Truter, 382
Tsafantakis, Demitrios, **see:** Tsafendas, Demetrio
Tsafendas, Demetrio, **457,** 457-62, **460**
Tse-tung, Mao, **237,** 299, 331
Tsele, Dr. Peter, 281, 320
Tshume, Gladstone X, 272, 285
Tsoti, W M, **228**
Tucker, Doreen, 326, 445, 448
Turatti, 118
Turok, Benjamin, 212, 247, 350, 358-9, **358, 359,** 389, 401, 405, 539
Turok, L, **111**
Turok, Mary, 358-9, **358, 370**
Tutu, Bishop Desmond, 60, 292, 294, 298-9, **362,** 365, 500-1, 517, 520-2, 537, **549,** 549, 554
The Twenty-one Points, 109-10, 112, 114, 117-20, 148, 162
Tyler, C B, 67, 81, 110, 175, 180, 184
Tyler, W, 32
Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic, 497
Ulyanov, Vladimir Ilyich, 1
see also: Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich
Umkhonto we Sizwe, 243, 305, 350-4, 357, 359, 366, 368, 370, 378, 392-3, 396, 397, 398, 403, 405, 413, 414, 447-8, 449, 454, 484, 491-2, **492, 493, 494,** 497, 500
Umsebenzi, 158, 172-4, **173,** 177-8, 182, 183, 186, 189
see also: *The South African Worker*
Union Constitution of South Africa, **44**
Union Exhibition, 343
Union Flag, 349
Union Jack flag, 349
Union of Soldiers, 229
Union Theological Seminary, New York, USA, 504, 510
Unions, **see:** Trade unions
United Democratic Front, 312, 520, 529-30
United Front Movements, 134
United Methodist Church Board of Global Ministries, 504, 510
United Methodist Office Conference, 1981, 508-9
United Nations, 79, 244, 310, 326, 327, 342, 390, 463, 481, 488, 497, 505, 508, 509, 510, 548, 552
United Party, 100, 185, 188, 198, 219-20, 231, 256, 267, 310-2
United Socialist Party, 48
United South African National Party, **see:** United Party
United States Committee on Foreign Affairs, 302
United States Communist Party, **see:** American Communist Party
United States Embassies, 536
: Botswana, 536
: Pretoria, 488, 535, 545
United States Information Service, 336, 488-9
United States Intelligence Services, 524
United States of America, 496, 500, 501, 502-9, 511, 526, 531-7, 539-43, **540, 542, 543, 544,** 550, 559
Universities, 490-1
University Christian Movement, 433, 462
University of. . ., **see under:** place title e.g. Western Cape, University of the
Unlawful Organizations Act, No 34 of 1960, 340
USA, **see:** United States of America
USSR, **see:** Soviet Union
USSR State Bank, 476
van den Bergh, Brigadier (General) Hendrik J, 405, 409, 415, 418, 439-40, 461, 467
van der Merwe, W P, **216**
van der Mescht, Sapper, 496
van der Riet, Lynette, 363, 407, **408**
van der Ross, Dr. Richard, 77
van Greunen, W J, 418
van Hecken, Fuido Luciaan, 511-2
van Niekerk, 19
van Niekerk, Barend, 452
van Rensburg, Dr. J F J, 209-10, 212, **213,** 223
van Rensburg, Patrick, 539
van Rensburg, Lieutenant Roelf, 440
van Schalkwyk, Annatjie, 477, 481
van Wyk, Lieutenant, 376, 382
Veglio, Gabrielle, **see:** Veglio di Castelleto, Gabrielle Fredericka
Veglio di Castelleto, Gabrielle Fredericka, 430-3, **431, 435,** 437, 445
Venter, Colonel P J, 440
Venter, Sophie, 263, **263**
Vermeulen, Rencia, 354
Vermont, I, **111**
Verwoerd, Betsie, 343, 458
Verwoerd, Dr. Hendrik Frensch, 211, 314, 343-4, **343,** 349, 398, 409, **410, 457,** 457-62, **458, 460,** 464
Vienna Peace Congress, **see:** Congress of People for Peace, Vienna
Vienna People's Congress for Peace, **see:** Congress of People for Peace, Vienna
Vietnam, 523, 552
Vigne, Randolph, 288, 407, 409
Viljoen, General Constand, 559
Vitshima, Mawethu, 357
The Voice of Labour, 48
Voice of the People, **see:** *Imvo Zabantsunda*

Volkskas Bank, Silverton, Pretoria, 491-2, **492, 493, 494**
von Schlischmann, 31
von Strauss von Moltke, Johannes, 209
Voortrekker Monument, **see:** Voortrekkers
Voortrekkerhoogte military base, near Pretoria, rocket attack, 511-2, **512, 513**
Voortrekkers, 187, **208, 209,** 209
Vorster, Balthazar Johannes (John), 212, 223, 400, 461, 524
Vorster, Rev. J D, 403
Wade, Colin, **76,** 80
Walker, D, **72**
Walker, Eric, 244
Walker, George, 22
Walker, Ivan L, **52,** 124, 126
Wall Street, 500, **542,** 543
Walmsley, G, 53
Walt, M, **111**
War Emergency Measures Act, 188
'War of liberation', **see:** 'Liberation struggle'
The War on War Gazette, 80
War on War League, 80
War Preparations, 426
War Veterans' Association, 310
War Veterans' Torch Commando, **see:** Torch Commando
Ward, Dr. Harry F, 510
Ward, Sydney, 134
Ward, W, 134
Ware, J J, **72, 76**
Waring, Frank, 457
Washington Army and Navy Club, 534
Washington Conference 1981, **see:** Building forces against United States support for South Africa, Washington D.C., 1981
Washington Office on Africa, 504-5
Waterson, R B, 53, 124
Watson, Andrew, 53, 81, **82**
Watson, Robert, 407, 409
Watts Bernstein, Hilda, 193, **193,** 203-4, 251, 254, 260, **261,** 263, 294, 328, 370, 390, 399-400, 422
Waverley hideout for Fischer, 431-3, **435,** 437, 438, 439
Wax Shot Chronicle, 444
We South Africans, 277
The Weekly Gazette, **52**
The Weekly News and Trades Chronicle, **72**
Weichardt, Louis T, 207, 209
Weinberg, Eli, 186, 212, 260, **261,** 272, 275, 399, 418, 425-6, 427, 487
Weinberg, Violet, 272, **360,** 429, 437, 439-40, **440,** 442-4, 445, 448, 487
Weinbren, Mrs., **219**
Weinbren, Bennie, 36, 124, 154-5, **155,** 158, 160, 161, 162, 170, 172, 175, 180, 198, 212, 218, 267
Weinstock, Gabriel, 69, **69,** 81, 92
Weishaupt, Adam, 63
Weiss, Peter, 504
Wessels, Manie, 207
Wessels, Mr. Justice P J, 338
'West, Peter', **see:** Fischer, Advocate Abram (Bram), 438, 440
West German Intelligence Service, 464, 495, 524
Western Cape, University of the, 232
Wethil, Dr. Edward, 511
What Animal is It?, 277
What is to be Done?, 277
'Wheel of Freedom', 303, **305, 307**
When the Devil Drives, 302
Where Women Enjoy Freedom!, **235**
White Worker Protection Union, **see:** Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond
Whiteside, Peter, 35, 66, **66**
Whitman, Scarlet, 519
Will We Be Banned For This?, 229
Williams, Aubrey, **405**
Williams, Cecil G, 196, 262, 326, 349, 389
Williams, Talbot, 87, 90
Williamson, J C, 53
Wilson, J H, 32
Wilson, Dr. Tim, 452
Wilson, Woodrow, 541
Wilson-Wilson, 13, 47
Winston, Henry, 488
Witwatersrand goldfields, **see:** Johannesburg discovery of gold
see: Transvaal goldfields
Witwatersrand Mine Employees' and Mechanics' Union, 24, 32
Witwatersrand Miners' Strike: 1922, 121-31, **123, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132,** 134, 137, 140, 142-3, 167, 218
Witwatersrand Tailors' Association, 24
see also: Garment Workers' Union of South Africa
Witwatersrand Trade and Labour Council, **see:** Trade and Labour Council, Witwatersrand
Witwatersrand, University of the, 233, 335, 368, 371, **372,** 375, 396, 401, 403, 409, 426, 430-2, **431,** 437, 445, 452, 477, 486, **487,** 519
Wodehouse, Sir Philip, 19
Wolfson, Issy, 158, 186, **192,** 193, 212, 260, **261,** 263, 458
Wollheim, Dr. O, 288
Wolpe, Mrs., 382
Wolpe, Harold, 327, 353, 375, 378, 380, 382, **383, 384,** 384, 387, 389, **391,** 396, 407
Wolpe, J, 262
Wolton, Douglas, 158, 159-61, 164, 165, 169-70, 172-8, **174,** 179, 180, 182-3, 202
Wolton, Molly, 169-70, 182-3, 212
Women's International Democratic Federation, 293, 497
Women's League, **see:** African National Congress Women's League
Wordingham, J, 125
Work in Progress, 551
The Worker, 71, **72,** 80
The Worker, **see:** *Umsebenzi*
Worker's Herald, 145, 147, 153
The Worker's Shield, **see:** Ikaka Labasebelzi
Workers' Communist League, 517
Workers of Zion, **see:** Poalei Zion
Workers' Party of South Africa, **176,** 187
Workers' Revolution in Russia, 90, **91**
Workers' Solidarity Committee, **338**

World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 530
World Conference against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism, Lisbon 1977, 505-8
World Congress of Mothers, **294**
World Council of Churches, 242, 298, 305, 411-2, 413, 478, 481, 490, 491, 501, 505, 509, 520, **521, 523,** 537, 539, 546, 555
World Council of Churches' Programme to Combat Racism, 411
World Council of Peace, **see:** World Peace Council
World Federation of Democratic Youth, 246, 293, 371, 497
World Federation of Trade Unions, 246, 267, 303, 497
World Health Organization, 510
World Marxist Review, 454
World Peace Council, 246, 286, 290, 293, 497, 505, 508
World Student Christian Federation, 462
World War Two, 185, 187-8, 190-1, 196, 207, 219, **221,** 224
World Youth Conference, 275
Woudberg, V C, 103
Wright, Barron, 87, 88
Wright, George, 505
Wybergh, Wilfred, 71, 80
Xuma, Dr. Alfred, B, **241,** 242
Yalta Agreement, 219, **221,** 224
Yergan, Max, 281-2
Yi Chu Chan, **see:** Chan, Yi Chu
Yi Chu Chan Club, 380-1
Yorkshire Times, 183
Young, Andrew, 488, 537
Young, Gordon, 478
The Young Communist, 138
see also: *The Young Worker*
Young Communist International, 141, 166
Young Communist League, 138-42, **139,** 156, 158, 166
Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), 281
The Young Worker, 138, **139,** 140, 151
see also: *The Young Communist*
Youth Branch, **see:** Communist Party of South Africa, Youth Branch
Youth Forum, 295
Youth League, **see:** African National Congress Youth League
Yugoslavian Secret Counter-Intelligence Service, **469,** 470
Yutar, Dr. Percy, 328, 388-9, **390,** 396, 397, 398
Zambia, 478, 480, 497, 501, 505, 512, 523
ZANU party, Zimbabwe, 529
Zelikowitz, Molly, **see:** Wolton, Molly
Zhong, Zang, **316**
Ziabkin, Mrs., **322**
Ziabkin, Consul-General Ivan, **322**
Zimbabwe, 292, 298, 360, 365, 470, 480, **518, 525,** 552, 554
Zimmerwald-group, 82-3, 87
see also: Berne International Socialist Commission
see also: Third International
Zinoviev, 132, 135
Zoutpansberg Balemi Association, 196
Zoutpansberg Ploughmen's Association, **see:** Zoutpansberg Balemi Association
Zurich Art Museum, 526

This is not a dispassionate, cold history book. The reader will [illegible] was not written within the restrictive confines of total, icy academic terminology. Its language is easy, colourful, daring and even frightening in places. Though basically scholarly and written with true Christian candour, it is nevertheless a hard-hitting narrative which unsparingly uses many adjectives to describe persons, places and events as they are; yet, it is not a book of "emotional language". The overwhelming impact of these enlightening pages is frequently enhanced with bursts of irony, cunning wit and outright humour. There is no middle ground; you will either appreciate and value this virtual handbook on communism in South Africa or you will be provoked by its daring and documented presentation.

DID YOU KNOW...

- That J. C. Juta, founder of the Juta Bookstores, was the brother-in-law of Karl Marx?
- That Karl Marx's sister was buried in Rondebosch, near Cape Town?
- That Karl Marx wrote articles for one of South Africa's earliest newspapers?
- That South African top communists have claimed the famous author Olive Schreiner as one of their own?
- That the earliest traces of Marxist doctrine were brought into South Africa by overseas trade unionists and fortune-seekers flocking to the diamond and goldfields?
- That the first Labour Party gave birth to the communist organization?
- That Red flags were flown over the Johannesburg and Durban city halls after being captured by a band of Marxists?
- That the famed 1922 miners' strike was turned into a Red revolution by a handful of communists?
- That the Communist Party of South Africa was officially organized in the Cape Town City Hall on 29-30 July 1921?
- That the early brains behind the communist party were a Welsh orphan, a British trade unionist and an ex-British soldier turned lawyer?
- That on May Day 1942, South Africa's oldest living communist addressed the nation on the SABC?
- That numerous "clergymen" and "religious leaders" have assisted communism in South Africa?
- That the African National Congress (ANC) started in 1912 as a wholesome and clean political organization free from communist influence?
- That there was a Soviet consulate in Pretoria, not far from the Union Buildings, swarming with communists and their agents?
- That the man who murdered Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd was a "non-active" member of the communist party?
- These and numerous other startling and informative facts are documented in this important book.

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N SOUTH AFRICA

HENRY R PIKE